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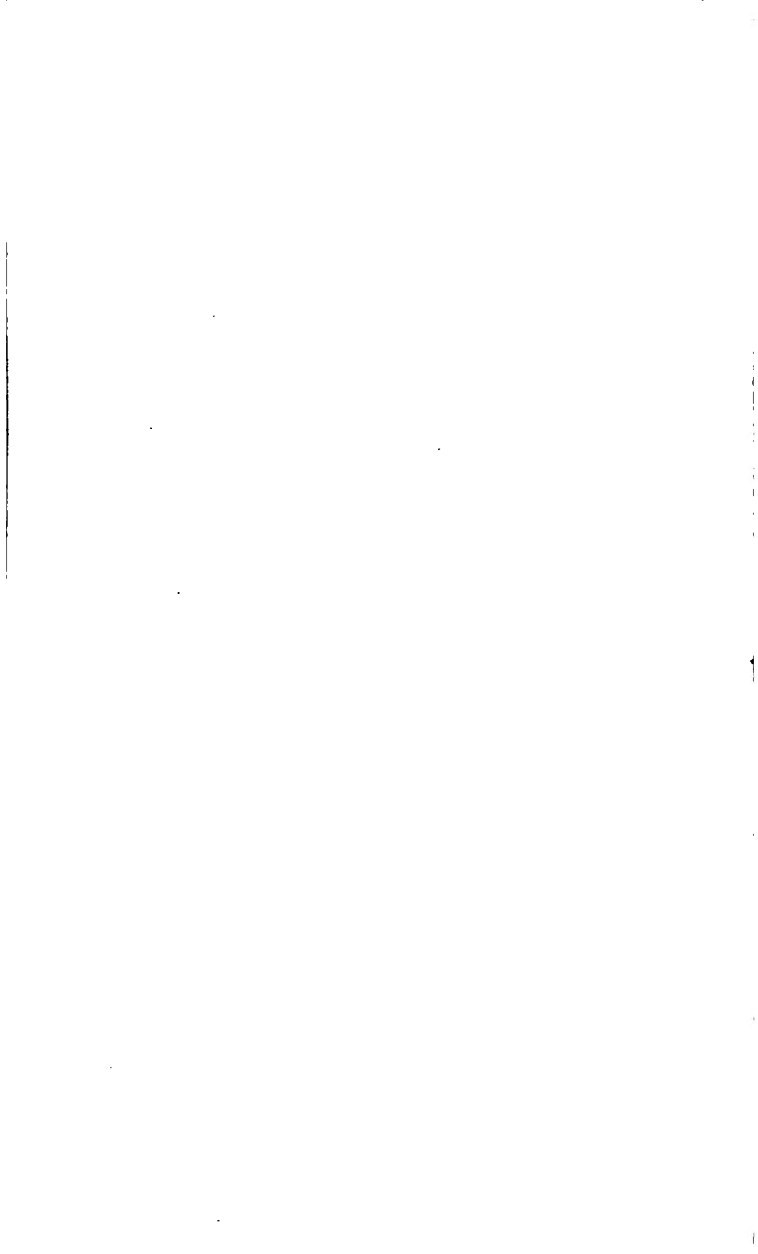
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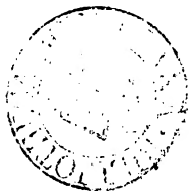


TITI LIVII PATAVINI
HISTORIARUM
AB URBE CONDITA
LIBRI QUINQUE PRIORES.

AD FIDEM OPTIMORUM EXEMPLARIUM RECENSUIT

GULIELMUS M. GUNN,
ET NOTULIS ANGLICIS INDICEQUE INSTRUXIT.

EDITIO AUCTION ET EMENDATIO.



EDINBURGI:
APUD BELL & BRADFUTE, ET OLIVER & BOYD,
LONDINI: SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, ET SOCIOS.
MDCCCXLIII.

[ENTERED IN STATIONERS' HALL.]

EDINBURGI: EXCUDEBAT JACOBUS WALKER.

PREFACE.

IN this second Edition the Editor has paid particular attention to the text and the punctuation. With regard to the former, he has been mainly determined in the larger portion of the first two books by the authority of the MSS. But so many of the received readings, adopted with the almost unanimous consent of the more celebrated Editors of Livy, differ from those of the MSS., that the notes would have been overloaded with critical remarks, if he had adhered throughout to his original design. In the remainder of the work, therefore, he has followed the readings principally of Drakenborch, noticing the passages, as they occur, in which he differs from that invaluable Editor, and he has almost uniformly, through the whole work, been guided by him in the spelling of the proper names.

As to punctuation, the Editor has endeavoured to steer a middle course between too high pointing on the one hand, and the undue fusion of clauses produced by scant pointing on the other.

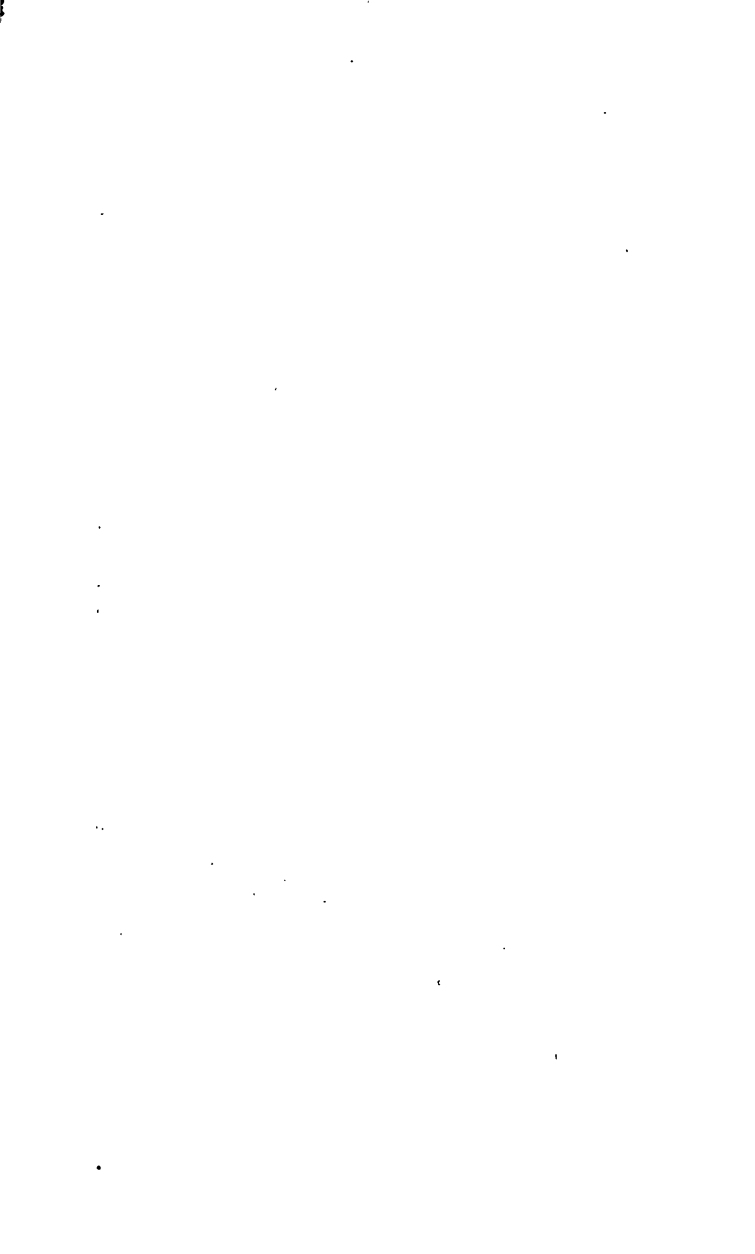
The editions and annotations consulted, in addition to Drakenborch's, have been those of Sigonius, Gronovius, Crevier, Ruperti, Doering and Stroth, Bekker and Raschig, Ruddiman and Dr Hunter.

One change of great importance was introduced in the former edition, to which it is necessary again shortly to advert. The principles which affect the indirect or oblique form of

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LIFE AND WRITINGS

OF

TITUS LIVIUS.

'HAVE you never read,' says Pliny the Younger, in one of his letters, 'that an inhabitant of Cadiz was so much excited by the distinction and glory which Livy had acquired, that he came from the remotest quarter of the globe to visit him, and, immediately on his having seen him, departed?' The distinguished historian, *TITUS LIVIUS*, to whose genius so extraordinary a tribute was paid, was born at Patavium, (now Padua, a town of Venetia, in the north of Italy,) in the 695th year of Rome. In his case, as in that of most others, distinguished merely for their literary fame, we are unfortunately ignorant of nearly every thing connected with his history calculated to throw light upon the early pursuits which formed him to excellence. Of his education, of the time when he removed to Rome, and the manner in which he first attracted notice, we are utterly ignorant. But we may form at least a plausible conjecture as to the circumstances which drew upon him the regards of the Emperor Augustus. It is not improbable that a dissertation of his, wherein he treats of philosophy, applied to history, produced this result. No history of Rome, deserving the name, existed before his time; and we know that the disjointed, scanty and unsatisfactory annals which contained the records of the Roman state, called forth from Cicero loud reprehension and regret. It is not surprising, therefore, that a prince like Augustus, who courted the praise of patronising learned men in general, (whatever may have been the circumstance that introduced Livy to this notice) should have hailed, with the utmost satisfaction, the appearance of one, who, from his industry, his love of country, his powers of narration, and the philosophic eye with which he surveyed the progress of events, seemed destined to supply so obvious a deficiency in Roman literature. We accordingly find, that he lived on terms of intimacy with that prince, and that he was even offered by Livia the office of tutor to Claudius, the Emperor's grandson. This intimacy must have been productive

of great advantage to him, in opening up both public and private sources of information, whilst it has never led him to boast of a friendship so flattering, or to pervert the truth, even in events where the emperor's family was most deeply interested.

Whilst engaged in the composition of the work, he seems to have resided partly at Rome and partly at Naples. From a passage in the 1st Book, (19th chapter,) where he states that the temple of Janus had only been twice closed posterior to the time of Numa, once after the termination of the first Punic war, and again after the battle of Actium, we obtain a probable conjecture, as to the date of the commencement of the work. The temple of Janus was shut in consequence of the battle of Actium, A. U. C. 725; Livy must therefore have begun his history posterior to this date. But it was again shut, 730, and some date betwixt these years must therefore be fixed as the time when he entered on his work, whilst his mention of the death of Drusus proves that he had not finished it till after that event, which took place in 744; his labours being thus continued for at least twenty years.

His domestic history is almost entirely conjectural, and is confined to the belief that he was married twice, and had two sons and four daughters, the youngest of whom was married to a rhetorician, L. Magius. He is said to have retired to Padua on the death of Augustus, and to have died in the fourth year after that event, in the 76th year of his age, A. U. C. 770, and A. D. 17, the same year which witnessed the death of Ovid.

Livy's stupendous History of Rome extended from the foundation of the city (containing besides a rapid detail of the circumstances leading to that event) to the death of Drusus, a period of 744 years. It was divided into 140, or (as others with greater probability maintain) 142 books. Following the former number, the whole was arbitrarily arranged at a later period, in decades or divisions, containing each ten books. Of the whole there remain only thirty-one books entire, and four nearly so. It will be easily seen in what state the work has come down to us from the following table.

1st Decade,—Books 1–10 inclusive, comprehending 460 years, entire.

2d Decade,—Books 11–20 inclusive, comprehending 76 years, lost.

3d Decade,—Books 21–30 inclusive, comprehending 16 years, entire.

4th Decade, { Book 42, } comprehend- { entire.
 { Books 41, 43, 44, 45, } ing 34 years, { nearly entire.

Of the other books we have only fragments.

These, which have too probably been irretrievably lost, are said to have met this fate from the hostility of the Emperor Caligula, and of Pope Gregory, to the writings of Livy, as well as the reluctance with which the monks shrunk from copying a work so ponderous. By aid, however, of the fragments, and of the *Epitomes* or

nearly the whole work, (only two being lost,) composed either by Livy himself, or more probably by some skilful annotator, as well as of other sources, Freinshemius has, with great success, endeavoured to fill up the blank thus left in Roman History.

As a writer of history, Livy has ever held a most distinguished rank. It is true, that he evinces a striking, sometimes a reprehensible partiality for the people, to whose fame he has consecrated his genius. It is true, that he often errs in neglecting to avail himself of the sources of information open to him, and, when he has so availed himself, in misunderstanding his authorities from want of careful and patient research, in mistaking the object of institutions, and in writing at variance with himself. It is true, likewise, that he does pay too much attention to the recording of prodigies, and gives the dignity of history to the ravings of childish superstition. But some of these errors (and they are by no means numerous in proportion to the magnitude of the undertaking) may be pardoned, on account of the extent of the work, others on that of the weakness of human nature, and many as arising from the genius of the age in which he wrote. Apart, however, from such considerations, these charges never remain in the mind when engaged in the perusal of Livy. They are all swept away by the uniform and majestic flow of his narration,—the graphic imaginativeness of his details,—his sympathy with all which adds to the grandeur of his theme, and the lofty scorn which he breathes on aught which tends to derogate from Roman greatness.

The first five books of this great work are particularly interesting, as they contain, what was believed by the Romans themselves, to be the origin of their early institutions. As all the early records of Rome perished in the sack of that city by the Gauls, tradition supplied the place of more authenticated materials. There is, therefore, much room for doubt as to some events, and for total disbelief as to others. We accordingly find many writers questioning much of the historic, and, latterly, almost all of the political detail, which was formerly assented to, without dispute, as the history of infant Rome. At the head of these stands Niebuhr; but even he admits the great interest connected with the current notions of the Romans themselves as to their early history,—above all, the surpassing merits of Livy, in his mode of managing the traditional history,—justly pronouncing the termination of the first book to be his masterpiece as a historian.

The 1st book, after detailing the events which led to the foundation of Rome, embraces a period of 244 years, including the reigns of the seven kings, Romulus, Numa Pompilius, Tullus Hostilius, Ancus Martius, Tarquinius Priscus, Servius Tullius, and Tarquinius Superbus,—the rise of various political institutions and their changes, and the overthrow of the monarchy.

The 2d book embraces a period of 43 years to A. U. C. 287, including the establishment of consular power,—the unsuccessful attempts of the banished royalists to effect a restoration,—the conse-

quent tyranny of the nobility,—the origin of plebeian influence, after many fierce struggles, in the creation of tribunes of the commons, and the wars in which the republic was continually engaged.

The 3d book extends from A. U. C. 287 to 310, a period of 22 years, interesting from its details of the mode by which Rome gradually acquired conquest after conquest, but, above all, from its account of the origin, progress, and fall of the decemviral power.

The 4th book begins A. U. C. 310, and comprehends a period of 51 years, remarkable for the gradual success of the plebeians in obtaining a share of the honours of the state, the device of appointing military tribunes, the rapid progress of the Roman arms, and the advance to permanent military discipline, by bestowing pay on the soldiers.

The 5th book, which (along with the 6th) might with great propriety be called a life of Camillus, begins A. U. C. 351, in the third year of the memorable siege of Veii, captured by that general,—comprehends his after exploits,—his banishment,—the progress of the Gauls in Italy,—the sack of Rome in 365, by that fierce people,—their expulsion by Camillus,—and the success with which he combated a general wish of his countrymen to emigrate to Veii, and leave the ruins of the fallen city.

The five books now presented to the reader thus embrace a period of 365 years.

T. LIVII PATAVINI HISTORIARUM

AB URBE CONDITA

LIBER PRIMUS.

EPITOME¹.

I, II. *Adventus Aeneae in Italiam et res ab eo gestae referuntur.* III. *Ascanii regnum Albae, et deinceps Silviorum.* IV. *Numitoris filiâ a Marte compressâ nati Romulus et Remus.* V. *Amulius obtruncatus.* VI. *Urbs a Romulo condita.* VIII. *Senatus lectus.* X. *Opima Spolia Jovi Feretrio lata.* XI. *Cum Sabinis bellatum.* XIII. *In curias populus divisus.* XIV, XV. *Fidenates et Veientes victi.* XVI. *Romulus consecratus.* XVIII, &c. *Numa Pompilius ritus sacrorum tradidit. Jano templum constituit, ejusque portam, pacatis omnibus circâ populis, primus clausit. Cum dea Egeria sibi congressus nocturnos esse simulans, feroces populi animos ad religionem perpulit.* XXII, &c. *Tullus Hostilius Albanos bello petiit.* XXV. *Post haec trigeminorum pugna.* XXVI. *Horatius absolutus.* XXVIII. *Metti Puffetii supplicium.* XXIX. *Alba diruta.* XXX. *Albani in civitatem recepti. Sabinis bellum indictum.* XXXI. *Ad postremum fulmine Tullus absumptus.* XXXII. *Ancus Marcius ceremonias a Numa institutas renovavit.* XXXIII. *Latinis victis et ad civitatem adscitis, montem Aventinum assignavit. Politorium, urbem Latinorum bello repetitam, quam Prisci Latini occupaverant, diruit. Pontem sublicium in Tiberim fecit. Janiculum collem urbi addidit. Fines imperii protulit. Ostiam condidit. Regnavit annos viginti quatuor.* XXXIV. *Eo regnante, Lucumo Damarati Corinthii*

¹ These *Epitomae*, ascribed to various writers, (see account of Livy's life and writings,) have been carefully drawn up, and are often cited as authorities. The division into chapters is modern.

filius, a Tarquiniis, Etruriae civitate, Romam venit; et, in amicitiam Anci receptus, Tarquinii nomen ferre coepit; et post mortem Anci regnum excepit. XXXV. Centum additis patrum numerum auxit. Latinos subegit, Circum designavit, ludos edidit. XXXVI. Sabinorum bello petitus, equitum centurias ampliavit. Tentandae scientiae causâ Attii Navii auguris consuluisse fertur, 'an id, de quo cogitaret, effici posset; 'quod' quum ille 'fieri posse' respondisset, jussisse eum novaculâ cotem praecidere; idque protinus ab Atto factum. XXXVII. Sabinos praeterea acie vicit. XXXVIII. Urbem muro circumdedit, cloacas fecit. XL. Occisus est ab Anci filiis quum regnâset annos triginta octo. XLI. Successit ei Ser. Tullius, natus ex captiva nobili Corniculana; cui puero, adhuc in cunis posito, caput arsisse traditum est. XLII, XLIII. Vejentes atque Etruscos praelio fudit. Censum primus egit. Lustrum condidit, quo civium capita censa octoginta millia esse dicuntur. Classes, centuriasque descripsit. XLIV. Pomoerium protulit. Colles urbi Quirinalem, Viminalem, Esquilinumque adjecit. XLV. Templum Dianae cum Latinis in Aventino fecit. XLVII, XLVIII. Interfectus est a L. Tarquinio, Prisci filio, consilio filiae suae Tulliae, quum regnâset annos quadraginta quatuor. XLIX. Post hunc L. Tarquinius Superbus, neque patrum, neque populi jussu, regnum invasit. Quo die scelerata Tullia per patris jacentis corpus carpentum egit. Armatos circa se ad custodiam corporis sui habuit. L, LI. Turnum Herdonium fraude interemit. LIII. Bellum cum Volscis gessit. LIV. Et ex eorum praeda templum Jovi in Capitolio fecit. Terminus et Juventas non addizere, quorum arae moveri non potuerunt. LV. Filii Sexti Tarquinii dolo, Gabios in potestatem suam redigit. LVI. Hujus filiis Delphos profectis, et consulentibus, quis eorum regnaturus esset Romae, dictum est, eum regnaturum, qui primus matrem osculatus esset. Quod responsum quum ipsi aliter interpretarentur, Junius Brutus, qui cum iis profectus erat, prolapsus se simulavit, et terram osculatus est. Idque factum ejus eventus rei comprobavit. Nam quum, impotenter se gerendo, Tarquinius Superbus omnes in odium sui adduxisset, ad ultimum, propter expugnatam nocturnâ vi a Sexto

filio ejus Lucretiae pudicitiam, (quae, vocato patre ad se Tricipitino, et viro Collatino, obtestata, 'ne inulta mors ejus esset,' cultro se interemit,) LIX. Bruti operâ maximè expulsus est, quum regnâsset annos viginti quinque. LX. Tunc consules primùm creati sunt L. Junius Brutus et L. Tarquinius Collatinus.

PRAEFATIO¹.

FACTURUSNE operae pretium sim², si a primordio urbis res populi Romani perscripserim³, nec satis scio, nec, si sciam, dicere ausim; quippe qui, quum veterem, tum vulgatam esse rem⁴, videam, dum novi semper scriptores, aut in rebus certius aliquid allaturos se, aut scribendi arte rudem vetustatem

¹ In this preface, written in a strain of modest dignity, which has been much and deservedly admired, Livy declines to claim superiority, either in point of information or style; and, after adverting to the pleasure felt by him in the necessary withdrawal of his attention from the misery of the civil wars of Rome to its early ages, as well as waving all discussion with regard to the truth of the origin assigned to the city, directs the reader's attention to the true object of history, 'Philosophy teaching by examples.' The close, which commences with a lament over the condition of Rome, whence Livy's history may be justly called the History of the Rise and Decline of the Roman Republic, winds up cheerfully with a semi-epic invocation peculiarly suitable to his general style.

The preface and the work itself are printed together, to render obvious their close connection, indicated by the word *jam*, at the beginning of the first chapter. ² Of these words, Quintilian, ix, 4, says; T. Livius, hexametri exordio coepit; *Facturusne operae pretium sim*. Nam ita edidit, estque melius quam quo modo emendatur. With reference to this last clause, it may be interesting as well as instructive to the youthful reader to observe, that there were various readings as early as Quintilian, and to know that it is on the faith of this passage alone, that the text is thus given, the best MSS. being *emendati*, having *Facturusne sim operae pretium*. It may profit him also to pick out hexameters from prose writers, as,

Arma nec Hannibali tanto discrimine rerum. *Liv. xxi. 9.*

So, in our own prose writers, verses are to be found as, 'The consecrated standards, long revered.' *Gibbon's Decline and Fall*, i. 9. This is, however, to be shunned. ³ His object is, *perscribere*, to write a complete history. Compare this with Sallust. Cat. c. 4. *carptim* . . . *perscribere*, to narrate fully detached portions of Roman history. ⁴ *Rem*. This word refers either, as most commentators think, to the practice mentioned in the following clauses, *dum*, &c., or according to others, with whom I am disposed to agree, to the *res populi Romani perscribere*. The antiquity and frequent handling of the subject correspond with *nec satis scio*, &c., the practice of writers in commending themselves with *nec dicere ausim*.

superaturos, credunt¹. Utcunque erit, juvabit tamen, rerum gestarum memoriae principis terrarum populi pro virili parte et ipsum consuluisse; et, si in tantâ scriptorum turbâ mea fama in obscuro sit, nobilitate ac magnitudine eorum, meo qui nomini officient, me consoler. Res est praeterea et immensi operis, ut quae supra septingentesimum annum repetatur, et quae, ab exiguis profecta initiis, ed creverit, ut jam magnitudine laboret suâ; et legentium plerisque, haud dubito, quin primae origines proximaque originibus minus praebitura voluptatis sint, festinantibus ad haec nova, quibus jam pridem praevalentis populi vires se ipsae conficiunt. Ego contrâ hoc quoque laboris praemium petam, ut me a conspectu malorum, quae nostra tot per annos vidit aetas, tantisper, certè dum prisca illa totâ mente repeto, avertam, omnis expers curae, quae scribentis animum, etsi non flectere a vero, sollicitum tamen efficere possit. Quae ante conditam condendamve urbem², poeticis magis decora fabulis, quàm incorruptis rerum gestarum monumentis³,

¹ This distinction between style and matter is well expressed by Thierry in his History of the Conquest of England by the Normans. 'In my opinion, every historic composition is a work of art, as well as of erudition; the form and style is a matter of no less moment than the critical inquiry into the truth of facts.' Livy has been too much of this opinion.

² *Quae ante conditam condendamve urbem.* What is the distinction between the events *ante conditam*, and those *ante condendam*? One set of commentators, headed by Nannius and Perizonius are of opinion, that *ante conditam* refers to the earliest events, and *ante condendam* to those immediately connected with the building of the city. Others, headed by Ursinus and Douatius, maintain quite the reverse. A third method of solving the difficulty is one not uncommon in such cases, to reject *condendamve* altogether as a gloss. On the whole, without discussing the main ground of Perizonius, that participles in *dus* are present participles passive, the first opinion seems preferable, 'as to the traditionary accounts of the events previous to the building of the city, or those which were immediately connected with its foundation.' ³ *Poeticis, &c.* *Decorum*, involves the notion of *aptum, conveniens*. Cicero defines it *consentaneum excellentiae*, as there can be no grace without fitness. Hence the double application to *fabulis*, to which these traditionary accounts furnish congenial and ornamental materials, and *monumentis* for which such things are not fitted, and where they are therefore ungraceful. The passage is of importance, as pointing out Livy's perception of the poetical embellishment of Roman tradition, to which so much attention has been properly paid in our own day.

traduntur, ea nec affirmare, nec refellere, in animo est. Datur haec venia antiquitati, ut, miscendo humana divinis, primordia urbium angustiora faciat. Et, si cui populo licere oportet consecrare origines suas, et ad Deos referre auctores, ea belli gloria est populo Romano, ut, quum suum conditorisque sui parentem Martem potissimum ferat, tam et hoc gentes humanae patiantur aequo animo, quàm imperium patiantur. Sed haec et his similia, utcunque animadversa aut existimata erunt, haud in magno equidem ponam discrimine. Ad illa mihi¹ pro se quisque acriter intendat animum, quae vita, qui mores fuerint; per quos viros, quibusque artibus, domi militiaeque, et partum et auctum imperium sit. Labente deinde paulatim disciplinâ, velut desidentes primò mores sequatur animo; deinde ut magis magisque lapsi sint; tum ire coeperint praecipites; donec ad haec tempora, quibus nec vitia nostra, nec remedia pati possumus, perventum est. Hoc illud est praecipuè in cognitione rerum salubre ac frugiferum, omnis te exempli documenta in illustri posita monumento intueri²; inde, tibi tuaeque reipublicae, quod imitere, capias; inde, foedum inceptu, foedum exitu, quod vites. Caeterum aut me amor negotii suscepti fallit, aut nulla unquam respublica nec major, nec sanctior, nec bonis exemplis ditior fuit; nec in quam civitatem tam serae avaritia luxuriaque immigraverint; nec ubi tantus ac tam diu paupertati ac parsimoniae honos fuerit. Adeò, quanto rerum minus, tanto minus cupiditatis erat. Nuper divitiae avaritiam, et abundantes voluptates desiderium, per luxum atque libidinem pereundi perdendique omnia, invexere. Sed querelae, ne tum quidem gratae futurae, quum forsitan et necessariae erunt, ab initio certè tantae ordiendae rei absint. Cum bonis potius ominibus, votisque ac precationibus Deorum

¹ *Mihi*. Not easily translated, but adding force from the personality,—‘Take my word for it,’ so, Livy ii. 29, *Pulset tum mihi lictorem*, ‘Show me the man who will dare to strike a lictor, then.’

² *Hoc illud est*, &c. ‘This is the course which you should pursue, as beyond all others salutary and profitable in the study of history, to keep your gaze steadily fixed on its instructions, derived from every variety of example, and displayed on a conspicuous monument for your guidance.’ *Documentum*, that which teaches of the past; *monumentum*, that which admonishes for future guidance.

Dearumque, si, ut poëtis, nobis quoque mos esset, libentiùs inciperemus, ut orsis tanti operis successus prosperos darent.

1. JAM primum omnium satis constat, Trojâ¹ captâ, in ceteros saevitum esse Trojanos; duobus, Aeneae Antenorigue², et vetusti jure hospitii, et quia pacis reddendaeque Helenae semper auctores fuerant, omne jus belli Achivos abstinnisse. Casibus deinde variis Antenorem cum multitudine Henetûm, qui seditione ex Paphlagonia pulsî, et sedes et ducem, rege Pylaemene ad Trojam amisso, quae-rebant, venisse in intimum maris Hadriatici sinum; Euganeisque, qui inter mare Alpesque incolebant, pulsîs, Henetos Trojanosque eas tenuisse terras. Et in quem primûm egressi sunt locum, Troja vocatur; pagoque inde Trojano nomen est³; gens universa Veneti appellati. Aenean, ab simili clade domo profugum, sed ad majora initia rerum ducentibus fati⁴, primò in Macedoniam

¹ For the proper names, see Index at the end. The reader will do well here to compare with Livy, Homer, Ovid, and especially Virgil. See Index for some references. ² This reading has been preserved on the authority of all the MSS. instead of *Aenea Antenoreque*, which is found in many excellent editions. We find the most philosophical exposition of *Aeneae Antenorigue* in the notes of Dr Hunter, whose main doctrine is, 'the active verb with the accusative, conceived as *one term*, as *one complex verb*, is requisite to express the amount of the action done to the object subjoined in 'the dative.' 'It is here stated by Livy that the Greeks *kept off*, or *withheld*, every right of war, (*abstinnisse omne jus belli.*) To whom did the Greeks do this? To two persons, Aeneas and Antenor.' The rights of war that the victors possessed over the vanquished were, as is well known, plunder, death to the armed inhabitants, and the slavery of the rest.

³ *Pagoque inde*, &c. Livy's general practice, as the attentive reader will soon perceive, is to construe both the place or person named, and the name itself, in the dative, when *est*, and similar verbs are used—as a little below, *Trojae et hinc loco nomen est*. To this, however, there are some exceptions, as, *Nomina his Lucumo atque Aruns fuerunt*, i. 34.

⁴ When two substantives, the one of which is an antecedent, a concomitant, or a postcedent of the other, and governs it in the genitive, have an epithet applied to one of them, it may be applied to either as common to both, and is generally coupled with the word most in the writer's view at the time. To illustrate this we may take some instances from our author. We have here *majora initia rerum*, the beginning being a necessary antecedent of the empire to which it led; here the greatness of the empire infers the greatness

venisse, inde in Siciliam quaerentem sedes; delatum ab Siciliâ¹ classe ac Laurentem agrum tenuisse. Trojae et huic loco nomen est. Ibi egressi Trojani, ut quibus ab immenso prope errore nihil, praeter arma et naves, superesset, quum praedam ex agris agerent, Latinus rex Aboriginesque, quum ea tenebant loca, ad arcendam vim advenarum armati ex urbe atque agris concurrunt. Duplex inde fama est; alii 'proelio victum Latinum, pacem cum Aeneâ, deinde 'affinitatem junxisse' tradunt; alii², 'quum instructae 'acies constitissent, prius quam signa canerent, processisse 'Latinum inter primores, ducemque advenarum evocasse 'ad colloquium; percunctatum deinde, qui mortales essent, 'unde, aut quo casu profecti domo, quidve quaerentes in 'agrum Laurentem exissent; postquam audierit, multitudinem Trojanos esse, ducem Aenean, filium Anchisae et 'Veneris, crematâ patriâ et domo profugos, sedem, condendaeque urbi locum quaerere, et nobilitatem admiratum 'gentis virique, et animum vel bello vel paci paratum, dexterâ datâ fidem futurae amicitiae sanxisse. Inde foedus 'ictum inter duces, inter exercitus salutationem factam. 'Aenean apud Latinum fuisse in hospitio. Ibi Latinum 'apud penates Deos domesticum publico adjunxisse foedus, 'filiâ Aeneae in matrimonium datâ.' Ea res utique³ Trojanis spem affirmat tandem stabili certâque sede finiendi erroris. Oppidum condunt. Aeneas ab nomine uxoris Lavinium appellat. Brevi, stirps quodque virilis ex novo matrimonio fuit, cui Ascanium parentes dixere nomen.

of its beginning; and hence, as Livy's view is principally directed to that beginning, *majora initia rerum*—the Fates conducting him to found an empire greater from its very commencement. In the 30th chapter we have *Hac fiducia virium*, the confidence naturally flowed from the strength;—and hence, as Livy looked more to the confidence than the strength, *hac* and not *harum*. When the epithet is not attached to the word, which it seems logically to qualify, critics call the transposition an *enallage*, stating, that these expressions above given, for example, are for *majorum initia rerum*, *harum fiducia virium*. This critical process is sometimes carried too far, as the usage is founded on the laws of thought.

¹ The wanderings of Aeneas, after leaving Sicily, described by Virgil, in the early books of the Aeneid, are neglected in this summary.

² This latter account is the one mainly adopted by Virgil.

³ *Ea res utique.* 'That event, beyond all others,' viz. the marriage between Aeneas and Lavinia, in which both accounts agree.

II. Bello deinde Aborigines Trojanique simul petiti. Turnus Rex Rutulorum, cui pacta Lavinia ante adventum Aeneae fuerat, praelatum sibi advenam aegrè patiens, simul Aeneae Latinoque bellum intulerat. Neutra acies laeta ex eo certamine abiit. Victi Rutuli; victores Aborigines Trojanique ducem Latinum amisère. Inde Turnus Rutulique diffisi rebus, ad florentes Etruscorum opes Mezentiumque, eorum regem, confugiunt; qui, Caere opulento tum oppido imperitans, jam inde ab initio ¹ minimè laetus novae origine urbis, et tum 'nimio plus ², quam satis tutum esset 'accolis, rem Trojanam crescere' ratus, haud gravatim socia arma Rutulis junxit. Aeneas, adversus tanti belli terrorem ut animos Aboriginum sibi conciliaret, ne ³ sub eodem jure solùm sed etiam nomine omnes essent, Latinos utramque gentem appellavit. Nec deinde Aborigines Trojanis studio ac fide erga regem Aenean cessere. Fretusque his animis coalescentium in dies magis duorum populorum, Aeneas, quanquam tanta opibus Etruria erat, ut jam non terras solùm, sed mare etiam per totam Italiae longitudinem, ab Alpibus ad fretum Siculum, famâ nominis sui implèset, tamen, quum moenibus bellum propulsare posset, in aciem copias eduxit. Secundum inde proelium Latinis, Aeneae etiam ultimum operum mortalium fuit. Situs est, quemcunque eum dici jus fasque est, super Numicium flumen ⁴. Jovem indigetem appellant.

¹ This indicates, (and *jam inde* always has a similar force,) dissatisfaction at first, and a continuance of the feeling till the moment in question, 'from the beginning all along up to that time.'

² *Nimio plus*. *Nimio* is the ablative of excess, and indicates an extreme degree of the excess expressed by the comparative, in a good or a bad sense, according to the context; here, 'far too much for the safety of the neighbouring states.' ³ *Ne*, resolvable into *ut non*, viz. *ut non sub eodem*, &c.

⁴ *Situs est*. *Situs*, an adjective derived from, not the participle of, *sino*, is applied properly, according to Cicero, *De Legibus*, ii. 22, to those who are buried without the full funeral ritual. This nicety, however, seems to be nowhere observed in other writers. H. S. E, *hie situs est*, is a common monumental inscription. In the case of Aeneas, we are told by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, (a Greek writer, cotemporary with Livy, to whom we shall have occasion often to refer,) when going over the same ground as Livy, that there were various reports as to the end of Aeneas, some alleging, as his body was nowhere found, that he had been raised to heaven, and others, as in our text. Dionysius

III. Nondum maturus imperio Ascanius Aeneae filius erat ; tamen id imperium ei ad puberem aetatem incolume mansit. Tantisper tutelâ muliebri, (tanta indoles in Lavinia erat,) res Latina et regnum avitum paternumque pueri stetit. Haud nihil ambigam, (quis enim rem tam veterem pro certo affirmet ?) hiccine fuerit Ascanius, an major, quàm hic, Creusâ matre Ilio incolumi natus, comesque inde paternae fugae, quem Iulum eundem Julia gens auctorem nominis sui nuncupat¹. Is Ascanius, ubicunque et quâcunque matre genitus, (certè natum Aeneâ constat,) abundante Lavinii multitudine, florentem jam, (ut tum res erant,) atque opulentam urbem matri seu novercae², reliquit. Novam ipse aliam sub Albano monte condidit ; quae, ab situ porrectae in dorso urbis, Longa Alba appellata. Inter Lavinium et Albam Longam coloniam deductam triginta ferme interfuere anni. Tantum tamen opes creverant, maximè fuis Etruscis, ut ne morte quidem Aeneae, nec deinde, inter muliebrem tutelam rudimentumque primum puerilis regni, movere arma aut Mezentius Etruscique, aut ulli alii accolae ausi sint. Pax ita convenerat, ut Etruscis Latinisque fluvius Albula, quem nunc Tiberim vocant, finis esset. Silvius deinde regnat, Ascanii filius, casu quodam in silvis natus. Is Aenean Silvium creat. Is deinde Latinum Silvium. Ab eo coloniae aliquot deductae, Prisci Latini appellati. Mansit³ Silviis postea omnibus cognomen, qui Albae regnârunt. Latino Alba ortus, Albâ Atys, Atye Capys, Capye Capetus, Capeto Tiberinus ; qui, in trajectu Albulae amnis submersus, celebre ad posteros nomen flu-

also mentions that there was a small chapel erected in his honour, bearing this inscription, Πατὴρ τοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ ἐς ποταμοῦ Νουμικίου εἶνυμα δῖον, where Πατὴρ τοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ evidently corresponds with *Jovem indigetem* in the last sentence, *the supreme local God*. *Quemcumque eum dici jus fasque est*. *Jus*, ordained or permissible by human, *fas* by divine law. A religious formula, derived from a fear profanely to misname a deified hero.

¹ *Haud nihil ambigam*. *Ambigere*, 1. to be in doubt, 2. to dispute, to discuss ; *nihil ambigere*, to refrain from entertaining doubts ; *haud nihil ambigere*, not to refrain from entertaining doubts, not to consider as settled. *Hiccine fuerit Ascanius*, 'whether this Ascanius be the boy formerly mentioned.'

Gens. See Index. ² *Matri*, Lavinia, his mother by the one account, *novercae*, his stepmother by the other.

³ *Mansit*, &c. 'Thereafter all who reigned at Alba retained the surname of Silvius.' See p. 7. note 3.

mini dedit. Agrippa inde Tiberini filius ; post Agrippam Romulus Silvius, a patre accepto imperio, regnat. Aventino, fulmine ipse ictus, regnum per manus tradidit. Is, sepultus in eo colle, qui nunc est pars Romanae urbis, cognomen colli ¹ fecit. Proca ² deinde regnat ; is Numitorem atque Amulium procreat. Numitori, qui stirpis maximus erat, regnum vetustum Silviae gentis legat. Plus tamen vis potuit, quàm voluntas patris aut verecundia aetatis. Pulso fratre, Amulius regnat. Addit sceleri scelus. Stirpem fratris virilem ³ interimit ; fratris filiae Rheae Silviae, per speciem honoris, quum Vestalem eam legisset, perpetuâ virginitate spem partûs adimit.

IV. Sed debebatur, ut opinor, fatis tantae origo urbis, maximique secundum Deorum opes imperii principium. Vi compressa Vestalis quum geminum partum edidisset, seu ita rata, seu quia Deus auctor culpae honestior erat, Martem incertae stirpis patrem nuncupat. Sed nec Dii, nec homines, aut ipsam, aut stirpem a crudelitate regiâ vindicant. Sacerdos vincta in custodiam datur ; pueros in profluentem aquam mitti jubet ⁴. Forte quadâm divinitus ⁵ super ripas Tiberis

¹ *Colle, colli.* This repetition, which many critics condemn as inelegant, is common in Livy and Cæsar, especially with a relative ; Erant omnino itinera duo, quibus itineribus. Cæsar de Bel. Gal. i. 6.

² There is a slight difference between this list and that given by Dionysius ;

	LIVY.	DIONYSIUS.
6th King of Alba,	Atys.	Capetus.
8th	Capetus.	Calpetus.
11th	Romulus Silvius.	Alladius.

This agreement is strange in a matter so remote, and where kings have been in all probability invented, as in early Scottish history. Dionysius, with greater boldness than Livy, actually details the years of each reign ! According to his computation, including forty-four years of the usurpation of Numitor, they reigned 400 years in Alba Longa, in periods varying from eight to fifty-one years. To shew the real uncertainty which rests upon this necessarily obscure period, it may be sufficient to mention, that some of the ancient annalists make Romulus and Remus sons of Aeneas, and brothers of Ascanius, shewing a difference of upwards of 400 years.

³ Aegestus, according to Dionysius, was the son's name.

⁴ *Sacerdos datur, (rex) jubet,* a change of subject not uncommon in Livy, but not to be imitated.

⁵ On the ground that *Fors*, 'chance' is opposed to *divinitus*, 'by divine interposition, Gruterus first suggested, contrary to all the MSS., *Forte quadâm an divinitus*. It has been properly

effusus lenibus stagnis, nec adiri usquam ad justī cursum poterat amnis; et posse quamvis languidā mergi aquā infantes, spem ferentibus dabat. Ita velut defuncti regis imperio, in proximā alluvie, ubi nunc ficus Ruminalis est, (Romularem vocatam ferunt,) pueros exponunt. Vastae tum in iis locis solitudines erant. Tenet fama, 'quum fluitantem alveum¹, quo expositi erant pueri, 'tenuis in sicco aqua destituisset, 'lupam sitientem ex montibus,' qui circā sunt, 'ad puerilem 'vagitum cursum flexisse; eam summissas infantibus adeo 'mitem praeuisse mammas², ut linguā lambentem pueros 'magister regii pecoris invenerit.' 'Faustulo fuisse nomen' ferunt. 'Ab eo ad stabula Larentiae uxori educandos latos,' Sunt, qui 'Larentiam, vulgato corpore, lupam inter pastores 'vocatam' putent; 'inde locum fabulae ac miraculo datum.' Ita geniti, itaque educati, quum primum adolevit aetas, nec in stabulis, nec ad pecora segnes, venando peragrarē circā saltus. Hinc, robore corporibus animisque sumpto, jam non feras tantum subsistere³, sed in latrones, praedā onustos, impetus facere, pastoribusque rapta dividere; et cum his, crescente in dies grege juvenum, seria ac jocos celebrare⁴.

remarked on this, that, although the distinction was sometimes made, as with us, between *chance* and *divine arrangement*, (sive *casu*, sive '*consilio Deorum immortalium*,' Caesar, i. 12,) the ancients held that events, seemingly fortuitous, were in reality ordained by Heaven. Here Livy's meaning is obvious, looking to *debeatur fati tantae origo urbis*. The general practice seems to be, that when two events occur, the one influencing the other without any design on the part of a human agent, the Latins uniformly use *forte*, not as applied to each event, but to their conjunction, which it would be most incorrect to translate *by chance*. One instance may suffice. In a panic occasioned by an unexpected inroad of the Aequi, we are told, iii. 3, *Forte ab Alvido Quinctius consul redierat Romam*. This, evidently, does not mean that he had returned *by chance*; but that *it chanced or happened that during the panic he had returned*. So *forte quadam*, referring to the conjunction of the overflow of the river with the exposure of the infants, a thing not chosen by the tyrant, but fortuitous as far as regarded him, may perfectly well be qualified by *divinitus*,— 'it so happened, by divine arrangement.' The critics quote a similar expression from Plutarch, *Θεία τινι τύχη*. ¹ *Alveum*. Why not have thrown them in naked? Dionysius is still more minute, and states that Faustulus brought the trough under his skirt to show Numitor, as a proof of his having saved his grandchildren. ² See Virgil's picture of this incident, Aen. viii. 630-5. ³ *Subsistere*, with the accusative, 'to cause to stand, to seize,' with the dative, to 'with-stand.' ⁴ Many of the MSS. have *serias ac jocos*, which

V. ' Jam tum ¹ in Palatino monte Lupercal hoc fuisse ' ludicrum ' ferunt, ' et a Pallanteo, urbe Arcadicâ, Pallantium deinde Palatium, montem appellatum. Ibi Evandrum, ' (qui ex eo genere ² Arcadum multis antè tempestatibus ea ' tenuerit ³ loca,) solenne allatum ex Arcadiâ instituisse, ut nudi juvenes, Lyceum Pana venerantes, per lusus atque lasciviam currerent; ' quem Romani deinde vocârunt Innuum. ' Huic deditis ludicro, quum solenne notum esset, insidiosos ' ob iram praedae amissae latrones, quum Romulus vi se defendisset, Remum cepisse; captum Regi Amulio tradidisse, ' ultrò accusantes.' Crimini maximè dabant ⁴; ' in Numitoris agros ab his impetum fieri; inde eos, collectâ juvenum manu, hostilem in modum praedas agere.' Sic Numitori ad supplicium Remus deditur. Jam inde ⁵ ab initio Faustulo spes fuerat, regiam stirpem apud se educari; nam ' et expositos jussu regis infantes ' sciebat, ' et tempus, quo ' ipse eos sustulisset, ad id ipsum congruere; ' sed rem immaturam, nisi aut per occasionem, aut per necessitatem aperiri noluerat. Necessitas prior venit. Ita metu subactus, Romulo rem aperit. Forte et Numitori, quum in custodia Remum haberet, audissetque geminos esse fratres, comparando et aetatem eorum, et ipsam minimè servilem indolem, tetigerat animum memoria nepotum ⁶; sciscitandoque eò demum ⁷ pervenit, ut hand procul esset, quin Remum agnos-

some prefer on the ground that we cannot say *seria celebrare*; if we could not, still by the figure called Zeugma, one verb is often used with two nouns, to the nearer of which alone it is strictly applicable. But in truth we can say *celebrare seria*; one common meaning of *celebrare* being, as is well expressed by Ruperti, *saepe et cum multis peragere*.

¹ *Jam tum*. Even at that early period. *Lupercal hoc*. ' The festival called Lupercal of the present times; ' DR HUNTER. Ruperti points out several similar passages, as i. 42, *hunc ordinem*, ' the arrangement of the state existing in the present ' day.'

² *Eo genere*. The Pallantean tribe. ³ I have with Ruperti and Crevier, following the best MSS., given *tenuerit* for *tenuerat* as part of the tradition, not an explanation furnished by Livy, as he does in the subsequent *quem Romani*, &c. ⁴ Note this idiom.

⁵ See p. 9. note 1. ⁶ *Numitori tetigerat animum memoria*, See p. 7. note 2. *Tetigerat animum*, representing the amount of the action done to Numitor, the object subjoined in the dative. ⁷ Some of the best editors read *eodem*; both are found in the MSS.

ceret¹. Ita undique regi dolus nectitur. Romulus, non cum globo juvenum, (nec enim erat ad vim apertam par,) sed aliis alio itinere jussis certo tempore ad regiam venire pastoribus, ad regem impetum facit; et a domo Numitoris aliâ comparatâ manu adjuvat Remus. Ita regem obtruncant.

VI. Numitor inter primum tumultum 'hostes invasisse urbem atque adortos regiam' dictitans, quum pubem Albanam in arcem praesidio armisque obtinendam avocâsset², posteaquam juvenes, perpetratâ caede, pergere ad se gratulantes vidit, extemplò advocato concilio, 'scelera in se fratri, originem nepotum, ut geniti, ut educati, ut cogniti essent, caedem deinceps tyranni, seque ejus auctorem' ostendit. Juvenes, per mediam concionem agmine³ ingressi, quum avum regem salutâssent, secuta ex omni multitudine consentiens vox ratum nomen imperiumque regi effecit. Ita Numitori Albanâ permissâ re, Romulum Remumque cupido cepit, in iis locis, ubi expositi ubique educati erant, urbis condendae. Et supererat multitudo Albanorum Latinorumque. Ad id pastores quodque accesserant; qui omnes facili spem facerent, parvam Albam, parvum Lavinium, prae eâ urbe quae conderetur, fore. Intervenit deinde his cogitationibus avitum malum⁴, regni cupido atque inde foedum certamen coortum a satis miti principio; 'quoniam gemini essent, nec aetatis verecundia discrimen facere posset, ut Dii, quorum tutelae ea loca essent, auguriis legarent, qui nomen novae urbi daret, qui conditam imperio regeret⁵.' Palatium Romulus, Remus Aventinum ad inaugurandum templa capiunt.

¹ *Agnosceret*, meaning a public acknowledgment. ² *Quum pubem, &c.* 'Having withdrawn from assisting the usurper,' (*avocasset*,) 'the Alban youth, under pretence of defending the citadel by armed troops.'

³ *Agmine*, together. So *illi agmine certo* Laocoonta petunt. 'The serpents with a steady and united movement.' *Virg. Aen.* ii. 212.

⁴ *Avitum malum*, the evil which had characterised the conduct of their granduncle to their grandfather—ambition.

⁵ Not adverting to the force of the subjunctives, *quoniam gemini essent-posset*, Bauer supplies *nam convenerant* before *quoniam*, and others put a full stop after *principio*, and a comma or semicolon after *regeret*. The use of the subjunctive in indirect sentences gave Latin writers this advantage, that the change of mood rendered unnecessary the introduction of the persons who spoke or thought. This is made clear by the inverted commas; the *satis mite principium* is the arrange-

VII. Priori Remo augurium venisse fertur, sex vultures; jamque, nunciato augurio, quum duplex numerus Romulo se ostendisset, utrumque regem sua multitudo consalutaverat. Tempore illi praecepto, at hi numero avium, regnum trahebant¹. Inde, cum altercatione congressi, certamine irarum ad caedem vertuntur. Ibi in turbâ ictus Remus cecidit. Vulgatio fama est, ‘ludibrio fratris Remum non vos transiluisse muros; inde ab irato Romulo (quum verbis quoque increpitans adjecisset, “Sic deinde, quicumque alius transiliet moenia mea”) interfectum.’ Ita solus positus imperio Romulus. Condita urbs conditoris nomine appellata. Palatium primum, in quo ipse erat educatus, muniit. Sacra Diis aliis Albano ritu, Graeco², Herculi, ut ab Evandro instituta erant, facit. ‘Herculem in ea loca, Geryone interempto, boves mirâ specie abegisse’ memorant; ‘ac prope Tiberim fluvium,’ (quâ, prae se armentum agens, nando trajecerat,) ‘loco herbido, ut quiete et pabulo laeto reficeret boves, et ipsum fessum viâ procubuisse³.’ Ibi quum eum cibo vinoque gravatum sopor oppressisset, pastor accola ejus loci, nomine Cacus, ferox viribus, captus pulchritudine boum, quum avertere eam praedam vellet, quia, si agendo armentum in speluncam compulisset, ipsa vestigia quaerentem dominum eò deductura erant, aversos boves, eximium quemque pulchritudine, caudis in speluncam traxit. Hercules, ad primam auroram somno excitus, quum gregem perlustrâset oculis, et partem abesse numero sensisset, pergit ad proximam speluncam, si fortè eò vestigia ferrent. Quae ubi omnia foras versa vidit, nec in partem aliam ferre, confusus atque incertus animi, ex loco infesto⁴ agere porrò armentum occepit. Inde quum

ment that follows; and that it was an arrangement is indicated by the subjunctive, without any need of *nam convenerant*. ¹ *Tempore*, &c. ‘The followers of Remus claimed the sovereignty on the ground

‘of the priority of time, those of Romulus on that of the number of birds seen by him.’ ² With their heads uncovered, according to Varro, as reported by Macrobius, *Saturnal*, iii. 6.

³ Livy here varies his style, passing from report to assertion, as he does in the 1st chapter. He seems to have held that his cautious introductory words *fama est, memorant*, &c. equivalent to the *ὡς ἀνήκουστος* of Herodotus, absolve him from all suspicion of implicit belief, even when he uses the direct form. ⁴ The force of *in-*

actae boves quaedam ad desiderium, ut fit, relictarum mugissent, reddita inclusarum ex spelunca boum vox Herculem convertit; quem quum vadentem ad speluncam Cacus vi prohibere conatus esset, ictus clavâ, fidem pastorum nequicquam invocans, morte occubuit. Evander tum ea, profugus ex Peloponneso, auctoritate magis quàm imperio, regebat loca; venerabilis vir miraculo literarum, rei novae inter rudes artium homines; venerabilior divinitate creditâ Carmentae matris, quam fatiloquam, ante Sibyllae in Italiam adventum, miratae hae gentes fuerant. Is tum Evander, concursu pastorum trepidantium circa advenam manifestae reum caedis excitus, postquam facinus facinorisque causam audit, habitum formamque viri aliquantùm ampliorem angustiorumque humanâ intuens, rogitat¹ qui vir esset. Ubi nomen patremque ac patriam accepit; 'Jove nate, Hercules, salve,' inquit; 'te mihi mater, veridica interpretes Deûm, aucturum coelestium numerum cecinit, tibi que aram hic dicatum iri, quam opulentissima olim in terris gens Maximam² vocet, tuoque ritu colat.' Dextrâ Hercules datâ³, 'accipere se omen, impleturumque fata, arâ conditâ atque dicatâ,' ait. Ibi tum primùm, bove eximiâ captâ de grege, sacrum Herculi, adhibitis ad ministerium dapemque Potitiis ac Pinariis, quae tum familiae maximè inclytae ea loca incolebant, factum. Fortè ita evenit, ut Potitii ad tempus praesto essent, iisque exta apponerentur; Pinarii, extis adesit⁴, ad ceteram venirent dapem. Inde institutum

festos always is, not only 'at enmity with,' but, 'actively and offensively hostile.'

¹ *Rogitat*, present, followed by *esset*, past, because the first verb is in reality a historic part, that is, conveys the idea of past time through the medium of a present tense, to give the idea more vividness.

² *Aram....Maximam*, see Index.

³ *Dextra Hercules data*. It is of importance to attend to the position of these words. Observe, as a general rule, that 'the agent, when thrown in between the noun and the participle is the agent not only in the leading but in the ablative clause.' Thus, *Hercules dextra* does not indicate who it was that had presented the right hand; *dextra Hercules data* indicates that Hercules had presented it.

⁴ *Extâ* are all the detached parts of the human body within the chest, as the heart, liver, lungs, along with the bowels. We learn from Homer, i. 459-466, compared with ii. 426-429, that in his time they burned to the gods the legs inclosed in fat, with a part of the *extâ*, which latter they partook of slightly, (καὶ σπλάγχνο

mansit, donec Pinarium genus fuit, ne extis solennium vescerentur. Potitii, ab Evandro edocti, antistites sacri ejus per multas aetates fuerunt; donec, tradito servis publicis solenni familiae ministerio, genus omne Potitiorum interiit. Haec tum sacra Romulus una ex omnibus peregrina suscepit; jam tum immortalitatis virtute partae, ad quam eum sua fata ducebant, fautor.

VIII. Rebus divinis ritè perpetratis, vocatâque ad concilium multitudine, quae coalescere in populi unius corpus nullâ re praeterquam legibus poterat, jura dedit; quae ita sancta generi hominum agresti fore ratus, si se ipse venerabilem insignibus imperii fecisset, quum cetero habitu se angustiozem, tum maximè lictoribus duodecim sumptis fecit¹. Alii ab numero avium, quae augurio regnum portenderant, eum secutum numerum putant. Me haud poenitet eorum sententiae esse, quibus ‘et apparitores et hoc genus² ab Etruscis finitimis,’ (unde sella curulis, unde ‘toga praetexta sumpta est,) ‘numerum quodque ipsum duc-tum’ placet; ‘et ita habuisse Etruscos, quòd, ex duodecim ‘populis communiter creato rege, singulos singuli populi ‘lictos dederint.’ Crescebat interim urbs, munitionibus alia atque alia appetendo loca, quum in spem magis futurae multitudinis, quàm ad id quod tum hominum erat³, muni-
rent. Deinde, ne vana urbis magnitudo esset, adjiciendae multitudinis causâ, vetere consilio condentium urbes, (qui, obscuram atque humilem conciendo ad se multitudinem; natam e terrâ sibi prolem ementiebantur⁴), locum, qui

ἱερόεστος) as a preparatory rite to the sacred feast which followed, and which was furnished from the remaining parts of the victim. To this Livy alludes.

¹ *Rebus divinis rite perpetratis.* This does not refer to the sacrifice in honour of Hercules alone, but to the general performance of sacred things. *Ita, si,* thus, and *thus only*, if. *Lictoribus.* See Index.

² The conjecture of Gronovius, *apparitores hoc genus* is ingenious, but inadmissible, as not absolutely necessary, and being totally unsupported by any MSS. authority. *Apparitores.* See Index. ³ *Quam ad id hominum, quod, &c.*

⁴ Those to whom this origin was attributed were called *ἀπρόχθονες*, with whom Herodotus contrasts *ἰσχυροὶς*, incomers. As the prospect of a place in the fiction of an earth-sprung people could be no possible temptation to settlers, and the clause is clearly explanatory only, I have inclosed it within parentheses. *Concindo* has the meaning of *concientes, dum conciebant, inter conciendum.*

nunc septus descendantibus inter duos lucos est ¹, Asylum aperit. Eò ex finitimis populis turba omnis, sine discrimine, liber an servus esset, avida novarum rerum perfugit; idque primum ad coeptam magnitudinem roboris fuit. Quum jam virium haud poeniteret, consilium deinde viribus parat. Centum creat senatores; sive quia is numerus satis erat, sive quia soli centum erant, qui creari patres possent. Patres certè ab honore, patriciique progenies eorum appellati ².

IX. Jam res Romana adèd erat valida, ut cuilibet finitimarum civitatum bello par esset; sed, penuriâ mulierum, hominis aetatem duratura magnitudo erat ³, quippe quibus nec domi spes prolis, nec cum finitimis connubia essent. Tum ex consilio Patrum Romulus legatos circa vicinas gentes misit, qui societatem connubiumque novo populo peterent; 'Urbes quòque, ut cetera, ex infimo nasci; deinde quâ sua virtus ac Dii juvent, magnas opes sibi magnumque nomen facere' ⁴. Satis scire, origini Romanae et Deos affuisse ⁵, et non defuturam virtutem. Proinde ne gravarentur homines cum hominibus sanguinem et genus miscere. Nusquam benignè legatio audita est; adèd simul spernebant, simul tantam in medio crescentem molem sibi ac posteris suis metuebant. A plerisque rogitantibus dimissi, 'Ecquod' ⁶ feminis quòque asylum ape-

¹ Qui nunc, &c. 'Where there is now the inclosure, at the descent between the two groves.' There is a variety of readings, but the one in the text seems to be best supported. *Inter duos lucos*, probably means a place only so called, without actual groves. Dionysius says so, who is perfectly good authority for what *nunc est*.

² Observe the steps attributed by Livy to Romulus. 1. Religion; 2. Law; 3. Regal dignity; 4. A Council of State. For *patres*, see Index.

³ *Homini aetatem*, &c. 'Its greatness, such as it was, seemed destined to endure a man's lifetime only,—for one generation only.'

⁴ Similarly Cicero enumerates among the necessary qualifications of a great general, *virtutem, felicitatem*, Pro L. Manilia; and Caesar in his reprimand to the soldiers when about to march against Ariovistus says, '*Suam innocentiam perpetua vita, felicitatem Helvetiorum bello, esse perspectam.* *De Bello Gall.* i. 40.

⁵ Alluding doubtless both to the birth of Romulus, and the increase of the city.

⁶ The Latin language is rich in forms of interrogation. *An* is used in ordinary interrogations; *num* questions of surprise; *ecquod* of contempt or indignation; in which last *ut* is also used, *impuratus me ille*

‘ruissent? id enim demum¹ compar connubium fore.’ Aegrè id Romana pubes passa, et haud dubiè ad vim spectare res coepit. Cui tempus locumque aptum ut daret Romulus, aegritudinem animi dissimulans, ludos ex industriâ parat Neptuno Equestri solennes; Consualia vocat. Anno 4
U. C. Indici deinde finitimis spectaculum jubet; quantoque apparatu tum sciebant aut poterant, concelebrant, ut rem claram expectatamque facerent. Multi mortales convenere, studio etiam videndae novae urbis; maximè proximi quique, Caeninenses, Crustumini, Antemnates. Jam Sabinorum omnis multitudo, cum liberis ac conjugibus, venit; invitati hospitaliter per domos, quum situm moeniaque et frequentem tectis urbem vidissent, mirantur tam brevi rem Romanam crevisse. Ubi spectaculi tempus venit, deditaeque eò mentes cum oculis erant, tam ex composito orta vis; signoque dato, juvenus Romana ad rapiendas virgines discurrit. Magna pars fortè, ut in quem quaeque inciderat, raptæ. Quasdam formâ eccellente primoribus Patrum destinatas, ex plebe homines quibus datam negotium erat, domos deferebant. ‘Unam, longè ante alias specie ac pulchritudine insignem, à globo Talassii cujusdam raptam’ ferunt; ‘multisque sciscitantibus cuinam eam ferrent? identidem, ne quis violaret, Talassio ferri’ clamitatum; inde nuptialem hanc vocem ‘factam².’ Turbato per metum ludicro, moesti parentes virginum profugiunt, incusantes violati hospitii foedus³, Deumque invocantes, ‘cujus ad solenne ludosque, per fas ac fidem decepti, venissent.’ Nec raptis⁴ aut spes de se melior, aut indignatio est minor; sed ipse Romulus circuibat docebatque, ‘Patrum id superbiâ factum, qui connubium finitimis negâssent; illas tamen in matrimonio, in

ut etiam irrideat? Ter. Phorm. iv. 3. 64.

¹ Id enim demum,

for that this, and this only (demum.)

² Hanc,—of the present

day? See p. 13. note. 1. Here Livy alludes to a very common cry at marriages, *Talassie, Talassie*, as among the Greeks, they were wont to cry *Ἰμὴν, ὦ Ἰμηνᾶν*. Plutarch tells a similar story.

³ The idea of the violation of the sacred laws of hospitality is uppermost in the mind of Livy, and hence he writes *violati*, not *violatum*. See p. 7. note 4. ‘Appealing in their accusations to the mutual compact, which guaranteed the sacred rights of hospitality now violated.’

⁴ Dionysius gives their exact number, 683!

‘societate fortunarum omnium civitatisque, et, quo nihil
 ‘carius humano generi sit, liberum fore. Mollirent modò
 ‘iras; et quibus fors corpora dedisset, darent animos. Saepe
 ‘ex injuriâ postmodum gratiam ortam; eoque melioribus
 ‘usuras viris, quòd annixurus pro se quisque sit, ut, quum
 ‘suam vicem functus officio sit, parentum etiam patriaeque
 ‘expleat desiderium¹.’ Accedebant blanditiae virorum, fac-
 tum purgantium cupiditate atque amore; quae maximè ad
 muliebre ingenium efficaces preces sunt.

X. Jam admodum mitigati animi raptis erant². At rap-
 tarum parentes tum maximè sordidâ veste, lacrymisque et
 querelis, civitates concitabant. Nec domi tantum indigna-
 tiones continebant, sed congregabantur undique ad Titum
 Tatium regem Sabinorum; et legationes eò, quòd maximum
 Tatii nomen in his regionibus erat, conveniebant. Caeni-
 nenses Crustumini et Antemnates erant, ad quos ejus in-
 juriæ pars pertinebat. Lentè agere iis Tatinus Sabinique visi
 sunt. Ipsi inter se tres populi communiter bellum parant.
 Ne Crustumini quidem atque Antemnates, pro ardore iræ-
 que Caeninensium, satis se impigrè movent. Ita per seip-
 sum nomen Caeninum³ in agrum Romanum impetum facit.
 Sed effusè vastantibus fit obvius cum exercitu Romulus, le-
 vique certamine docet, vanam sine viribus iram esse. Exer-
 citum fundit fugatque; fuscum persequitur; regem in proe-
 lio obtruncat, et spoliât; duce hostium occiso⁴ urbem
 primo impetu capit. Inde exercitu victore reducto, ipse,
 cum factis vir magnificus, tum factorum ostentator haud
 minor, spolia ducis hostium caesi suspensa fabricato ad id
 aptè ferculo gerens, in Capitolium⁵ ascendit; ibique ea

¹ *Sit, quum, &c.* ‘Not only to discharge his duty as a husband,
 ‘but fully to satisfy their yearnings after their parents and home.’
Vicem, with *ad* or *in* understood, (according to Ruperti,) is an ex-
 pression not uncommon with Livy, modifying the term in connection
 with it by some peculiarity of succession or mutual relationship in the
 situation of the persons spoken of. *Explere*, to fill completely to
 the brim. *Ciboria exple*, *Hor. Car. ii. 7, 22.* *Desiderium*, a complex
 word of great force, involves generally, 1. former enjoyment; 2.
 present deprivation; 3. a desire to regain. ² *Raptis* for *rap-*
turum, on the same principle as is explained, p. 7. note 2. ³ *No-*
men Caeninum, the Caeninenses, as *nomen Latinum*, the Latins, *nomen*
Romanum, the Romans. ⁴ This chief’s name was Acron. ⁵ *Ca-*
pitulum. Livy anticipates the name by which the hill was after-

quum ad quercum pastoribus sacram deposuisset, simul cum dono designavit templo Jovis fines, cognomenque addidit Deo. 'Jupiter Feretri¹,' inquit, 'haec tibi victor Romulus rex regia arma fero, templumque iis regionibus quas modò animo metatus sum dedico, sedem opimis spoliis², quae, regibus ducibusque hostium caesis, me auctorem sequentes posteri ferent.' Haec templi est origo, quod primum omnium Romae sacratum est. Ita deinde Diis visum, nec irritam conditoris templi vocem esse, quâ laturos eò spolia posteros nuncupavit; nec multitudine compotum ejus doni vulgari laudem. Bina postea³, inter tot annos, tot bella, opima parta sunt spolia. Adeò rara ejus fortuna decoris fuit.

XI. Dum ea ibi Romani gerunt, Antemnatum exercitus, per occasionem ac solitudinem⁴, hostiliter in fines Romanos incursionem facit. Raptim et ad hos Romana legio ducta palatos in agris oppressit. Fusi igitur primo impetu et clamore hostes; oppidum captum. Duplicique victoriâ ovantem⁵ Romulum Hersilia conjunx, precibus raptarum fatigata, orat, 'ut parentibus earum det veniam, et in civitatem accipiat; ita rem coalescere concordia posse.' Facile impetratum. Inde contra Crustumino profectus bel-

wards known. Such an anticipation is called *prolepsis*. ¹ *Feretri*. Livy evidently wishes us to understand that this *cognomen* is derived from *fero*, because the consecrated spoils were carried *ferculo*. Others derive it from *fero pacem*, as bringing peace, and others *a feriendo*. So *Propertius*, iv. 10, 44. 'Omine quod certo dux *ferit* ense ducem; Seu quia victa suis humeris huc arma *ferebant*, Hinc Feretri dicta est 'ara superba Jovis.' ² 'When the general of the Romans,' (this is doubtful, see iv. 20, and note,) 'slew the general of the enemy in single combat, the spoils which he took from him were called *spolia opima*, (ab *ope vel opibus*, *Festus*,) and hung up in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, built by Romulus, and repaired by Augustus, by the advice of Atticus.' DE ADAM. ³ The two warriors, who obtained the *spolia opima* after Romulus, were A. Cornelius Cossus, who slew Lar Tolumnius, King of the Veientes, (as detailed in the 19th chap. of the 4th book,) A. U. C. 318, and Marcellus, who slew Viridomarus, king of the Gauls, A. U. C. 532. ⁴ *Per occasionem ac solitudinem*. 'By the opportunity and the deserted state of the Roman territory. Taking advantage of the opportunity afforded by the deserted state,' &c. ⁵ *Ovantem*. It is doubtful whether this word and *legio* a little above have the technical meaning afterwards expressed by them.

lum inferentes. Ibi minus etiam, quòd alienis cladibus ceciderant animi, certaminis fuit. Utròque coloniae missae. Plures inventi, qui propter ubertatem terrae in Crustuminum nomina darent¹. Et Romam inde frequenter migratum est, a parentibus maximè ac propinquis raptarum. Novissimum ab Sabinis bellum ortum, multoque id maximum fuit. Nihil enim per iram aut cupiditatem actum est; nec ostenderunt bellum priùs, quàm intulerunt. Consilio etiam additus dolus. Sp. Tarpejus Romanae praeerat arci. Hujus filiam virginem auro corrumpit Tatiùs, ut armatos in arcem accipiat. Aquam fortè ea tum sacris extra moenia petitur ierat. Accepti obrutam armis necavere; seu ut vi capta potiùs arx videretur, seu prodendi exempli causâ, ne quid usquam fidum proditori esset. Additur fabulae², 'quòd ' vulgò Sabini aureas armillas magni ponderis brachio laevo, ' gemmatosque magnâ specie annulos habuerint, pepigisse ' eam, quod in sinistris manibus haberent; eò³ scuta illi pro ' aureis donis congesta.' Sunt, qui ' eam, ex pacto tradendi⁴ quod in sinistris manibus esset, directò arma petisse' dicant; ' et fraude visam agere, suâ ipsam peremptam mercede⁵.'

XII. Tenuere tamen arcem Sabini; atque inde postero die, quum Romanus exercitus instructus, quod inter Palatinum Capitolinumque collem campi est, complèssent, non priùs descenderunt in aequum, quàm, irâ et cupiditate recuperandae arcis stimulante animos, in adversum Romani subière⁶.

¹ *Nomina darent.* A common phrase relating to those joining in any public service, as consenting by giving in their names to proceed as settlers of a colony, or serve as soldiers in the army, in *militiam*. *Edere, profiteri nomina* are similarly used. So also *ad nomina respondere*, or simply *respondere*, 'to answer to their names,—to agree to 'serve.' This is the first notice of the admirable policy of the Roman state, whereby their own population was increased, and each fresh conquest was a fresh colony. ² *Additur fabulae.* Some needlessly conjecture, and actually read *fabula*, forgetting that *fabula* means a traditionary tale, whether true or false, generally a mixture of both, ornamented—as the Greek *μῦθος*. ³ *Edò*, 'therefore.'

⁴ *Ex pacto tradendi.* 'In pursuance of their agreement to deliver up.' ⁵ This tradition is variously given by various writers; most of them, however, adopting the version favourable to Tarpeia, that she wished to disarm the enemy, and sell not as a traitress, but a heroine, and hence that, in her honour, the name of the hill was changed. ⁶ *Postero.* Grammarians make a distinction between *dies*, masc. as indi-

Principes utrinque pugnam ciebant, ab Sabinis Mettus Curtius, ab Romanis Hostus Hostilius. Hic rem Romanam iniquo loco ad prima signa animo atque audaciâ sustinebat. Ut Hostus cecidit, confestim Romana inclinatur acies; fusaque est ad veterem portam Palatii. Romulus et ipse turbâ fugientium actus, arma ad coelum tollens, ‘Jupiter, tuis,’ inquit, ‘jussus avibus hic in Palatio prima urbi fundamenta jeci. Arcem jam, scelere emptam, Sabini habent. Inde huc armati, superatâ mediâ valle, tendunt. At tu, pater Deûm hominumque, hinc saltem arce hostes; deme terrorem Romanis, fugamque foedam siste. Hic ego tibi templum Statori¹ Jovi, quod monumentum sit posteris tuâ praesenti² ope servatam urbem esse, voveo.’ Haec precatus, veluti si sensisset auditas preces, ‘Hinc,’ inquit, ‘Romani, Jupiter optimus maximus resistere atque iterare pugnam jubet.’ Restitere Romani, tanquam coelesti voce jussi. Ipse ad primores Romulus provolat. Mettus Curtius ab Sabinis princeps ab arce decucurrerat, et effusus egerat Romanos, toto quantum foro spatium est³. Nec procul jam a portâ Palatii erat, clamitans, ‘Vicinus perfidos hospites, imbelles hostes. Jam sciunt longè aliud esse virgines rapere, aliud pugnare cum viris.’ In eum haec gloriantem, cum globo ferocissimorum juvenum Romulus impetum facit. Ex equo tum fortè Mettus pugnabat; eò pelli facilius fuit; pulsum Romani persequuntur. Et alia Romana acies, audaciâ regis accensa, fundit Sabinos. Met-

cating a definite day, and *dies*, feminine, as used in the sense of time generally. This is doubtful, but Livy generally follows the usage referred to. *Quod inter*, &c. The Palatine was the hill then occupied by the buildings of Rome, the Capitoline again named *per prolepsin* was the seat of the citadel, at the time in possession of the Sabines, and in the space between, afterwards stood the *Forum*. *In adversum Romani subiere*. ‘The Romans advanced from below, right up the hill against them.’ ¹ Livy thus derives *Stator* from *sisto*. Cicero derives it from *statuo*. Seneca from *sto*, but the reference in all is to the same idea, *Preserver in danger*. ² *Praesenti*. Our own language furnishes us with this word, how much better applied! ‘God is a *very present* help in time of trouble,’ Psalms xli, 1. Help immediate and efficacious seems to be the principal idea conveyed, though there is, doubtless, an allusion to the actual presence of the Deity, which was always believed to be a protection and blessing; hence such invocations as *Adâs, o Tegeaeae, favens*. *Virg. Georg.* i. 18. ³ See above, No. 6.

tus in paludem sese, strepitu sequentium trepidante equo, coniecit ; averteratque ¹ ea res etiam Sabinos tanti periculo viri. Et ille quidem, annuentibus ac vocantibus suis, favore multorum addito animo, evadit. Romani Sabinique in mediâ convalle duorum montium redintegrant proelium ; sed res Romana erat superior.

XIII. Tum Sabinæ mulieres, quarum ex injuriâ ² bellum ortum erat, crinibus passis, scissâque veste, victo malis muliebri pavore, ausae se inter tela volantia inferre, ex transverso impetu facto, dirimere infestas acies, dirimere iras ; hinc patres, hinc viros orantes, ‘ ne se sanguine nefando soceri generique respergerent ; ne parricidio macularent partus suos, nepotum illi, liberum hi progeniem ³. ‘ Si ⁴ affinitatis inter vos, si connubii piget, in nos vertite iras. Nos causa belli, nos vulnerum ac caedium viris ac parentibus sumus. Melius peribimus, quàm sine alteris ‘ vestrum viduae aut orbae vivemus.’ Movet res tum mul-

¹ I have taken the liberty of restoring *avertat*, because there seems to be here no necessary reason for an alteration opposed to all manuscript authority. Whatever is turned to any object is necessarily turned away from another. If the danger of Mettus had directed the attention of the Sabines to him, (*avertat*,) it must have turned it away from the engagement (*avertat*.) Either word, then, conveys the same idea, with this difference, that *avertat* brings the position of the Sabines, with reference to Mettus, more before the mind ; and *avertat*, their position as to the Romans,—which latter, indeed, seems here more appropriate. ² *Quarum ex injuriâ*.

‘ From whose wrong, from the wrong suffered by whom.’ *Injuria* here is passive, as in Virgil, *Aen. i. Spretæque injuria formæ*. There are numerous similar nouns, as to which we can only judge from the context, whether they are to be understood actively or passively. The following is an instance of *injuria* used actively. *Id accidit prætoris iniquitate et injuriâ. Cic. pro Quinct.* So in Eutropius, i. 2, when on this very subject, *propter raptarum injuriam*, passive, is generally read ; *raptorum*, active, has been proposed.

³ *Ne parricidio. Parricidium*, properly the murder of a parent, but often of any near relation. *Parens* is sometimes though rarely used in the general sense of relation, as the French, parent. *Illi*, referring to *soceri*, *hi* to *generi*.

⁴ Observe the vivid effect of the change, from the indirect mode of reporting to the direct, an effect which Xenophon is especially inclined to produce, and which is not unknown to other writers. See Acts of the Apostles, i. 4.

7 titudinem, tum duces. Silentium et repentina fit
 u. c. quies. Inde ad foedus faciendum duces prodeunt;
 nec pacem modò, sed et civitatem unam ex duabus
 faciunt; regnum consociant; imperium omne conferunt
 Romam. Ita geminatâ urbe¹, ut Sabinis tamen² aliquid
 daretur, Quirites a Curibus appellati. Monumentum ejus
 pugnae, ubi primùm ex profundâ emersus palude equus
 Curtium in vado statuit, Curtium lacum appellârunt³. Ex
 bello tam tristi laeta repentè pax cariores Sabinas viris ac
 parentibus, et ante omnes Romulo ipsi, fecit. Itaque, quum
 populum in curias⁴ triginta divideret, nomina earum curiis
 imposuit. Id non traditur, quum haud dubiè aliquanto
 numerus major hòc mulierum fuerit⁵, aetate, an dignitati-
 bus suis virorumve, an sorte lectae sint, quae nomina curiis
 darent. Eodem tempore et centuriae tres equitum con-
 scriptae sunt; Ramnenses ab Romulo, ab Tito Tatio Ti-
 tienses appellati; Lucerum nominis et originis causa in-
 verta est. Inde non modò commune, sed concors etiam,
 regnum duobus regibus fuit.

XIV. Post aliquot annos, propinqui regis Tatii legatos
 Laurentium pulsant. Quumque Laurentes jure gentium

¹ Two hills, the Coelian and Quirinal, are stated by Dionysius to have been added to the city on this occasion, Romulus possessing the Coelian and Palatine, Tatius the Capitoline and Quirinal.

² *Tamen*, an elliptical introduction, depending on ideas not expressed, 'although the smaller share of concession, *still somewhat*.' This is not uncommon, and the context must supply the unexpressed idea.

³ In the 7th book, ch. 6. Livy seems to prefer the account which ascribes the origin of this name to the well-known action of that Curtius, who leaped into the gulf in the Forum; and others derive the name from the Consul who first walled in the morass, C. Curtius, u. c. 310. This sentence is one which has given much trouble to critics, one of whom says, 'Tragoedia hic Criticis acta est.' Should it be as in the text, or *equum Curtius . . . statuit*, or *equos*, &c. or *equus Curtius . . . statuit*, (where *Curtius* must be an adjective, and *statuit* an intransitive or middle verb,) or, (as Sigonius suggests,) *equum Curtius in vado destituit*, or *eques Curtius . . . statuit*, where *statuit* must have the same intransitive or middle meaning? One manuscript, referred to by Drakenborch, has the reading as here given, and, in the absence of any general agreement, it seems the best. *Vado* opposed to *profundâ*, 'where the water became shallow, the edge of the morass.' ⁴ For *curias*, *centuriae*, *equites*, see Index.

⁵ See p. 19, note 4.

agerent, apud Tatium gratia suorum et preces plus poterant. Igitur illorum poenam in se vertit. Nam Lavinii, quum ad solenne sacrificium eò venisset ¹, concursu ¹² facto, interficitur. Eam rem minùs aegrè quàm dignum erat, tulisse Romulum ferunt; seu ob infidam societatem regni, seu quia haud injurià caesum credebatur. Itaque bello quidem abstinuit; ut tamen expiarentur legatorum injuriae regisque caedes, foedus ² inter Romam Laviniumque urbes renovatum est. Et cum his quidem in-sperata pax erat; aliud multo propius atque in ipsis prope portis bellum ortum. Fidenates, nimis vicinas prope se ³ convalescere opes rati, priùs quàm tantum roboris esset quantum futurum apparebat, occupant bellum facere. Juventute armatâ immissâ, vastatur agri quod inter urbem ac Fidenus est. Inde ad laevam ⁴ versi, quia dextrâ Tiberis arcebat, cum magnâ trepidatione agrestium populantur, tumultusque repens ex agris in urbem illatus pro nuncio fuit. Excitus Romulus (neque enim dilationem pati tam vicinum bellum poterat) exercitum educit; castra a Fidenis mille passuum locat. Ibi modico praesidio relicto egressus ⁵ omnibus copiis, partem militum locis circa densa obsita virgulta obscuris subsidere in insidiis ⁶ jussit. Cum

¹ According to Macrobius, Sat. III. 4, the consuls, praetors and dictators, on entering on office, sacrificed at Lavinium to the Penates and Vesta—a remnant of the ancient connection between Rome and Lavinium, and of the tradition that the *Dii Penates* brought from Troy had been left in the latter. ² It has been asked how a treaty

could expiate? Because religious rites, into which it was easy to introduce an expiatory sacrifice, always accompanied a solemn treaty.

³ *Nimis vicinas prope se.* This rests on the authority of good MSS., otherwise we should be induced to reject *prope se* as an unnecessary interpolation.

⁴ Fidenae being north of Rome and east of the Tiber, the river was on their right hand coming southwards, and they were thus prevented from ravaging the Roman territory west of the Tiber.

⁵ Livy often omits *cum*, as here.

⁶ *Locis circa.* 'To crouch down in ambush in 'places of concealment, furnished by the close brush-wood growing 'all around.' Such seems the meaning of the passage as it stands. Many emendations have been proposed on it. The most satisfactory seems, *locis circa densa obsita virgulta obscuris*, 'in such surrounding 'spots as were calculated for concealment, on account of close brush-wood growing there.' But any change appears unnecessary. Livy not unfrequently uses two adjectives to the same noun. *Subsidere*,

parte majore atque omni equitatu profectus, id quod quærebat, tumultuoso et minaci genere pugnae, adequitando ipsis prope portis, hostem excivit. Fugae quodque, quae simullanda erat, eadem equestris pugna causam minùs mirabilem dedit; et quum, velut inter pugnae fugaeque consilium trepidante equitatu, pedes quodque referret gradum, plenis repente portis effusi¹ hostes impulsâ Romanâ acie, studio instandi sequendique trahuntur ad locum insidiarum. Inde subito exorti Romani transversam invadunt hostium aciem. Addunt pavorem mota e castris signa eorum qui in praesidio relictî fuerant. Ita multiplici terrore perculsi Fidenates, priùs penè quàm Romulus, quique cum eo equis ierant, circumagerent frenis equos, terga vertunt; multoque effusius (quippe verâ fugâ) qui simulantes paullò antè secuti erant, oppidum repetebant. Non tamen eripuerunt se hosti; haerens in terga Romanus, priùs quàm fores portarum objicerentur, velut agmine uno irrupit².

XV. Belli Fidenatis contagione irritati Vejentium animi et consanguinitate, (nam Fidenates quodque Etrusci fuerunt³.) et quòd ipsa propinquitatis loci, si Romana arma omnibus infesta finitimis essent, stimulabat, in fines Romanos excurrerunt, populabundi magis quàm justî more belli⁴. Itaque non castris positîs, non exspectato hostium exercitu, raptam ex agris praedam portantes, Vejos rediêre; Romanus contrâ, postquam hostem in agris non invenit, dimicationi ultimae instructus intentusque, Tiberim transit. Quem postquam castra ponere et ad urbem accessurum Vejentes audire, obviam egressi, ut potiùs acie decernerent, quàm inclusi de tectis moenibusque dimicaret. Ibi viribus nullâ arte⁵ adjutis, tantùm veterani robore exercitûs rex Romanus

to crouch down, lying in wait, *subsidiit campo* . . . *leo*. *Silius*, v. 310-312.

¹ A metaphorical expression taken from the rush of water, as our *pouring out*, and the Greek *ἐκχύνειν*.

² Fidenae seems to have received Roman settlers on this occasion. *Fidenates, colonia Romana*, ch. 27.

³ This remark is required as explanatory of *consanguinitate*; for Fidenae lay on the east of the Tiber, in the country of the Sabines. It is stated by Dionysius that it was colonized by the Albans.

⁴ As the sentence stands *animi* is the nominative to *excurrerunt*, and *irritati* is a participle. Some editions place a full stop after *stimulabat*, when *irritati* is for *irritati sunt*.

⁵ *Arte* is undoubtedly the more satisfactory reading referring to the stratagem narrated in the previous chapter, and con-

vicit; persecutusque fusos ad moenia hostes, urbe validâ muris ac situ ipso munitâ, abstinuit; agros rediens vastat, ulciscendi magis quàm prædæ studio. Eâque clade haud minùs quàm adversâ pugnâ subacti Vejentes, pacem petitum oratores¹ Romam mittunt. Agri parte mulctatis in centum annos induciæ datae. Haec fermè, Romulo regnante, domi militiaeque gesta; quorum nihil absonum fidei divinae originis divinitatisque post mortem creditae fuit², non animus in regno avito recuperando, non condendae urbis consilium, non bello ac pace firmandae. Ab illo enim profectò viribus datis tantum valuit³, ut in quadraginta deinde annos tutam pacem haberet. Multitudini tamen gratior fuit quàm patribus; longè ante alios acceptissimus militum animis. Trecentosque armatos ad custodiam corporis, quos Celeres appellavit, non in bello solùm, sed etiam in pace, habuit.

XVI. His immortalibus editis operibus, quum ad exercitum recensendum concionem in campo ad Caprae paludem haberet, subito coërta tempestas cum magno fragore tonitribusque tam denso regem operuit nimbo, ut conspectum ejus concioni abstulerit. Nec deinde in terris Romulus fuit.

38
v. c. Romana pubes, sedato tandem pavore, postquam ex tam turbido die serena et tranquilla lux rediit, ubi vacuum sedem regiam vidit, etsi satis credebatur Patribus, qui

trusted with *robore*, yet it is not to be denied that all the MSS. but one have *parte*.

¹ The difference between *legatus* and *orator* is not always observed, but the latter generally signifies one sent to entreat some favour, as here,—*legatus*, as the generic term means both this and an ambassador to arrange matters mutually, coming from a superior state or one claiming equality.

² *Quorum* &c. 'Not one of which jarred with faith in his divine descent, and the place among the gods which he is believed to have attained after his death.'

³ *Profecto*. So all the MSS. read without an exception. Yet all the editions since 1549 read *profectu*, 'beginning,' or 'success,' which is certainly satisfactory. But if *profecto* gives any thing like a good meaning, this seems to be an unwarrantable liberty, substituting what may be better for what Livy actually wrote. Now *profecto* does yield at least a tolerable meaning. As both Drakenborch and Ruperti suggest, *profecto* may mean 'in good truth.' 'For the state acquired such vigour from the strength that was furnished assuredly by him, (Romulus.)' It might be doubted what share Romulus had in the flourishing condition of Rome. Hence the assurance *ab illo profecto*. Drakenborch, however, suggests that Livy may have written *profecto*, of the second declension, for *profectu*.

proximi steterant, sublimem raptum procellâ ; tamen velut orbitatis metu icta ¹, moestum aliquamdiu silentium obtinuit. Deinde a paucis initio facto, Deum ² Deo natum, regem parentemque urbis Romanae, salvere universi Romulum jubent ³. Pacem precibus exposcunt, 'uti volens propitius suam 'semper sospitet progeniem.' Fuisse credo tum quoque aliquos qui 'discerptum regem Patrum manibus' taciti arguerent ; manavit enim haec quòque, sed perobscura, fama ⁴. Illam alteram admiratio viri et pavor praesens nobilitavit. Consilio etiam unius hominis addita rei dicitur fides. Namque Proculus Julius, sollicitâ civitate desiderio regis, et insensâ Patribus, gravis, ut traditur, quamvis magnae rei auctor ⁵, in concionem prodit. 'Romulus,' inquit, 'Quirites, parens 'urbis hujus, primâ hodiernâ luce coelo repentè delapsus, 'se mihi obvium dedit. Quum, perfusus horrore venera- 'bundusque, adstitissem, petens precibus ut contrâ intueri ⁶ 'fas esset ; Abi, nuncia, inquit, Romanis, Coelestes ita 'velle, ut mea Roma caput orbis terrarum sit ; proinde rem 'militarem colant ; sciantque, et ita posteris tradant, nullas 'opes humanas armis Romanis resistere posse. Haec,' inquit, 'locutus, sublimis abiit.' Mirum, quantum illi viro nuncianti haec fidei fuerit ; quàmque desiderium Romuli apud plebem exercitumque, factâ fide immortalitatis, lenitum sit.

XVII. Patrum interim animos certamen regni ac cupido versabat ; nec dum a singulis, quia nemo magnopere eminebat in novo populo, pervenerat. Factionibus inter ordines

¹ *Icta* indicates the suddenness and the severity of an affliction, a metaphor taken from a blow with a weapon, as the Greek *πληγῆς*, the French *frappé*, and our own *struck*.

² 'Worship of a hero 'is transcendent admiration of a great man.' *Carlyle's Hero Worship*.

³ *Salvere*, &c. 'All with one voice hail Romulus as a god, god-de- 'scended.'

⁴ Dionysius avers that he was hated by the senators for his imperious conduct to them, and Plutarch, going to work still more minutely, narrates that he was torn to pieces in the temple of Vulcan, and that the senators carried out each a piece of his body, to avoid detection.

⁵ *Gravis, ut traditur*, &c. 'Whose character, it 'is said, gave weight to any statement however extraordinary.' *Gravis*, possessing weight, both literally and metaphorically, as with us ; on the contrary, *auctor levis nec satis fidus*, v. 15.

⁶ *Contra intueri*, The privilege of meeting a god face to face with impunity was supposed to be granted to but few, *χαλῖπροι δὲ θεοὶ φαίνοιντο ἰσαεργεῖς*, Hom. II. r. 131.

certabatur¹. Oriundi ab Sabinis, ne, quia post Tatii mortem ab suâ parte non erat regnatum, in societate aequâ possessionem imperii amitterent, sui corporis creari regem volebant. Romani veteres peregrinum regem aspernabantur. In variis voluntatibus regnari tamen omnes volebant, libertatis dulcedine nondum expertâ². Timor deinde Patres incessit, ne civitatem sine imperio, exercitum sine duce, multarum circâ civitatum irritatis animis, vis aliqua externa adoriretur. Et esse igitur aliquod caput placebat; et nemo alteri concedere in animum inducebat. Ita rem inter se centum Patres, decem decuriis factis, singulisque in singulas decurias creatis, qui summae rerum praeessent, consociant. Decem imperitabant, unus cum insignibus imperii et lictoribus erat; quinque dierum spatio finiebatur imperium, ac per omnes in orbem ibat, annumque intervallum regni fuit³. Id ab re, quod nunc quodque tenet nomen, In-

¹ The reading of the best MSS. is here adopted. That generally given is *versabat*. *Necdum . . . pervenerant factiones; inter, &c.* This expression, *certamen et cupido pervenerat a singulis*, seems to be the great objection to the MSS. reading. Hence, *ad singulos, provenerant, paratae erant* have been severally proposed. In my opinion, this objection would be removed by applying not *pervenerat*, but *certamen et cupido* to *a singulis* in the sense of *singulorum*. This is a common use of *a* with Livy, *Principes ab Sabinis, ab Romanis*, c. 12. for *Sabinorum, Romanorum*. Then *pervenerat* would rise upon *versabatur*, *ambition was working*, individual ambition *had not yet arrived*. *Ordines*. An unusual application of the word, not to distinctions of rank, but of nations.

² *Expertâ*. Livy frequently employs this word in a passive sense, contrary to general usage in the case of deponent verbs. *Experio* is very rare, if it occur at all.

³ *Decem imperitabant, &c.* This does not imply that each individual senator actually held the government for five days, (though we have *per omnes in orbem ibat*.) otherwise we should require 500 days in all, whereas he says, *annuumque intervallum regni fuit*, 'this form of government, between the first and second king, lasted for a year.' Each Decuria, according to Dionysius, had the power for fifty days; according to Plutarch five days, and each member the insignia half a day. The following seems to be Livy's opinion. The senators divided themselves into ten decuriae—the decuriae chose each a president, in all ten: those ten presidents had the command, (*decem imperitabant*.) and one of them was invested with the ensigns of royal power, was in fact king with a supreme council of nine, for five days, when another, probably of the selected ten, succeeded till that round was completed, and other ten were elected, but the election of Numa prevented all the senators from enjoying the honour.

terregnum appellatum. Fremere deinde plebs, 'multipli-
' catam servitutem, centum pro uno dominos factos ;' nec
ultrâ nisi regem, et ab ipsis creatum, videbantur passuri.
Quum sensissent ea movere Patres, offerendum ultrò rati
quod amissuri erant, ita gratiam ineunt, summâ potestate
populo permissâ, ut non plus darent juris quàm detinerent.
Decreverunt enim, ut, 'cùm populus regem jussisset, id sic
' ratum esset, si¹ Patres auctores fierent.' Hodieque in
regibus magistratibusque rogandis usurpatur idem jus, vi
ademptâ²; priùs quàm populus suffragium ineat, in incertum
comitiorum eventum Patres auctores fiunt. Tum interrex,
concione advocatâ; 'Quod bonum, faustum, felixque sit³,'
inquit, 'Quirites, Regem create; ita Patribus visum est.
' Patres deinde, si dignum qui secundus ab Romulo nume-
' retur creâritis, auctores fient.' Adeò id gratum plebi
fuit, ut, ne victi beneficio viderentur, id modò sciscerent
juberentque, 'ut Senatus decerneret qui Romae regnaret.'

XVIII. Inclyta justitia religioque eâ tempestate Numae
Pompilii erat. Curibus Sabinis habitabat, consultissimus
vir, ut in illâ quisquam aetate esse poterat, omnis divini
atque humani juris. Auctorem doctrinae ejus, quia non
exstat alius, falsò Samium Pythagoran edunt; quem⁴ Ser-
vio Tullio regnante Romae, centum ampliùs post annos, in
ultimâ Italiae orâ, circa Metapontum Heracleamque et Cro-
tona⁵ juvenum aemulantium studia coetus habuisse constat.

¹ Sic—si. 'So—if; on these conditions—if; only—if.' Similarly
Sic te Diva potens Cypri. . . . Reddas; si reddas, not ut as
some supply, *Hor. Car.* i. 3. ² Vi ademptâ. Some interpret,

'when no unlawful violence operates against it.' The meaning is
obviously, 'though its real force is now altogether destroyed.' This
was effected principally by the Lex Moenia, which did not abrogate
the right of the Senate to sanction the proceedings of the popular
assemblies, but deprived this right of all efficacy, by enacting that
the Senate should sanction beforehand their proceedings whatever
they should be. See a similar enactment, viii. 12. This is brought
out clearly, if nam be understood before prius. ³ Quod bo-

num . . . sit, a prayer for a blessing on the transaction. Ci-
cero, *Div.* i. 45, says, *Majores nostri OMNIBUS rebus agendis, quod
bonum, faustum, felix, fortunatumque esset, praefabantur.* No trans-
action without a prayer—such was heathenism—and what do we?

⁴ Quem . . . juvenum, &c. 'Who, it is agreed on all hands,
'formed schools, where the young men engaged in studies similar to
his own.' Cicero uses *aemuli* in the same sense. Leno cujus inven-
torum *aemuli* Stoici nominantur. *Pro Muraena.* ⁵ All the

Ex quibus locis, etsi ejusdem aetatis fuisset, quae fama in Sabinos, aut quo linguae commercio, quemquam ad cupiditatem discendi excivisset? quove praesidio unus per tot gentes dissonas sermone moribusque pervenisset¹? Suapte igitur ingenio temperatum animum virtutibus fuisse opinor magis; instructumque non tam peregrinis artibus, quàm disciplinâ tetricâ ac tristi veterum Sabinorum; quo genere nullum quondam incorruptius fuit. Audito nomine Numae, Patres Romani, quamquam inclinari opes ad Sabinos rege inde sumpto videbantur, tamen neque se quisquam nec factionis suae alium nec denique Patrum aut civium quenquam praeferre illi viro ausi, ad unum omnes Numae Pompilio regnum deferendum decernunt. Accitus, sicut Romulus auguratò urbe condendâ regnum adeptus est², de se quoque Deos consuli jussit. Inde ab augure (cui deinde honoris ergo publicum id perpetuumque sacerdotium fuit) deductus in arcem³ in lapide ad meridiem versus consedit. Augur ad laevam ejus, capite velato, sedem cepit, dextrâ manu baculum sine nodo aduncum tenens, quem lituum appellaverunt. Inde ubi, prospectu in urbem agrumque cap-

MSS. it is admitted have *Crotonam*; but we may rationally admit *Crotona*, the Greek accusative of *Croto* or *Croton*, no other example of this word in the first declension being adduced. Livy himself uniformly uses *Crotonem* in every other instance, xxiii. 30, xxiv. 2, &c. There is a similar reading in Cic. Tus. Quaestiones, i. 46, *Salaminam* where others read *Salamina* and *Salaminem*.

¹ *Ex quibus locis*, &c. A difficult passage in which some read *qua*, and various transpositions are proposed. I am surprised that the following has not been suggested. Ex quibus locis etsi ejusdem aetatis fuisset, quae fama in Sabinos quemquam ad cupiditatem discendi excivisset? aut quo linguae commercio quove praesidio, &c. Even as the passage stands there are two opinions of its meaning. Gronovius thinks that Livy meant to prove that neither could Pythagoras have come to Numa, as inferred by the first interrogation, nor Numa to Pythagoras, as inferred in the second. This brings out a meaning by no means probable. Hence, Doering supplies *penetrare potuisset* after *in Sabinos*. Unnecessarily; *fama* is the subject to *excivisset*. 'From places so distant, even if Pythagoras had been of the same age with Tullius, what report of his fame reaching to the Sabines, or with what intercourse of language could have called forth any one,' that is, 'what report of his fame could have reached the Sabines or with what intercourse of language, so as to call forth,' &c. ² Referring to the augury taken on the Palatine Hill, ch. 6. ³ *Arcem*, an elevated spot.

to, Deos precatus, regiones ab oriente ad occasum determinavit, dextras ad meridiem partes, laevas ad septentrionem esse dixit. Signum contrâ quò longissimè conspectum oculi ferebant, animo finivit¹. Tum, lituo in laevam manum translato, dextrâ in caput Numae impositâ, precatus est ita; ‘Jupiter pater, si est fas, hunc Numam Pompilium, ‘cujus ego caput teneo, regem Romae esse, uti tu signa ‘nobis certa adclarâssis² inter eos fines, quos feci.’ Tum peregit verbis auspicia, ‘quae mitti vellet.’ Quibus missis, declaratus rex Numa de templo descendit.

XIX. Qui regno ita potitus urbem novam, condidit^{u. c.} tam vi et armis, jure eam legibusque ac moribus de^{39.} integro condere parat. Quibus quum inter bella assuescere videret non posse, quippe efferari militiâ animos³, mitigandum ferocem pópulum armorum desuetudine ratus, Janum ad infimum Argiletum, indicem pacis bellique, fecit⁴; apertus, ut in armis esse civitatem, clausus, pacatos circa omnes populos, significaret. Bis deinde post Numae regnum clausus fuit; semel T. Manlio consule, post Punicum primum perfectum bellum; iterum, quod nostrae aetati Dii dederunt, ut videremus, post bellum Actiacum, ab Imperatore Caesare Augusto, pace terrâ marique partâ⁵. Clauso eo quum omnium circâ finitimorum societate ac foederibus

¹ The space thus bounded by the augur was called *Templum*. See Index. *Dextras partes*, on the augur's right hand; for the king fronted the south. *Contra*, right opposite him. This was the middle point in the east, all north of which was on his left hand, and all south on his right hand. Birds or lightning, appearing on the left hand, were favourable, hence *laeva auspicia*, favourable auspices. ² *Uti, precor uti*. *Adclarassis* for *adclaraveris*, as we have *curamque levasso* for *levavero*, Cic. *De Senec.* c. 1.

³ The MSS. have some this reading, which is preferred by Drakenborch, others *efferatis militia animis*, others *efferos militia animos*, from which last Gronovius conjectured *efferatos*, the common reading. *Urbem* is understood before *posse*.

⁴ *Janum*, for *Templum Jani*. This was the common method of speaking of this temple. Thus Horace *Tua, Caesar, aetas . . . et vacuum duellis* ‘*Janum Quirinum clausit*,’ *Car.* iv. 15, 8. *Fecit*. This expression leaves it doubtful whether he built the temple or only constituted it *indicem*. Probably the latter, involving the former also. ⁵ He constituted the Temple of Janus. ⁶ It was closed at least twice under Augustus. For the inference drawn from the

junxisset animos, positis externorum periculorum curis, ne luxuriarentur otio animi, quos metus hostium disciplinaque militaris continuerat; omnium primùm, rem ad multitudinem imperitam et illis seculis rudem efficacissimam, Deorum metum injiciendum ratus est. Qui quum descendere ad animos sine aliquo commento miraculi non posset, simulat 'sibi cum Deâ Egeriâ congressus nocturnos esse; ejus 'se monitu, quae acceptissima Diis essent, sacra instituere; 'sacerdotes suos cuique Deorum praeficere ¹.' Atque omnium primùm, ad cursum lunae, in duodecim menses describit annum. Quem, (quia tricenos dies singulis mensibus luna non explet, desuntque dies solido anno qui solstitiali circumagitur orbe,) intercalaribus mensibus interponendis ita dispensavit, ut vigesimo anno ad metam eandem solis unde orsi essent, plenis annorum omnium spatiis, dies congruerent ². Idem nefastos dies fastosque

notice, see Life of Livy, prefixed.

¹ *Praeficere*. This means properly to appoint over, as *eum praefecit exercitui*, then to appoint to take charge of, as *eum praefecit bello*. Hence, with singular infelicity, the expression here with the simple meaning of 'appointed.' One critic proposes *eorum*, to free Livy from the impropriety of setting priests over the Gods.

² Most editions read *quarto et vigesimo anno*, but this is one of the most unwarrantable liberties that ever was taken with a writer, there being not a shadow of authority for it in any manuscript, and the adopters of it coolly suiting Livy to Censorinus, and Macrobius, and then expounding at great length the supposititious reading as if it were real. This is unfair, as it deprives us of an allusion to an astronomical arrangement different from that given by these writers, and deserving our investigation. How Numa came by his knowledge it is needless to inquire; but a cycle of 19 years was afterwards, as is stated with regard to this passage by an ingenious writer, Professor Key of London, introduced by Meton into Athens, on the observation that 235 lunar months correspond very closely with 19 solar years. This would make each twentieth year begin a new cycle, as may be thus shewn,

19 solar years, consisting each of 365d 5h 48' 48" 6939d 14h 27' 12"
 19 lunar years, consisting each of 354d 8h 48' 36" 6732d 23h 23' 24"

Difference between 19 lunar and 19 solar years, 206 15 3 48
 7 intercalary lunar months each 29d 12h 44' 3" 206 17 8 21

This intercalation, we have no information how managed, would bring about an adjustment, wrong only 2h 4' 33". Nor need we

fecit; quia aliquando nihil cum populo agi utile futurum erat ¹.

XX. Tum sacerdotibus ² creandis animum adjecit, quamquam ipse plurima sacra obibat, ea maximè quae nunc ad Dialem flaminem pertinent. Sed, quia in civitate bellicosâ plures Romuli quàm Numae similes ³ reges putabat fore iturosque ipsos ad bella, ne sacra regiae vicis desererentur, flaminem Jovi assiduum sacerdotem creavit insignique eum veste et curuli regiâ sellâ adornavit. Huic duos flamines adjecit; Marti unum, alterum Quirino. Virginesque Vestae legit, Albâ oriundum sacerdotium et genti conditoris hand alienum. His, ut assiduae templi antistites essent, stipendium de publico statuit; virginitate aliisque ceremoniis venerabiles ac sanctas fecit. Salios item duodecim Marti Gradivo legit, tunicaeque pictae insigne dedit et super tunicam aeneum pectori tegumen; coelestiaque arma, quae ancilia appellantur, ferre, ac per urbem ire canentes carmina cum tripudiis solennique saltatu jussit ⁴. Pontifi-

suppose that the minutes and seconds or other delicacies of the calculation were understood,—the fact was observed and acted upon. For the other accounts of Numa's year, see Index, *Annus. Tricenos dies—non explet*, 'does not fully complete 30 days,' has more than 29, and less than 30. *Desuntque dies solido anno*, &c. 'And several days are thus wanting to complete the full year,' *qui solstitiali circumagitur orbe*.

¹ This extended to law business also. 'The power of the praetor in the administration of justice was expressed in these three words, *Do, Dico, Addico*. . . 'The days on which the praetor administered justice were called *Dies Fasti (a fando)*. Those days on which it was unlawful to administer justice were called *Nefasti*. Ille *nefastus* erit, per quem *tria verba* silentur, Festus erit per quem lege licebit agi. *Ovid. Fast. i. 47*.' ADAM. *Agere cum populo*, as in Livy, to transact business with the people, a phrase applied to magistrates alone. *Agere lege*, as in Ovid, to carry on legal transactions, a term applicable to all engaged in them.

² *Sacerdotibus*. A general term for priests of all kinds, of whom there are enumerated in this chapter, Flamines, Virgines Vestae, Salii, and Pontifices, for each of which see the Index.

³ *Romuli quam Numae similes*. *Similis* is here joined with the genitive, in which case it is said to denote likeness of mind, with the dative, of body. This distinction is by no means universally observed.

⁴ A shield curved inwardly at the sides, (*Ancile quod ab omni parte recisum est. Ovid. Fast. iii. 377*.) is said to have been found in the house of Numa, and it was therefore supposed to have been the shield of Mars, and to have fallen from

cem ¹ deinde Numam Marcium, Marci filium, ex Patribus legit, eique sacra omnia exscripta ² exsignataque attribuit; quibus hostiis, quibus diebus, ad quae templa sacra fierent, atque unde in eos sumptus pecunia erogaretur. Cetera quodque omnia publica privataque sacra Pontificis scitis subjecit; ut esset quod consultum plebes veniret; ne quid divini juris negligendo patrios ritus peregrinosque adsciscendo turbaretur. Nec coelestes modò ceremonias, sed justa quodque funebria placandosque Manes, ut idem Pontifex edoceret; quaeque prodigia fulminibus aliove quo visu missa susciperentur atque curarentur ³. Ad ea elicienda ex mentibus divinis, Jovi Elicio aram in Aventino dicavit, Deumque consuluit auguriis, quae suscipienda essent.

XXI. Ad haec consultanda procurandaque multitudo omni a vi et armis conversâ, et animi aliquid agendo occupati erant, et Deorum assidua insidens cura, quum interesse rebus humanis coeleste Numen videretur, eâ pietate omnium pectora imbuerat, ut fides ac jusjurandum, proximo legum ac poenarum metu ⁴, civitatem regerent. Et quum ipsi se

heaven. As the perpetuity of the empire was believed to depend on its preservation, eleven others were made like it, and the twelve were committed to the care of the *Salii*.

¹ This was probably the Pontifex Maximus; at least we read elsewhere, (Cicero de Republica, ii. 9,) that Numa appointed four Pontifices besides the Pontifex Maximus. Livy probably puts the chief for the whole college. Thus in one passage he says, *Pro collegii sententiâ pontifex maximus . . . jussit*, iv. 44. ² These are the celebrated books of Numa again mentioned in the 31st chapter, *commentarii Numae*. Livy, xl. 29, tells a strange story of two vaults, the discovery and public burning of these books, or some of them.

³ *Coelestes ceremonias*, belonging to the gods above, contrasted with *justa funebria—Manes*. *Quaeque prodigia, &c.* 'And what prodigies indicated 'by thunderbolts or any other object presented to the sight, should 'be taken up, (deserved attention,) and expiated.' The common term is *procurare*, (which some read here,) not *curare*; and others are of opinion that *curarentur* is an expansion of the word *susciperentur*, 'and attended to,' differing from *procurarentur*, which would undoubtedly mean 'expiated,' that is, the threatened evil deprecated by solemn rites. All auguries were not *taken up*, *Duo non suscepta prodigia sunt*, xliii. 13. ⁴ *Proximo &c.* The MSS. have *proximo* and *propulso*, from which has followed a host of conjectural readings. Adopting *proximo*, some think that its force is 'ever 'near their thoughts.' The real meaning seems to be 'the dread of

homines in regis, velut unici exempli¹, mores formarent; tum finitimi etiam populi, qui antè castra, non urbem positam in medio ad sollicitandam omnium pacem crediderant, in eam verecundiam adducti sunt, ut civitatem totam in cultum versam Deorum, violari ducerent nefas. Lucus erat, quem medium ex opaco specu fons perenni rigabat aquâ, quò quia se persaepe Numa sine arbitris velut ad congressum Deae inferebat, Camenis eum lucum sacravit; 'quòd earum ibi² concilia cum conjuge suâ Egeriâ essent.' Et soli Fidei solenne instituit³. Ad id sacrarium flamines bigis, curru arcuato, vehi jussit, manuque ad digitos usque involutâ rem divinam facere; significantes 'fidem tutandam, 'sedemque ejus etiam in dextris sacratam esse.' Multa alia sacrificia locaque sacris faciendis, quae Argeos pontifices vocant, dedicavit. Omnium tamen maximum ejus operum fuit tutela, per omne regni tempus, haud minor pacis quàm regni. Ita duo deinceps reges, alius aliâ viâ, ille bello, hic pace, civitatem auxerunt. Romulus septem et triginta

'laws and penalties, being (next and consequently) inferior,' to the influence of moral and religious considerations; as in Ovid, *Aurea . . . ætas . . . sponte sua sine lege fidem rectumque colebat. Poena metusque aberant. Met. i. 89-91.* ¹ 'Unicus represents the individual to whom it applies, as the only object of the kind that exists, 'not as one of a species, from the other members of which it is distinguished by some peculiar quality which they do not possess. Thus, 'unicus filius means an only son, who, in reference to the particular parent, may be held to constitute a whole species; whilst unus filius would positively intimate that the family contains more than one son, &c.' DR CARSON. Here *velut unici exempli*, 'as if he alone of all men deserved to be followed as an example.' ² The MSS. are divided between *ibi* and *sibi*. The former seems preferable, both for other reasons, and because Livy nowhere mentions that Numa professed to hold conferences with the Muses, only *ad congressum Deae*. ³ *Et soli Fidei*, &c. Viewed in connection with the passage immediately preceding, the meaning probably is, whilst Numa paid these honours to the other inferior Deities, in masses, he considered Faith a virtue of so much importance, as to institute an annual festival in her sole honour. Others suppose it to mean that Faith was the only deity to whom Numa dedicated a solemn festival, others that Faith was the only *new* deity so worshipped. Of the numerous conjectured emendations, that of Muretus *Populi Fidei*, founded on a MSS. reading *Poli Fidei* seems the best, corresponding with what Dionysius affirms, that Numa was the first to erect a temple, Πίστης ἱερὸν.

regnabit annos ; Numa tres et quadraginta. Tum ¹ valida, tum temperata et belli et pacis artibus erat civitas.

XXII. Numae morte ad interregnum res rediit. ⁸² Inde Tullum Hostilium, nepotem Hostilii, cujus in v. c. infimâ arce clara pugna adversus Sabinos fuerat ², regem populus jussit. Patres auctores facti ³. Hic non solùm proximo regi dissimilis, sed ferocior etiam Romulo fuit ; tum aetas viresque, tum avita quodque gloria animum stimulabat. Senescere igitur civitatem otio ratus, undique materiam excitandi belli quaerebat. Fortè evenit, ut agrestes Romani ex Albano agro, Albani ex Romano praedas invicem agerent. Imperitabat tum C. Cluilius Albae. Utrunque legati ferè sub idem tempus ad res repetendas missi. Tullus praeceperat suis, ‘ ne quid priùs quàm man-
‘ data agerent ⁴.’ Satis sciebat negaturum Albanum ; ita piè ⁵ bellum indici posse. Ab Albanis socordiùs res acta ; excepti hospitio ab Tullo blandè ac benignè, comiter regis convivium celebrant. Tantisper Romani et res repetiverant priores, et neganti Albano bellum in trigesimum diem ⁶ indixerant. Haec renunciant Tullo. Tum legatis Tullus dicendi potestatem, quid petentes venerint, facit. Illi omnium ignari, primùm purgando terunt tempus ; ‘ Se invitos ‘ quicquam, quod minùs placeat Tullo, dicturos ; sed im-
‘ perio subigi ; res repetitum se venisse. Ni reddantur, ‘ bellum indicere jussos.’ Ad haec Tullus : ‘ Nunciate,’ inquit, ‘ regi vestro, regem Romanum Deos facere testes, ‘ uter priùs populus res repetentes legatos aspernatus di-
‘ miserit, ut in eum omnes expetant ⁷ hujusce clades belli.’

¹ *Tum . . . tum*, the same as *cum . . . cum*. So in the next chapter, *tum aetas . . . tum avita*. In both instances some copies have *cum . . . cum*.

² See 12th chapter.

³ *Patres auctores facti*. ‘ The senate sanctioned their decree,’ as in the case of Numa, ch. 17. ‘ *Ne quid, &c.* ‘ To do nothing sooner than— instantly to execute—their commission.’

⁴ *Pie*, ‘ with a due regard to the formalities of war.’

⁵ *Trigesimum*. In the 32d chapter Livy states thirty-three to be the due number of days within which to make restitution. Here he states the numbers roundly, as is not uncommon.

⁷ What is the meaning of *expetere clades* ? We have in Cicero *expetere promissum*, to demand the full performance of a promise, and in Livy, iii. 40, *expetere jus*, to demand the full performance of what is right. Hence we may infer that *expetere clades* means to demand the full infliction of the calamities of the

XXIII. Haec nunciant domum Albani. Et bellum utrinque summâ ope parabatur, civili simillimum bello, propè inter parentes natosque; Trojanam utramque prolem, quum Lavinium ab Troja, ab Lavinio Alba, ab Albanorum stirpe regum oriundi Romani essent. Eventus tamen belli minùs miserabilem dimicationem fecit; quòd nec acie certatum est, et, tectis modò dirutis alterius urbis, duo populi in unum confusi sunt. Albani priores ingenti exercitu in agrum Romanum impetum fecere. Castra ab urbe haud plus quinque millia passuum locant, fossâ circumdant; fossa Cluilia ab nomine ducis per aliquot secula appellata est, donec cum re nomen quòque vetustate abolevit¹. In his castris Cluilius Albanus rex moritur; dictatorem Albani Mettum Fuffetium creant. Interim Tullus ferox, praecipuè morte regis, 'magnumque deorum numen ab ipso capite orsum in omne nomen Albanum expetiturum² poenas ob bellum impium' dictitans, nocte, praeteritis hostium castris, infesto exercitu³ in agrum Albanum pergit. Ea res ab stativis excivit Mettum. Ducit quàm proximè ad hostem potest; inde legatum praemissum nunciare Tullo jubet, 'priùs quàm dimicent opus esse colloquio; si secum congressus sit, satis scire ea se allaturum quae nihilo minùs ad rem Romanam, quàm ad Albanam, pertineant.' Haud asperna-

present war, *infliction* being involved in *clades*, as *performance* in *promissum* and *jus*. The difficulty lies in the words in *eum*, but see the second note on the next chapter. ¹ *Abolevit*. Here intransitive (perhaps from *abolesco*,) as iii. 55. *Cujus rei prope jam memoria aboleverat*. Some read *vetustas*, in which case *abolevit* is transitive.

² *Expetiturum*. Read also the last note on the previous chapter. The idea conveyed by the expression, *expetere poenas*, is the exaction of a penalty. It is consequently almost invariably followed by the preposition *a* or *de*. Some eminent critics have accordingly been led to expunge *poenas* after *expetiturum*, others *orsum*; *expetituras poenas*, and to translate both passages as if *expetere* were equivalent to *evenire*, in which sense it undoubtedly occurs. Taking, however, the latter passage as it stands, we may suppose that Livy passes from the notion of the party *from* whom the exacted penalty came, to that of the party *on* whom the exaction of the penalty was exercised; as in Curtius, iv. 6, *poenâ in hostem capiendâ*, and, perhaps, *nisi in hunc insigne jam documentum mortalibus dederò*, Livy, i. 28; and we may translate the passage in the previous chapter thus, 'to cause all the calamitous consequences of this war to light upon their head.'

³ *Infesto exercitu*, with an army acting on the offensive.

tus Tullus, tametsi vana afferebantur, in aciem educit. Exeunt contrà et Albani. Postquam instructi utrinque stabant, cum paucis procerum in medium duces procedunt. Ibi inquit Albanus; 'Injurias et non redditas res ex foedere, quae repetitae sint, et ego regem nostrum Cluilium, causam hujusce esse belli, audisse videor; nec te dubito, Tulle, eadem prae te ferre¹. Sed, si vera potius quàm dictu speciosa dicenda sunt, cupido imperii duos cognatos vicinosque populos ad arma stimulat. Neque rectè an perperam interpretor; fuerit ista ejus deliberatio² qui bellum suscepit. Me Albani gerendo bello ducem creavere. Illud te, Tulle, monitum velim; Etrusca res, quanta circa nos teque maximè sit, quò propior es Etruscis³, hoc magis scis. Multum illi terrâ, plurimum mari pollent. Memor esto, jam, quum signum pugnae dabis, has duas acies spectaculo fore, ut fessos confectosque, simul victorem ac victum, aggrediantur. Itaque, si nos Dii amant, quoniam non contenti libertate certâ in dubiam imperii servitiiue aleam imus, ineamus aliquam viam, quâ utri utris imperent, sine magnâ clade, sine multo sanguine utriusque populi, decerni possit.' Haud displicet res Tullo, quanquam tum indole animi tum spe victoriae ferocior erat. Quaerentibus⁴ utrinque ratio initur, cui et fortuna ipsa praebuit materiam.

XXIV. Forte in duobus tum exercitibus erant trigemini fratres, nec aetate nec viribus dispares. Horatios Curia-

¹ *Injurias, &c.* The grammatical arrangement seems to be, *Et ego videor audisse regem nostrum Cluilium DICERE injurias et non redditas res ex foedere, quae repetitae sint, esse causam hujusce belli; nec te, dubito, Tulle, eadem prae te ferre*; I think I have heard our King Cluilius say, that acts of injustice, and the refusal to make restitution according to treaty, were the cause of this war; and I doubt not, Tullus, that you pretend the same thing. DR HUNTER. Others supply *prae se ferre* instead of *dicere*.

² *Fuerit, &c.* Let the consideration of that point (the consideration of that point, viz. the propriety or impropriety of the war, I hold to be no business of mine, but to) have belonged to him.

³ *Propior es Etruscis.* Such is the reading of two MSS. of which, however, the greater part have *propiores Volscis*. This has been universally rejected, as the *Volsci* were a state of the Latins. The younger Gronovius proposes, *propior es Vetiis*; Ruddiman and Dr Hunter, along with most others, read *propiores vos*. Heyne suggests *propior es* simply. ⁴ *Quaerentibus.* The dative governed by *initur*, instead of the ablative with *a*.

tiosque fuisse satis constat; nec ferme res antiqua alia est nobilior¹. Tamen in re tam clarâ nominum error² manet utrius populi Horatii, utrius Curiatii fuerint. Auctores utrôque trahunt; plures tamen invenio qui Romanos Horatios vocent. Hos ut sequar, inclinât animus³. Cum trigeminis agunt reges, 'ut pro suâ quisque patriâ, dimi-cent ferro. Ibi imperium fore unde victoria fuerit.' Nihil recusatur; tempus et locus convenit⁴. Priùs quàm dimicarent, foedus ictum inter Romanos et Albanos est his legibus, 'ut, cujusque⁵ populi cives eo certamine vicissent, is alteri populo cum bonâ pace imperitaret.' Foedera alia aliis legibus, ceterùm eodem modo omnia, fiunt. Tum ita factum accepimus, nec ullius vetustior foederis memoria est. Fecialis⁶ regem Tullum ita rogavit; 'Jubesne me, Rex, cum patre patrato⁷ populi Albani foedus ferire?' Jubente rege, 'Sagmina,' inquit, 'te, Rex, posco.' Rex ait, 'Puram⁸ tollito.' Fecialis ex arce graminis herbam puram attulit. Postea regem ita rogavit; 'Rex, facisne

¹ *Nobilior*, with the same meaning as *notabilior*, 'more notorious.'

² *Error*, a wandering—'a perplexity' which causes error. ³ Hence he includes, in the 30th chapter, the Curiatii among those that were added to the Roman senate.

⁴ *Convenit*. Here we should expect *conveniunt*. But it must be confessed that the Latin language is often irregular in this respect, referring more to the meaning than the grammatical form. When the words are synonymous or intimately connected, the singular is often used. So when the verb should be singular we find a plural. *Ipsè dux cum aliquot principibus capiuntur*; *dux cum principibus*, used irregularly, as *dux et principes*.

⁵ *Cujusque* for *cujuscunque*. In the same way Horace uses *quandoque* for *quandocunque*.

⁶ *Indignor quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus*.'

⁷ *Fecialis*. See Index. In the whole of this M. Valerius the Fecialis seems to speak in the name of the whole college.

⁸ *Puram*, agreeing with *herbam*, by a grammatical *prolepsis*, some reading *pura*. Why *puram*? Perhaps in the sense of *holy*, free from guilt, as *puro pioque duello*, ch. 32. emblematic of outraged innocence. Pliny (xxii. 3.) says, it was plucked from a particular place in the Capitol, with the earth in which it grew. *Graminis herbam puram*, (*Gramen*, specifically grass, generically, as here, any herb,) 'the holy vervain,' the same as *sagmina* (derived by Festus from *sanctus* or *sancio*) and *verbena*.

‘ me tu regium nuncium populi Romani Quiritium ? vasa, comitesque meos ¹ ? ’ Rex respondit ; ‘ Quod sine fraude meâ populique Romani Quiritium fiat, facio ². ’ Feclialis erat M. Valerius ; patrem patratum Sp. Fusium fecit, verbenâ caput capillosque tangens. Pater patratus ad jusjurandum patrandum, id est, sanciendum fit foedus ; multisque id verbis, quae, longo effata carmine ³, non operae est referre, peragit. Legibus deinde recitatis ; ‘ Audi, ’ inquit ⁴, ‘ Jupiter ; audi, pater patratus populi Albani ; audi tu populus Albanus ; ut illa palàm prima postrema ex illis tabulis cerâve recitata sunt sine dolo malo, utique ea hîc hodie rectissimè intellecta sunt, illis legibus populus Romanus prior non deficiet. Si prior defexit ⁵ publico consilio, dolo malo, tu illo die, Jupiter, populum Romanum sic ferito, ut ego hunc porcum hîc hodie feriam ; tantoque magis ferito, quanto magis potes pollesque. ’ Id ubi

¹ *Vasa*, the things carried with one for domestic use, baggage ; hence the common phrase *colligere vasa*, to pack up the baggage of an army. These, and all his attendants, the rest of the college, probably, he wished to be set apart to this holy service. ² *Quod, . . . fiat*, a prayer, *fraude meâ*, my injury, ‘ injury to me,’ passive, see p. 31, note 3. *Meâ populique*. This double construction of the pronouns and nouns in connection is observable in all the cases where a difference occurs in their regimen. Perspicuity seems to be the cause of this difference of regimen,—there are two words *mei*, but only one *meum*. As a general rule, though not without exceptions, it may be stated, on the authority of Sanctius, ii. 13, that the genitive of the personal pronoun is not used with a governing noun, or where there is a risk of a noun being understood. Thus we say, *Liber meus*, not *mei*, to avoid ambiguity ; *non mea refert*, not *mei*, for the same reason. Yet the notion of the genitive is latent in the possessive pronoun. Thus *gratias ageritis vestrae ipsorum virtuti*, i. 28, where *vestrae* agrees with *virtuti*, and yet *ipsorum* agrees with the contained notion of *vestri*, the genitive plural of *tu* ; and again, ii. 8, *ut sua unius in his gratia esset*, *sua* agreeing with *gratia*, yet involving *sui*, with which *unius* agrees. The following passage is more singular still. *Ovid. Epist. Heroid. v. 45. Et flecti et nostros vidisti flentis ocellos ; nostros* agreeing with *ocellos*, and though plural grammatically, involving logically only *mei*, with which *flentis* agrees. The young scholar should also remark the same change of construction in names of places, as *Antiochiae*, *loco celebri*. *Cic. Pro Archia.* ³ *Carmine*. Any set form of words is called *carmen*. *Effata*. Generally deponent. See p. 30, note 2. ⁴ *Inquit*. Pater patratus inquit. ⁵ *defexit* for *defecerit*.

dixit, porcum saxo silice percussit¹. Sua item carmina Albani, suumque jusjurandum per suum dictatorem suosque sacerdotes peregerunt.

XXV. Foedere icto, trigemini, sicut convenerat, arma capiant. Quum sui utrosque adhortarentur, 'Deos patrios, patriam ac parentes, quidquid civium domi, quidquid in exercitu sit illorum tunc arma, illorum intueri manus,' feroces et suoapte ingenio, et pleni adhortantium vocibus², in medium inter duas acies procedunt. Considerant utrinque pro castris duo exercitus, periculi magis praesentis quam curae expertes. Quippe imperium agebatur, in tam paucorum virtute atque fortunâ positum. Itaque ergo³ erecti suspensique in minimè gratum spectaculum animo intenduntur. Datur signum; infestisque armis velut acies terni juvenes, magnorum exercituum animos gerentes, concurrunt; nec his nec illis periculum suum, publicum imperium servitiumque obversatur animo, futuraque ea deinde patriae fortuna quam ipsi fecissent⁴. Ut primo statim

¹ *Porcum*. All authorities are agreed that a sow and not a boar pig was slain on such occasions. If Livy attended to this nicety at all, *hunc* follows the grammatical gender of the noun, as in Phaedrus, ii. 4, we have *sus nemoricultrix* become *aprum insidiosum*.

² *Feroces et suoapte*, &c. 'This manner of arranging the two copulatives, so frequent in Livy, seems not the most logical, and therefore not the most elegant. We should have expected the first *et* to be placed before *feroces*, to make the two clauses logically correspond,' DR HUNTER. Our own language furnishes many examples of the same error, against which the young writer should be on his guard; as 'There is another use that, in my opinion, contributes to make a man rather learned than wise, and is neither capable of pleasing the understanding, or imagination.' Addison. It should be, of pleasing neither the understanding nor imagination.

³ *Itaque ergo*. 'And thus, therefore,' a curious combination, not uncommon in Livy's writings.

⁴ *Infestis*. See p. 15, note 4. *Terni*. Note the use of this word, 'three on either side.' *Animo*, rather the dative, governed by *obversatur* than the ablative, and then we have an elegant variety of expression, *his, illis, animo*, being all governed by *obversatur*. The danger was actually before them, though unheeded, the future result could only be before their imaginations. Unless, indeed, *obversatur animo his* be the construction—for *horum*—as xxxix. 42, *Loquenti Gallo caput primum percussisse*, for *loquentis Galli*. Supply *sed* before *publicum*. To be strictly accurate *fecissent* should be *fecerint*. But Livy overlooks the present tense previously used,—*concurrunt, obversatur*, the meaning being *past*, though the form is *present*. See p. 16, note 1.

concursu increpuere arma, micantesque fulsere gladii, horror ingens spectantes perstringit; et, neutrò inclinatâ spe, torpebat vox spiritusque. Consortis deinde manibus, quum jam non motus tantum corporum agitatioque anceps telorum armorumque¹, sed vulnera quodque et sanguis spectaculo essent; duo Romani, super alium alius, vulneratis tribus Albanis, exspirantes corruerunt. Ad quorum casum quum conclamâsset gaudio Albanus exercitus, Romanas legiones jam spes tota, nondum tamen cura, deseruerat, exanimis vice unius quem tres Curiatii circumsteterant. Fortè is integer fuit, ut universis solus nequaquam par², sic adversus singulos ferox. Ergo, ut segregaret pugnam eorum, capessit fugam, 'ita' ratus 'secuturos ut quemque 'vulnere affectum corpus sineret.' Jam aliquantum spatii ex eo loco ubi pugnatum est aufugerat, quum respiciens videt magnis intervallis sequentes, unum haud procul ab sese abesse. In eum magno impetu rediit; et, dum Albanus exercitus inclamat Curiatiis, 'uti opem ferant fratri,' jam Horatius, caeso hoste victor, secundam pugnam³ petebat. Tum clamore, qualis ex insperato faventium solet⁴, Romani adjuvant militem suum; et ille defungi proelio festinat. Priùs itaque quàm alter, qui nec procul aberat, consequi posset, et alterum Curiatium conficit. Jamque, aequato Marte, singuli supererant, sed nec spe nec viribus

¹ *Anceps*. Referring not to *telorum* and *armorum*, but to the two parties. When *tela* and *arma* are contrasted, *tela* means offensive, *arma* defensive arms. *Arma*, as the generic term, may otherwise include *tela*. ² *Ut—sic*. These words are frequently used by Livy, as introducing antithetical clauses, and ought generally to be translated, *though,—yet*. ³ *Secundam pugnam*. *Secundus* from *sequor*, 'what follows,' hence 'second,' obviously the meaning of it here, with perhaps a play upon the word, and as some think, but in my opinion erroneously, in the second chapter, *secundum inde praelium Latinis*. From the notion of *following*, as opposed to *adversus*, 'turned to, *opposing*,' we have 'down the river,' *secundo defluit amni*, *Virg. Aen. vii. 494*, and 'favourable,' (*seconding* our efforts,) *pugna secunda*, a prosperous battle. Hence also the proposition *secundum*, 'following, consequent 'upon,' *secundum judicium*, (c. 26,) 'according to.' ⁴ *Qualis, &c.* *Qualis clamor faventium solet oriri ex insperato*, 'like the shouts 'raised in the amphitheatre, by the backers of one of the combatants, 'on the occurrence of any unexpected success.' *Faveo* is frequently applied to backing a combatant in the public spectacles; thus, *vincenti turmae quum sua turma favet*. MARTIAL.

pares. Alterum, intactum ferro corpus et geminata victoria, ferocem in certamen tertium dabant¹; alter, fessum vulnere fessum cursu trahens corpus, victusque fratrum ante se strage, victori objicitur hosti. Nec illud proelium fuit. Romanus exsultans, 'Duos,' inquit, 'fratrum Manibus dedi; tertium causae belli hujusce, ut Romanus Albano imperet, dabo.' Malè sustinenti arma gladium superne jugulo defigit; jacentem spoliatur. Romani ovantes ac gratulantes Horatium accipiunt; eo majore² cum gaudio, quo prope metum res fuerat. Ad sepulturam inde suorum nequaquam paribus animis vertuntur; quippe imperio alteri aucti, alteri³ ditionis alienae facti. Sepulchra exstant, quo quisque loco cecidit, duo Romana uno loco propius Albam, tria Albana Romam versus, sed distantia locis et ut pugnatum est.

XXVI. 'Priùs quàm inde digrederentur,' roganti Metto, 'ex foedere icto quid imperaret,' imperat Tullus 'uti juventutem in armis habeat; usurum se eorum operâ, si bellum cum Vejentibus foret.' Ita exercitus inde domos abducti. Princeps Horatius ibat, trigemina spolia prae se gerens; cui soror virgo, quae desponsa uni ex Curiatiis fuerat, obvia ante portam Capenam fuit; cognitoque super humeros fratris paludamento⁴ sponsi quod ipsa confecerat, solvit crines, et flebiliter nomine sponsum mortuum appel-

¹ Construe *ferocem*, and not *dabant*, immediately with *in certamen tertium*.

² *Majore, &c.* Gronovius suggests the division of *magiore* into *magis magno*, that *magis* may be supplied to *prope*. Livy generally follows *prope* with an accusative, as here, and *prope flumen*, c. 27.

³ *Alteri—alteri.* We say 'the one, the other.' The Romans often, as here, 'the other, the other.' Livy might have written *hi—alteri*. Why then do they so often use this expression? Because the reader's mind, on seeing *alteri*, is instantly warned of a contrast to follow. The first *alteri* involves not only *hi*, but *in hac re ab illis differentes*, and the second not only *illi*, but *ab his in illa re differentes*. They are thus enabled to express contrast in very few words. *Alius, alia via*, c. 21. Each of the two kings contrastedly different the one from the other, in a way contrastedly different. In this latter passage *alius* includes both Romulus and Numa. Each with reference to the other is *alius*, and *aliâ viâ* includes both war and peace, each being *alia* in reference to the other.

⁴ *Paludamento.* Not used here in its strict acceptation, which is the military cloak of the general, as contradistinguished from *sagum*, the dress of the common soldiers.

lat. Movet feroci juveni animum¹ comploratio sororis in victoriâ suâ tantoque gaudio publico. Stricto itaque gladio, simul verbis increpans, transfigit puellam. ‘Abi hinc cum ‘immaturo amore ad sponsum,’ inquit, ‘oblita fratrum mortuorum vivique, oblita patriae. Sic eat², quaecunque Romana lugebit hostem.’ Atrox visum id facinus Patribus plebique, sed recens meritum facto obstabat³; tamen raptus in jus ad regem. Rex, ne ipse tam tristis ingratusque ad vulgus judicii, aut, secundum judicium, supplicii auctor esset, concilio populi advocato, ‘Duumviro,’ inquit, ‘qui ‘Horatio perduellionem judicent secundum legem facio.’ Lex horrendi carminis erat⁴; ‘Duumviri perduellionem ‘judicent. Si a Duumviris provocârit, provocatione certato; si vincent, caput obnubito; infelici arbori⁵ reste ‘suspendito; verberato vel intra pomoerium, vel extra pomoerium.’ Hac lege Duumviri creati, qui ‘se absolvere’ non rebantur ‘eâ lege ne innoxium quidem posse,’ quum condemnâssent; tum alter ex his ‘P. Horati, tibi perduellionem judico,’ inquit. ‘I, lictor, colliga manus.’ Accesserat lictor injiciebatque laqueum. Tum Horatius, auctore Tullo clemente legis interprete, ‘Provoco,’ inquit⁶.

¹ *Movet feroci juveni animum.* For *juvenis*, say the critics, according to a construction not unusual. But the expressions do not seem quite synonymous. *Juvenis* would simply mean, excites the youth's mind—*juveni*, ‘excites passion in the youth.’ ² *Sic eat.* Similarly *sic deinde*, &c. c. vii, and ‘so perish all Queen Elizabeth's enemies,’ *Hume*, chap. xlii. ³ *Obstabat*, ‘stood in front of it to prevent it from moving to punishment, ‘neutralised.’ ⁴ *Lex horrendi carminis erat.* ‘It was ‘a law of a form peculiarly dreadful.’ ⁵ *Infelici arbori.* *Felix arbor* is a fruit-bearing tree, v. 24. So Horace, *Inutilesque falce ramos amputans, feliciores inserit. Epod. ii. 11.* The opposite, *infelix*, is either a barren tree, or one sacred to the infernal gods, or, as here, a wooden frame on which to tie with a rope a condemned criminal. ⁶ *Rex ne, &c.* Several inferences, which appear to me to be erroneous, have been drawn from these sentences. *Perduellio* has been translated, on the authority of this passage, as simple murder; *judicare perduellionem*, is stated to be equivalent to *perduellionis actionem intendere*; the law is said to have been made by Tullus for the occasion; and what is most important, the appeal to the people has been interpreted as a proof, that the popular power was, in Livy's opinion, superior to the regal. The true account of the passage seems to be, that the king, placed in a

Ita de provocatione certatum ad populum est ¹. Moti homines sunt in eo judicio, maximè P. Horatio patre proclamante, 'se filiam jure caesam judicare; ni ita esset, pa-
'trio jure in filium animadversurum fuisse.' Orabat deinde, 'ne se, quem paullo antè cum egregiâ stirpe conspex-
'issent, orbum liberis facerent.' Inter hæc senex juvenem amplexus, spolia Curiatorum fixa eo loco qui nunc Pila Horatia appellatur, ostentans, 'Huncce,' aiebat, 'quem modò decoratum ovantemque victoriâ incedentem
'vidistis, Quirites, eum sub furcâ vinctum ² inter verbera
'et cruciatus videre potestis? quod vix Albanorum oculi

difficult situation, endeavoured to extricate himself, by throwing the case into the hands of the people themselves. In ordinary circumstances, he would have pronounced sentence himself, and from his sentence there could be no appeal. Valerius Publicola, we learn from II. 8, first introduced appeals even from the magistrates during the republic. Tullus therefore takes advantage of an old law, (Livy could not have said *Tullo clemente legis interprete*, if he thought that Tullus had made the law,) provided for cases of treason against the state, in which the ultimate decision of state charges was properly left to the people. *Reus perduellionis dicebatur qui se quoquo modo hostili animo in rempublicam esse declarâset*. VARRO. Horatius was, at the time he committed the deed, invested with an important public office, and therefore could with propriety be styled *reus perduellionis*, as he had exposed the state in his public capacity to the wrath of heaven. The terms of the law left no option to the Duumviri, to whom, as a preliminary step, the passing of the sentence alone was entrusted, *qui perduellionem judicent*. They at once, deeming themselves incompetent to decide as to his guilt or innocence, doom him to death as a traitor. This brings the matter before the people as a crime against them, by appeal not from the sentence of the King, but that of the Duumviri. ¹ *De provocatione certatum est*. This would mean, the point was debated with regard to the appeal. The expression evidently corresponds to the clause in the law *provocatione certato*, and indicates, that in consequence of the appeal, the parties debated the case. Perhaps, as Faber suggests, the reading should be *itaque*, or perhaps we might take *de provocatione* to be a short method of naming the clauses, *respecting the appeal*, according to the Roman method of naming their laws, as '*De Provocatione*,' ii. 8. One manuscript has *ita demum*. *Ad for apud*, as is not unusual with Livy. ² *Sub furcâ vinctum*, corresponding to *infelici arbori reste suspendito*, *furca* being a name given to the gallows-like frame work of wood to which the criminal was tied, from its resemblance to the head of a pitch-fork. It was afterwards in this case represented by a *jugum*, which it resembled in form.

‘ tam deforme spectaculum ferre possent. I, lictor, colliga manus quae paullo antè armatae imperium populo Romano pepererunt. I, caput obnube liberatoris urbis huius; arbori infelici suspende; verbera, vel intra pomœrium, modò inter illa pila et spolia hostium; vel extra pomœrium, modò intra ¹ sepulchra Curiationum. Quò enim ducere hunc juvenem potestis, ubi non sua decora eum a tantâ foeditate supplicii vindicent?’ Non tulit populus nec ² patris lacrimas, nec ipsius parem in omni periculo animum; absolveruntque admiratione magis virtutis quam jure causae. Itaque, ut caedes manifesta aliquo tamen ³ piaculo lueretur, imperatum patri ut filium expiaret pecuniâ publicâ. Is, quibusdam piacularibus sacrificiis factis, quae deinde genti Horatiae tradita sunt, transmisso per viam tigillo, capite adoperto, velut sub jugum misit juvenem. Id hodie quòque publicè semper refectum manet. Sororium tigillum vocant. Horatiae sepulchrum, quo loco corruerat icta, constructum est saxo quadrato.

XXVII. Nec diu pax Albana mansit. Invidia vulgi, ‘quòd tribus militibus fortuna publica commissâ fuerit,’ vanum ingenium dictatoris corrumpit; et, quoniam recta consilia haud bene evenerant, pravis ⁴ reconciliare popularium animos coepit. Igitur, ut priùs in bello pacem, sic in pace bellum quaerens, quia suae civitati animorum plus quàm virium cernebat esse, ad bellum palàm atque ex edicto gerendum alios concitat populos; suis per speciem societatis prodicionem reservat. Fidenates, colonia Romana ⁵, Ve-

¹ *Inter—intra.* In the doubts, regarding the Pila Horatia, (see Index,) I have thought it better to keep the reading of the greater number of the MSS. A few have *intra illam pilam . . . inter sepulchra.* *Pomœrium.* See Index. ² *Non—nec.* A double negative with a negative force, not uncommon in Latin. ³ *Aliquo tamen piaculo.* *Tamen,* see p. 25. note 2. The idea implied is, *si non morte sentis.* *Tamen* may be translated, ‘at least.’

⁴ *Rectus* and *prævus* are frequently contrasted. Sed ego ex te quaero nonne intelligas, plus *rectam* naturam quam rationem *prævam* valere? *Cicero de Finib.* ii. 18. Crookedness and straightness of body seem to be the original notions, thence transferred to the mind. So our English word right, from *rectus*, straight, not from what is ruled, as is averred by some. ‘Wilt thou not cease to pervert the right (straight, *isotias*, *rectas*,) ways of the Lord?’ *Acts* xiii. 11.

⁵ See p. 27, note 2

gentibus sociis consilii assumptis, pacto transitionis Albanorum ad bellum atque arma incitantur. Quum Fidenæ apertè descissent, Tullus, Metto exercituque ejus ab Albâ accito, contra hostes ducit. Ubi Anienem transiit, ad confluentes collocat castra. Inter eum locum et Fidenas Vejentium exercitus Tiberim transierat. Hi et in acie prope flumen tenere dextrum cornu; in sinistro Fidenates propius montes consistunt. Tullus adversus Vejentem hostem dirigit suos; Albanos contra legionem Fidenatium collocat. Albano non plus animi erat quàm fidei. Nec manere ergo nec transire apertè ausus sensim ad montes succedit. Inde, ubi 'satis subisse sese' ratus est, erigit totam aciem¹; fluctuansque animo, ut tereret tempus, ordines explicat. Consilium erat, 'quâ fortuna rem daret, eâ inclinare vires².' Miraculo primò esse Romanis, qui proximi steterant, ut nudari latera sua sociorum digressu senserunt; inde eques citato equo nunciat regi 'abire Albanos.' Tullus in re trepidâ duodecim vovit Salios fanaque Pallori ac Pavori; equitem, clarâ increpans voce, ut hostes exaudirent, 're-dire in proelium' jubet; 'nihil trepidatione opus esse; suo jussu circumduci Albanum exercitum, ut Fidenatium 'nuda terga invadant.' Idem imperat 'ut hastas equites 'erigere jubeat³.' Id factum magnæ parti peditum Romanorum conspectum abeuntis Albani exercitûs intersepsit; qui viderant, id quod ab rege auditum erat rati, eo acriùs pugnant. Terror ad hostes transit; et audiverant clarâ

¹ *Inde, &c.* 'Then, when he (Mettus) thought that he himself 'had gained a sufficient height, he causes his whole army to ascend.'

² *Rem.* A reality, a tangible good,—'success.' Hence such phrases as *esse in rem*, 'to contribute to good, 'to be advantageous; *e nostra re esse*, 'to be a part of, to pertain 'to our interest.' *Inclinare*, 'to cause to slope, to lean.' Here it is transitive, a little below *fuga inclinavit*, 'sloped, leaned,' intransitive, as *mutō, moveo, verto* (see next chapter,) and other verbs, and *turn, change, move*, in English, *se* and *himself* being evidently supplied by the mind of the writer.

³ The object of this manoeuvre is explained in the next sentence. *Hasta* is a generic term, including *lancea, pilum, jaculum, &c.* The cavalry used *lanceae*. These were at all times much lighter than the *pila* of the infantry; but Polybius, vi. 23, states, that in early times they were, from their excessive lightness and other defects, nearly useless. The more efficient *δῆγαρα* of the Greek cavalry were afterwards adopted.

voce dictum, et magna pars Fidenatium, ut qui coloni additi Romanis essent, Latine sciebant ¹. Itaque ne subito ex collibus decursu Albanorum intercluderentur ab oppido, terga vertunt. Instat Tullus, fusoque Fidenatium cornu in Vejentem alieno pavore perculsum ferocior redit. Nec illi tulere impetum; sed ab effusâ fugâ flumen objectum a tergo arcebat. Quò postquam fuga inclinavit, alii arma foedè jactantes in aquam caeci ruebant; alii, dum cunctantur in ripis inter fugae pugnaeque consilium, oppressi. Non alia antè Romana pugna atrocior fuit.

XXVIII. Tum Albanus exercitus, spectator certaminis, deductus in campos. Mettus Tullo devictos hostes gratulatur; contrà Tullus Mettum benignè alloquitur. 'Quod bene vertat ², castra Albanos Romanis castris jungere' jubet; sacrificium lustrale ³ in diem posterum parat. Ubi illuxit, paratis omnibus ut assolet, vocari ad concionem utrumque exercitum jubet. Praecones ab extremo ⁴ orsi primos excipere Albanos; hi novitate etiam rei moti, ut regem Romanum concionantem audirent, proximi constitere. Ex composito armata circumdatur Romana legio ⁵. Centurionibus datum negotium erat ut sine morâ imperia exsequerentur. Tum ita Tullus infit; 'Romani, si unquam antè aliàs ullo in bello fuit quod primùm Diis immortalibus gratias ageretis, deinde vestrae ipsorum virtuti, hesternum id proelium fuit ⁶. Dimicatum est enim non magis cum hostibus,

¹ When a sufficient number of Romans did not volunteer to colonize a proposed settlement, others were added; and though belonging to the colonized district originally, were called *Coloni*. Thus, when writing of a proposed colony for the Volscian territory, III. 1. *Adeo pauci nomina dedere, ut ad explendum numerum coloni Volsci adderentur. Latine sciebant.* The colonists were originally Etrurians, c. 15. ² *Quod bene vertat.* Which he prays heaven may be conducive to good. *Vertat* used intransitively. ³ *Sacrificium lustrale.*

'A purificatory sacrifice.' The Greeks performed these only to remove the pollution of some great crime. The Romans on all occasions; after sowing their fields, after finishing the *census*, at the *Pallia* or annual festival of the shepherds, before the army took the field, or a fleet sailed, and as here, after a victory. There is, perhaps, besides, a reference to the guilt of Mettus Fuffetius, as an ally of Rome.

⁴ *Ab extremo.* Livy alludes to the fact, that the allies were quartered at the extremities of the Roman encampments. ⁵ According to Dionysius, the Romans had swords concealed under their cloaks. *Legio.* Here not used technically, but simply 'the army.' ⁶ The two clauses introduced by *quod* (with the force of *id propter quod*)

‘quàm, quae dimicatio major atque periculosior est, cum
 ‘proditione ac perfidiâ sociorum. Nam ne vos falsa opinio
 ‘teneat, injussu meo Albani subiêre ad montes, nec impe-
 ‘rium illud meum sed consilium et imperii simulatio fuit;
 ‘ut nec vobis ignorantibus deseri vos averteretur a certa-
 ‘mine animus, et hostibus circumveniri se a tergo ratis ter-
 ‘ror ac fuga injiceretur. Nec ea culpa quam arguo om-
 ‘nium Albanorum est. Ducem secuti sunt; ut et vos, si
 ‘quò ego inde agmen declinare voluissem, fecissetis. Mettus
 ‘ille est ductor itineris hujus, Mettus idem hujus machina-
 ‘tor belli, Mettus foederis Romani Albanique ruptor. Au-
 ‘deat deinde talia alius, nisi in hunc insignè jam documen-
 ‘tum mortalibus dederò¹.’ Centuriones armati Mettum
 circumstant; rex cetera ut orsus erat peragit. ‘Quod
 ‘bonum, faustum, felixque sit populo Romano ac mihi², vo-
 ‘bisque, Albani, populum omnem Albanum Romam tradu-
 ‘cere in animo est, civitatem dare plebi, primores in Patres
 ‘legere, unam urbem, unam rempublicam facere. Ut ex
 ‘uno quondam in duos populos divisa Albana res est, sic
 ‘nunc in unum redeat.’ Ad haec Albana pubes, inermis ab
 armatis septa, in variis voluntatibus, communi tamen metu
 cogente, silentium tenet. Tum Tullus, ‘Mette Fuffeti,’
 inquit, ‘si ipse discere posses fidem ac foedera servare, vivo
 ‘tibi ea disciplina a me adhibita esset. Nunc quoniam
 ‘tuum insanabile ingenium est, at³ tu tuo supplicio
 ‘doce humanum genus ea sancta credere quae a te violata
 ‘sunt. Ut igitur paullò antè animum inter Fidenatem Ro-
 ‘manamque rem ancipitem gessisti, ita jam corpus passim
 ‘distrahendum dabis.’ Exinde duabus admotis quadrigis,
 in currus earum distentum illigat Mettum. Deinde in di-
 versum iter equi concitati, lacerum in utroque curru corpus,
 quâ inhaeserant vinculis membra, portantes⁴. Avertere

are the nominative to *fuit*, the force of *quod gratias ageretis* being *causa gratias agendi*. ‘If ever, on other previous occasions in any
 ‘war, a reason why you should (an event binding you to) thank . .
 ‘existed, the battle of yesterday was that event, (repeated—such an
 ‘event.)’ To make the peculiarities of the sentence clearer, trans-
 pose the clauses. Hesternum (id) proelium fuit, quod primum . . .
 si unquam ante alias ullo in bello fuit. *Vestrae ipsorum virtuti*. See p. 42,
 note 2. ¹ *Nisi, &c.* ‘If I shall have failed in now making him a me-
 ‘morable example for the instruction of all men.’ *Documentum*, any
 thing which instructs. See p. 6, note 2. ² See p. 31, note 3.
³ *At*, ‘at least.’ ⁴ See Virgil, VIII. 642. Some point *portantes*,

omnes a tantâ foeditate spectaculi oculos. Primum ultimumque illud supplicium apud Romanos exempli parum memoris legum humanarum fuit ¹. In aliis gloriari licet nulli gentium mitiores placuisse poenas.

XXIX. Inter ² haec jam praemissi Albam erant equites ³, qui multitudinem traducerent Romam. Legiones deinde ductae ad diruendam urbem; quae ubi intravere portas, non quidem fuit tumultus ille nec pavor ⁴ qualis captarum esse urbium solet, quum effractis portis stratisve ariete muris, aut arce vi captâ, clamor hostilis et cursus per urbem armatorum omnia ferro flammâque miscet; sed silentium triste ac tacita moestitia ita defixit omnium animos, ut prae metu obliti quid relinquerent, quid secum ferrent, deficiente consilio, rogitantesque alii alios ⁵, nunc in liminibus starent, nunc errabundi domos suas, ultimum illud ⁶ visuri, pervagarentur. Ut verò jam equitum clamor exire jubentium instabat, jam fragor tectorum quae diruebantur ultimis urbis partibus audiebatur, pulvisque ex distantibus locis ortus velut nube inductâ omnia impleverat; raptim quibus quisque poterat elatis, quum larem ac penates tectaque 'in quibus natus quisque educatusque esset,' relinquentes exirent, jam continens agmen migrantium impleverat vias; et conspectus aliorum mutuâ miseratione integrabat lacrimas, vocesque etiam miserabiles exaudiebantur, mulierum praecipuè, quum obsessa ab armatis templa angusta praeterirent ac velut captos relin-

avertere. ¹ *Supplicium—exempli parum memoris legum humanarum.*

² A punishment exhibiting an example too regardless of the laws that 'befit man'—even in punishments. *Humanus*, pertaining to man, human; befitting man, humane.

³ This chapter, wherein history rises in pathetic dignity to the impressiveness of epic poetry, has probably the same source of inspiration as Virgil's account of the destruction of Troy in the second Aeneid, which Servius informs us is founded on the description given, by some early poet, of the razing of Alba. *De Albano excidio translatus est locus.* Servius in Aeneid. II. 486.

⁴ According to Dionysius, they were commanded by the Horatius who slew his sister.

⁵ *Pavor.* There was fear, *metus*, *prae metu obliti*, but not *pavor ille*, the panic fear of men appalled by the storming of their city.

⁶ See p. 45. note 3. *Alii=hi (non illi)+illi (non hi.) Alios=illos (non hos)+hos (non illos.)* ⁶ *Ultimum illud*, for that last time. Something similar to this adverbial use of the pronoun is to be found in the English expression, *and that*, and in the Greek καὶ ταῦτα, *faciens*, *doing*, and ταῦτ', being perhaps understood.

querent Deos ¹. Egressis urbem Albanis, Romanus passim publica privataque omnia tecta adaequat solo, unaque hora quadringentorum ² annorum opus quibus Alba steterat excidio ac ruinis dedit. Templis tamen Deum (ita enim edictum ab rege fuerat) temperatum est.

XXX. Roma interim crescit Albae ruinis. Du-
^{u. c.} ^{87.} plicatur civium numerus. Coelius additur urbi
 mons ³; et quò frequentius habitaretur, eam sedem Tullus regiae capit ibique habitavit. Principes Albanorum in Patres, ut ea quòque pars reipublicae cresceret, legit Tullios, Servilios, Quinctios, Geganios, Curiatios ⁴, Cloelios; templumque ordini ab se aucto curiam fecit, quae Hostilia usque ad patrum nostrorum aetatem appellata est ⁵;

¹ *Raptim, quibus, &c.* 'It is obvious that the relative pronoun in the Greek and Latin, like the word *what* in English, often unites in itself the double power of antecedent and relative. Thus *ὃν λένειν ἀφ' ὧν λίσυς*; it is manifest from *WHAT* you say, i. e. from the *things which* you say—*ἀπε τοῦτων ἡ λίσυς*. So in Latin—*quibus quisque poterat elatis*—*WHAT THINGS* every one was able being carried out; i. e. *those things* which every one was able (to carry out) being carried out—*iis quae quisque poterat efferre elatis*. So also, *quibus poterat sauciis ductis secum*, i. e. *iis sauciis, quos poterat ducere secum, ductis secum*.' DR HUNTER. *Larem ac penates*, equivalent to 'home and native land.' See Index. *Cotnicens agmen*. *Contineo*, I hold together. *Continens*, holding or keeping together—'unbroken.' So we have *continenti proelio*, 'without interruption,' iv. 22. *Timori malum continens fuit*. 'The evil succeeded, without an interval, the apprehension of it,' v. 39. So also, *continuate magistratum*, to bestow on a previous year's magistrate a renewal of his office. *Impleverat (vias)*—*integrabat*—*exaudiebantur* are the leading verbs of the sentence.

² *Una hora*, used, of course, rhetorically, for a short space of time, as *quadringentorum*, for nearly 400 years, according to Virgil, Aen. II. 272, or more than 400 years according to others. Dionysius states the period of Alba's duration as 487 years.

³ See p. 25, note 1. The Coelian was, says Dionysius, included within the walls by Tullus. ⁴ *Curiatios*. See p. 41, note 3. ⁵ 'Anciently there were but three places where the senate used to be held (*Curias* v. *Senacula*), two within the city, and the temple of Bellona without it. *Festus*. Afterwards there were more places, as the temples of Jupiter Stator, Apollo, Mars, Vulcan, Tellus; of Virtue, Faith, Concord, &c. Also the Curia Hostilia, Julia, Octavia, and Pompeia. . . . These Curiae were consecrated as temples by the Augurs, but not to any particular deity.' DR ADAM. This senate house was burned during the tumultuous obsequies of Clodius, who was slain by Milo

et ut omnium ordinum viribus aliquid ex novo populo adjiceretur, equitum decem turmas ex Albanis legit. Legiones et veteres eodem supplemento explevit, et novas scripsit. Hac fiduciâ virium Tullus Sabinis bellum indicit, genti eâ tempestate secundum Etruscos opulentissimae viris armisque. Utrunque injuriae factae ac res nequicquam erant repetitae. Tullus 'ad Feroniae fanum mercatu frequenti negotiatores Romanos comprehensos' querebatur; Sabini 'suos prius in lucum confugisse ac Romae retentos¹.' Hae causae belli ferebantur. Sabini hand parum memores 'et suarum virium partem Romae ab Tatío locatam, et Romanam rem nuper etiam adjectione populi 'Albani auctam,' circumspicere et ipsi externa auxilia. Etruria erat vicina, proximi Etruscorum Veientes. Inde ob residuas bellorum iras maximè sollicitatis ad defectionem animis voluntarios traxere, et apud vagos quosdam ex inopi plebe etiam merces valuit. Publico auxilio nullo adjuti sunt, valuitque apud Veientes (nam de ceteris minùs mirum est) pacta cum Romulo induciarum fides². Quum

about thirty years before Livy began to write. It was rebuilt and received from Augustus the name of *Julia*, in honour of Julius Caesar.

¹ It would seem that the Sabines did not deny the detention of the Roman *negotiatores*, 'agents,' but urged that they had done so in retaliation for the shelter afforded to criminals who had fled to Rome in *lucum*, the asylum mentioned in c. 8. ² There is evident error in this passage, as it stands. The statement here made of the respect paid by the Veientes to the truce made with Romulus, (c. 15,) is quite at variance with their seeming violation of *that* truce, mentioned in c. 27. Yet Livy can hardly have forgotten what he had written three chapters before. Hence it has been suggested by Perizonius to read *Tullo*, and by Duker to read *Romanis* for *Romulo*, on the supposition that after the Veientes had broken the truce, a new one was made, and that Livy has neglected to notice this. That a new one was made for 100 years Perizonius proves to be likely from the forty-second chapter, where Livy speaks of a truce with the Veientes as having just expired in the reign of Servius Tullius, whereas the truce made with Romulus must have expired even before the reign of Tarquinius Priscus. The only objection to this, in addition to the MSS. reading, which however might easily, as Duker suggests, have been changed from *Rom.* to *Romulo*—is that Livy takes no notice of the *violation* of the first truce, a point to which he always attends in other cases. Might this not be removed by supposing that the period of the first truce

bellum utrinque summâ ope pararent, vertique in eo res videretur utri prius arma inferrent, occupat Tullus in agrum Sabinum transire. Pugna atrox ad silvam Malitiosam fuit. Ubi et peditum quidem robore, ceterum equitatu aucto nuper plurimum Romana acies valuit. Ab equitibus repentè invectis turbati ordines sunt Sabinorum; nec pugna deinde illis constare, nec fuga explicari sine magnâ caede potuit.

XXXI. Devictis Sabinis, quum in magnâ gloriâ magnisque opibus regnum Tulli ac tota res Romana esset, nunciatum regi Patribusque est 'in monte Albano lapidibus pluisse'. Quod quum credi vix posset, missis ad id visendum prodigium, in conspectu, haud aliter quàm quum grandinem venti glomeratam in terras agunt, crebri cecidere coelo lapides. Visi etiam audire vocem ingentem ex summi cacuminis luco², 'ut patrio ritu sacra Albani facerent,' quae velut Diis quodque simul cum patriâ relictis, oblivioni dederant, et aut Romana sacra susceperant, aut fortunae, ut fit, obirati cultum reliquerant Deum. Romanis quodque ab eodem prodigio novendiale sacrum publicè susceptum est; seu voce coelesti ex Albano monte missâ (nam id quodque traditur) seu aruspicum monitu. Mansit certè solenne ut, quando-

had come to an end, and adopting Niebuhr's hypothesis of a ten month

year, $\frac{100 \times 10}{12} = 83\frac{1}{3}$ years? Numa reigned forty-three years, and

there was an interregnum of one year. Supposing the truce to have been made in the fifteenth year of the reign of Romulus, this gives us 44+22, and then the truce must have lasted about seventeen one-third years of the reign of Tullus. This, too, will be found to agree with the time mentioned in the forty-second chapter. The dates given by Dionysius, which guide those appended to the margin, do not agree with the conjecture; but Livy evidently disregards dates in the minutiae of these reigns. It is observable that Livy, in all agreements with Veli, uses the term *induciae*. I. 15, 42, II. 54; IV. 35, 58, 30, in which last he says, *induciaeque, non pax facta*.¹ *Lapidibus pluisse*. 'That there had been a shower of stones.' *Lapidibus*, the ablative; often so in Livy after *pluo*, though we sometimes find the accusative, as *carnem pluit*, III. 10. See *Prodigia*, in Index. Showers of meteoric stones are not rare, and have been accounted for in various ways, from natural causes.² *Videor* is often joined with verbs of hearing: thus,—*Audire magnos jam videor duces*. HOR. CAR. II. 1. *Viaeque canes ululare per umbram*. VIR. VI. 257. *Vocem*, supply *monere* or *clamare*, as in *regem audisse videor*, c. 23.

que¹ idem prodigium nunciaretur, feriae per novem dies agerentur. Haud ita multò post pestilentia² laboratum est. Unde quum pigritia militandi oriretur, nulla tamen ab armis quies dabatur ab bellicoso rege, salubriora etiam credente militiae quàm domi juvenum corpora esse; donec ipse quòque longinquo³ morbo est implicitus. Tunc adèd fracti simul cum corpore sunt spiritus illi feroces, ut qui nihil antè ratus esset minùs regium quàm sacris dedere animum, repente omnibus magnis parvisque superstitionibus obnoxius degeret, religionibusque etiam populum impleret⁴. Vulgò jam homines, eum statum rerum qui sub Numà rege fuerat requirentes, unam opem aegris corporibus relictam, si pax veniaque ab Diis impetrata esset, credebant. 'Ipsam regem' tradunt 'volventem commentarios Numae, quum ibi quaedam occulta solennia sacrificia Jovi Elicio facta invenisset, operatum his sacris se abdidisse; sed non ritè initum aut curatum id sacrum esse, nec solùm nullam ei oblatam coelestium speciem, sed irà Jovis sollicitati pravâ religione, fulmine ictum cum domo conflagrâsse⁵.' Tullus magnâ gloriâ belli regnavit annos duos et triginta.

¹ See p. 41. note 5. ² *Pestilentia*. Heyne maintains, and Rupertus agrees with him, that the Romans constantly confounded epidemic fevers with that fearful visitation, a plague or pestilence, properly so called.

³ *Saluber* is generally used in an active sense, *health-bringing*, here *salubriora* for *saniora*, 'more healthy. *Longinquo*. This word is properly applicable only to space, 'distant;' but Livy not unfrequently applies it as an adjective of time. *Longinqua obsidione*, II. 14.

⁴ *Superstitionibus* and *religionibus* are evidently used here as synonymous terms. *Religiones* in the plural has a marked difference from its general meaning in the singular, importing not *religions*, but fears of supernatural calamities, or observances in consequence of these fears. It has sometimes this meaning in the singular.

⁵ *Commentarios*, with regard to them see p. 36, note 2. There is no inconsistency, as some allege, between the story of the buried books, and this present passage,—it may have been the pontiff's copy that Tullus was reading. *Elicio*. Livy, in the 20th chapter, derives this epithet from the verb *elicio*, *ad ea elicienda ex mentibus divinis*; here, he has a tacit reference to another account, which is also given by Ovid, *Fast.* III. 327-8. *ELICIUNT CORLO te*, Jupiter, unde minores Nunc quoque te celebrant, *ELICIUMQUE vocant*. Rupertus referring, among other passages, to a singular quotation from Arnobius, founded on the authority of Valerius Antias, L. Piso and Pliny, wherein are related sundry instances of lightning having been called down from heaven, as by Porsena, and by Numa,

XXXII. Mortuo Tullo, res, ut institutum jam inde
 v. c. ab initio erat, ad Patres redierat; hique interregem
 114. nominaverant, quo comitia habente, Ancum Marcium
 regem populus creavit. Patres fuere auctores. Numae Pom-
 pilii regis nepos, filiâ ortus, Ancus Martius erat. Qui, ut
 regnare coepit, et avitae gloriae memor, et quia proximum
 regnum cetera egregium, ab unâ parte haud satis prosperum
 fuerat, aut neglectis religionibus aut pravè cultis, longè an-
 tiquissimum ratus¹ sacra publica ut ab Numâ instituta
 erant facere, omnia ea ex commentariis regis pontificem
 in album² relata, proponere in publico jubet. Inde et
 civibus otii cupidis, et finitimis civitatibus facta spes in avi
 mores atque instituta regem abiturum³. Igitur Latini,
 cum quibus Tullo regnante ictum foedus erat, sustulerant
 animos; et, quum incursionem in agrum Romanum fecis-
 sent, repetentibus res Romanis superbè responsum red-
 dunt⁴; desidem Romanum regem inter sacella et aras ac-
 tatum esse regnum rati. Medium⁵ erat in Anco ingenium,

(*quod imitatum*, says Pliny, II. 53, *parum rite Hostilium ictum ful-
 mine*,) pleasantly discusses whether Numa and the others had antici-
 pated the discovery of Franklin! If so, Tullus might have perished
 like Professor Richman at St Petersburg in 1753, when experiment-
 ing on a thunder-cloud. Along with Heyne, Ruperti decides against
 the probability of this, the only method described in the ancients
 being absurd incantations. *Operatum*, the supine. Bentley suggests
operaturum.

¹ *Longe antiquissimum*, 'by far the most desirable
 'course.' So III. 10, *Id antiquius consuli fuit*. So in Greek, Τὰ γὰρ
 τοῦ θεοῦ παρὰβύρια πρῶτον ἢ τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων. Herodot., V. 63, where
 παρὰβύρια has the force of the Latin *antiquiora*, 'to be preferred.'

² *Album*. A tablet, so called because it was white, or because it
 was written on with white letters. It is applied generally to
 writings for the use of the public, as in this passage, but more par-
 ticularly to denote the tablets on which the praetor's edicts were
 written in order to be hung up for public inspection, and also the
 roll of any public body, as *album senatorium*, Tacitus. Ann. IV. 42.

³ *In avi*, &c. 'That the king would adopt the manners and prac-
 tices of his grandfather Numa, rather than continue in those of
 'Tullus.' From the vote of the Roman senate having been taken
 by the parties ranging themselves on different sides of the senate
 house, such words of motion, as *abire*, *transire*, *discedere*, are used
 generally to express the adoption of one opinion or habit, in prefe-
 rence to another.

⁴ The answer given by the Latins, we learn
 from Dionysius, to have been that the treaty had been made with
 Tullus, and, on his death, ceased to be binding.

⁵ *Medium*.

et Numae et Romuli memor; et, praeterquam quòd 'avi regno magis necessariam fuisse pacem' credebat, 'quum in novo, tum feroci populo,' etiam, 'quod illi contigisset otium, sine injuriâ id se¹ hand facillè habiturum; tentari patientiam, et tentatam contemni; temporaque esse Tullo regi aptiora quàm Numae.' Ut tamen, quoniam Numa in pace religiones instituisset, a se bellicae ceremoniae proderentur, nec gererentur solùm sed etiam indicerentur bella aliquo ritu, jus ab antiquâ gente Aequicolis, quod nunc feciales habent, descripsit, quo res repetuntur². Legatus, ubi ad fines eorum venit unde res repetuntur, capite velato filo³ (lanae velamen est) 'Audi, Jupiter,' inquit, 'audite fines' (cujuscunque gentis sunt, nominat,) 'audiat Fas. Ego sum publicus nuncius populi Romani, justè pièque legatus venio, verbisque meis fides sit.' Peragit deinde postulata. Inde Jovem testem facit; 'Si ego injustè impièque illos homines illasque res dedier⁴ nuncio populi Romani mihi exposco, tum patriae compotem me nunquam

Neither wholly warlike, as was the disposition of Romulus, nor wholly peaceful, like that of Numa. Thus, II. 27, *medium se gerendo*, 'by acting in favour of neither party decidedly.' So we say, a *middle* course.

¹ *Illi*, referring to Numa—*se*, to Ancus. Let the learner observe particularly this advantage possessed by the Latin language, of removing all ambiguity in the use of pronouns in indirect sentences, that *sui* is generally used in reference to the person introduced as thinking or speaking, except in cases where another verb is introduced into the body of the sentence, where the same general principle also holds. Of this last case, examples will be noticed as they occur. See III. 18.

² *Religiones*. In the one clause equivalent to *ceremoniae* in the other, See p. 56. note 4. *Nec gererentur . . . ritu*. Ancus was inclined, Livy seems to say, to two things, to proclaim war with some solemn formality, as well as to carry it on in the same way; for *aliquo ritu* seems to modify both *indicerentur* and *gererentur*. The first is easily understood,—not so the second.

Either *aliquo ritu* does not qualify *gererentur*, or he refers *ritu* loosely to some such sentiment as he puts in the mouth of Camillus, V. 27. *Sunt et BELLI, sicut pacis JURA, JUSTEQUE ea, non minus quam fortiter, didicimus GERERE*,—or, if we might, like others, state in opposition to all the MSS. what Livy must have written, *gererentur* is a mistake for *finirentur* or *componerentur*. Livy has stated in the 24th chapter, the form used by the *Feciales* in concluding a war and entering into a treaty; he now records the adopted ritual used in proclaiming war.

³ *Filo*. Here used in an uncommon sense; hence Livy explains it in the next clause.

⁴ *Dedier* for *dedi*, pr. inf. pas.

‘siris¹ esse.’ Haec, quum fines suprascandit, haec, quicumque ei primus vir obvius fuerit, haec, portam ingrediens, haec, forum ingressus, paucis verbis carminis² concipiendique jurisjurandi mutatis, peragit. Si non deduntur quos³ exposcit, diebus tribus et triginta (tot enim solennes sunt) peractis, bellum ita indicit; ‘Audi, Jupiter, et tu, Juno, Quirine, Diique omnes coelestes, vosque terrestres, vosque inferni, audite. Ego vos testor populum illum’ (quicumque est, nominat) ‘injustum esse neque jus persolvere. Sed de istis rebus in patriâ majores natu consulemus, quo pacto jus nostrum adipiscamur.’ Cum his nuncius Romam ad consulendum redit⁴. Confestim Rex his ferme verbis Patres consulebat; ‘Quarum rerum, litium, causarum condixit pater patratus populi Romani Quiritium patri patrato Priscorum Latinorum hominibusque Priscis Latinis, quas res dari, fieri, solvi oportuit, quas res nec dederunt, nec fecerunt, nec solverunt, dic,’ inquit ei, quem primum sententiam rogabat, ‘quid censes⁵?’ Tum ille; ‘Puro pioque duello

¹ *Siris* for *siveris*, or *sieris*.

² See p. 42, note 3.

³ See

above, *illos homines*.

⁴ *Cum his*. ‘Upon this the messenger returns to Rome,—an expression similar to those which frequently occur in conversation. *With this*, off he went.’ DR HUNTER.—*Cum his* verbis, quum haec dixisset (*ἔφαρτο*, al. simul haec) nuncius Romam redit. RUPERTI.—Up to this point Livy describes the procedure of the *Feciales* in all cases of meditated war; but in what follows details the mode in which this particular war only was solemnly undertaken.

⁵ *Quarum*, &c. What governs *rerum*? Is it *censes*, according to Hunter’s conjecture, or *condixit*, according to Bauer’s, or is *causarum* an error for *causam*, as the same writer suggests, or is it *causa*, according to Ruperti, or *intra*, according to Muretus? Does *condixit* refer to the making of a treaty, as Gronovius, I think rightly maintains, or the demanding restitution, as is the opinion of Grotius and Turnebus? Was it the office of the *pater patratus* to demand restitution, or to make treaties only? Without entering into the many points of controversy arising from this sentence, it will perhaps be better to give what seems at least a probable construction and translation of the passage. *Dic quid censes* (de his rebus, causis, litibus, dationem, factionem, solutionem,) *quarum rerum, litium, causarum, pater patratus Populi Romani Quiritium condixit patri patrato Priscorum Latinorum hominibusque Priscis Latinis, quas res oportuit dari, fieri, solvi, quas res nec dederunt, nec fecerunt, nec solverunt?* ‘Pronounce your opinion with regard to the matters, causes, controversies, for the giving, performing, and dis-

‘quaerendas censeo, itaque¹ consentio consciscoque.’ Inde ordine alii rogabantur; quandòque pars major eorum qui aderant in eandem sententiam ibat, bellum erat consensu.² Fieri solitum ut fecialis hastam ferratam aut sanguineam praeustam³ ad fines eorum ferret, et non minùs tribus puberibus praesentibus diceret, ‘Quòd⁴ populi Priscorum Latinorum, hominesque Prisci Latini adversus populum Romanum Quiritium fecerunt, deliquerunt, quòd populus Romanus Quiritium bellum cum Priscis Latinis jussit esse, senatusque populi Romani Quiritium censuit, consensit, conscivit, ut bellum cum Priscis Latinis fieret; ob eam rem ego populusque Romanus populis Priscorum Latinorum hominibusque Priscis Latinis bellum indico facioque.’ Id ubi dixisset, hastam in fines eorum emittebat⁵. Hoc tum modo ab Latinis repetitae res ac bellum indictum; moremque eum posterì acceperunt.

XXXIII. Ancus, demandatâ curâ sacrorum flaminibus sacerdotibusque aliis, exercitu novo conscripto profectus, Politorium urbem Latinorum vi cepit; secutusque morem

‘charging of which the pater patratus of the Roman people entered into a treaty with the pater patratus of the Prisci Latini and with the Prisci Latini, which things ought to have been given, performed, discharged, which things they have neither given, nor performed, nor discharged.’ Observe *oportuit dari*, not *oportet datas esse*, according to the English idiom: thus, *oportet rem dari*, a thing ought to be given; *oportuit rem dari*, a thing ought to have been given.

¹ *Itaque. Et ita.* ² *In eandem sententiam ibat.* See p. 57, note 3. *Consensu.* So we say, ‘by consent,’ absolutely. One MS. of high repute reads *consensum*.

³ *Sanguineam. Hastam infectam sanguine.* *Ammian. Marcell. xix. 4.* *Praeustam*, charred ‘at the point,’ significant emblems of fire and sword.

⁴ Our formula, ‘Whereas,’ is an exact translation of the Latin *Quod*, in such cases as this.

⁵ This ceremony consisting of two parts *repetitae res*, and *bellum indictum* is called *Clarigatio*. In later ages, when the extension of the Roman territory led them to make war on distant states, it was performed in an open space within the city. It is thus alluded to by Ovid;

Prospicit a templo summum brevis area Circum,

‘Est ibi non parvae parva columna notae.

Hinc solet hasta manu, belli praenuntia, mitti,

‘In regem et gentes, cum placet arma capi.

FASTI, VI. 205.’

regum priorum, qui rem Romanam auxerant hostibus in civitatem accipiendis, multitudinem omnem Romam traduxit. Et, quum circa Palatium, sedem veterum Romanorum¹, Sabini Capitolium atque arcem, Coelium montem Albani implèssent, Aventinum novae multitudini datum. Additi eòdem hand ita multò pòst, Tellenis Ficanâque captis, novi cives. Politorium inde rursus bello repetitum², quod vacuum occupaverant Prisci Latini. Eaque causa diruendae urbis ejus fuit Romanis, ne hostium semper receptaculum esset. Postremò omni bello Latino Medulliam compulso, aliquandiu ibi Marte incerto, variâ victoriâ³ pugnatum est; nam et urbs tuta munitionibus praesidioque firmata valido erat, et castris in aperto positis, aliquoties exercitus Latinus cominus cum Romanis signa contulerat. Ad ultimum omnibus copiis connixus Ancus acie primùm vincit; inde ingenti praedâ potitus Romam redit, tum quòque multis millibus Latinorum in civitatem acceptis; quibus, ut jungeretur Palatio Aventinum, ad Murciae⁴ datae sedes. Janiculum quòque adjectum; non inopiâ loci, sed ne quando ea arx hostium esset⁵. Id non muro solùm, sed etiam ob commoditatem itineris ponte sublicio, tum primùm in Tiberi facto, conjungi urbi placuit⁶. Quiritium quò-

¹ *Veterum Romanorum*. Those who had originally founded the city along with Romulus; some read *veterem*. See c. 7. *Capitolium atque arcem*. Livy leaves us to infer that the Sabines remained in possession of this, their conquest, when they were transferred to Rome. See c. 13. *Atque arcem* must mean 'the height on which the citadel stood.' *Coelium*. See c. 30. *Aventinum*, neuter; as also iii. 67.

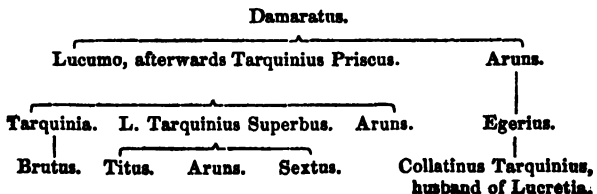
² *Rursus repetitum* simply expresses more strongly the idea conveyed by *rursus petitem*, or *repetitum*. ³ *Marte incerto*, seems synonymous with *variâ victoriâ*. Hence Crevier, Doering and Ruperti think the latter words to be an explanatory interpolation. *Mars incertus*, however, may mean the *issue* of the war was uncertain from the strength of the fortifications and of the garrison, *variâ victoriâ* referring to the actual engagements, *et* being understood before *variâ*. ⁴ *Ad Murciae aedem*. As we say St Paul's, Church understood.

⁵ See ii. 10, 51, as instances of the *Janiculum* becoming a dangerous possession in the hands of an enemy. ⁶ Duker and Ruperti think this an instance of *zeugma*, (see p. 12, note 4.) supplying *cingi* to *muro*. Scheller suggests *muniri* for *muro*. Both seem groundless expedients. The Janiculum was added to Rome, was no longer left unoccupied, but used as a portion of the city,—by what means? by a wall, i. e., by being walled in. *Ponte sublicio*,

que fossa, haud parvum munimentum a planioribus aditu¹ locis, Anci regis opus est. Ingenti incremento rebus auctis, quum in tantâ multitudine hominum, discrimine rectè an perperam facti confuso, facinora clandestina fierent², carcer, ad terrorem increscentis audaciae, mediâ urbe imminens foro aedificatur. Nec urbs tantùm hoc rege crevit, sed etiam ager finesque. Silva Maesia Vejentibus adempta, usque ad mare imperium prolatum, et in ore Tiberis
 v. c. Ostia urbs condita; salinae circà factae, egregièque
 133. rebus bello gestis, aedes Jovis Feretrii amplificata.

XXXIV. Anco regnante, Lucumo, vir impiger ac divitiis potens, Romam commigravit, cupidine maximè ac spe magni honoris, cujus adipiscendi Tarquiniis (nam ibi quòque peregrinâ stirpe oriundus erat) facultas non fuerat. Damarati Corinthii filius erat, qui ob seditiones domo profugus, quum Tarquiniis fortè consedisset, uxore ibi ductâ duos filios genuit. Nomina his Lucumo atque Aruns fuerunt³. Lucumo superfuit patri, bonorum omnium haeres; Aruns prior quàm pater moritur, uxore gravidâ relictâ. Nec diu manet superstes filio pater; qui quum ignorans nulum ventrem ferre, immemor in testando nepotis decessisset, puero post avi mortem in nullam sortem bonorum nato ab inopiâ Egerio inditum nomen. Lucumoni contrâ omnium haeredi bonorum quum divitiae jam animos facerent, auxit ducta in matrimonium Tanaquil summo loco nata, et quae haud facilè iis in quibus nata erat humiliora

See Index, *Pons. Tiberi*. Some MSS. read *Tiberim*. ¹ *Aditu*. The supine. ² *Quum, &c.* 'When, from the difficulty of distinguishing between legal and unlawful actions, in so numerous a population, crimes were committed without detection.' ³ To facilitate a better understanding of the narrative which follows, I abridge a table of genealogy, framed from Livy's account of the Tarquin family, by Glarean.



sineret. Ea cum illi nupisset, ¹ spernentibus Etruscis Lucumonem, exulem ², advenâ ortum, ferre indignitatem non potuit, oblitaque ingenitæ erga patriam caritatis dummodo virum honoratum videret, consilium migrandi ab Tarquiniis cepit. Roma est ad id potissimum visa; 'in novo populo ubi omnis repentina atque ex virtute nobilitas sit, futurum locum forti ac strenuo viro; regnâsse Tatium Sabinum; arcessitum in regnum Numam à Curi- bus; et Ancum Sabinâ matre ortum, nobilemque unâ imagine Numæ esse ³.' Facile persuadet ⁴, ut cupido

¹ *Et quæ.* I have given the reading of all the MSS. but three, two having *ea cum innupisset*, and one *ea cum nupisset*. From this variety Gronovius conjectured, and subsequent editors adopted *ea quæ innupisset*. *Spernentibus*, &c., a reading unknown to the MSS. There is nothing gained by this change, except the fuller development of the sentiment of Tanaquil, and an opportunity of commenting on *innupisset*. 'And a woman whose disposition was such, that she would not easily submit to a state inferior to that in which she had been born. When she had been married to that man (*illi*,) a man 'in that condition.' As amongst the Romans and probably the Etruscans, Livy at all events, as usual, imputing Roman sentiments to them;—the husband acquired the *patria potestas* over his wife; she stood to him in the relation of daughter, and consequently was of the same rank. ² There is a variety in the MSS. as to *advenâ*, some reading *advenam*; but all the MSS. and the early editions read *exulem*, which later editors have changed into *exule*, on the ground that Lucumo was not an exile, but a native of Tarquiniis. Surely, however, he was an exile, incapable of receiving office there, and in reality a Corinthian, and so regarded, rhetorically at least, by Livy, more than once, as iv. 3. *L. deinde Tarquinium, non ROMANÆ modo, sed ne ITALICÆ quidem gentis, Damarati Corinthii filium.* Be it remembered, also, that all writers, in such passages as this, state the facts in the strongest way they possibly can, and *exulem* is unquestionably stronger than *exule ortum*. ³ Facts do not exactly agree with the reasoning which Livy here ascribes to Tanaquil. Numa was himself of a noble family, his daughter might be considered a Roman rather than a Sabine, (Perizonius, at great length, attempts to prove that Livy must have written *Sabino patre*,) and the father of Ancus was a man of high rank. As the passage stands, however, *una imagine* has reference to a state of things which arose long posterior to the date of Tanaquil's ambitious aspirations. Those only, in later ages, were entitled to have their images placed in the atrium who had enjoyed certain offices. The first of a family thus privileged was called *novus homo*. His son would be styled *nobilis una imagine*. But, in this view, Romulus himself was *novus homo* and *nulla imagine*. ⁴ *Facile*

honorum, et cui Tarquinii materna tantum patria esset. Sublatis itaque rebus commigrant Romam. Ad Janiculum fortè ventum erat. Ibi ei carpento sedenti cum uxore aquila suspensis demissa leniter alis pileum aufert; superque carpentum cum magno clangore volitans, rursus¹, velut ministerio divinitus missa, capiti aptè reponit; inde sublimis abiit. Accepisse id augurium laeta dicitur Tanaquil perita, ut vulgò Etrusci, coelestium prodigiorum mulier. 'Excelsa et alta sperare' complexa virum jubet. 'Eam alitem, eâ regione coeli, et ejus Dei nunciam venisse'². 'Circa summum culmen hominis auspiciū fecisse. Le- vâsse humano superpositum capiti decus, ut divinitus ei- dem redderet.' Has spes cogitationesque secum portantes urbem ingressi sunt, domicilioque ibi comparato 'L. Tar- quinium Priscum' edidere nomen³. Romanis conspicuum eum novitas divitiaeque faciebant; et ipse fortunam benigno alloquio, comitate invitandi, beneficiisque quos poterat sibi conciliando, adjuvabat, donec in regiam quòque de eo fama perlata est; notitiamque eam brevi, apud regem liberaliter dextrèque obeundo officia, in familiaris amicitiae adduxerat jura, ut publicis pariter ac privatis consiliis belli domique interesset; et per omnia expertus⁴, postremò tutor etiam liberis regis testamento institueretur.

XXXV. Regnavit Ancus annos quatuor et viginti, cui libet superiorum regum belli pacisque et artibus et gloriâ par. Jam filii prope puberem aetatem erant. Eò magis Tarquinius instare ut quàm primùm comitia regi creando fierent. Quibus indictis, sub tempus pueros venatum ablegavit. Isque primus et petisse ambitiosè regnum, et orationem dicitur habuisse ad conciliandos plebis animos compositam, quum⁵, 'se non rem novam petere; quippe qui

persuadet viro. Ut, 'as being.' or reponit. See p. 61, note 2.

¹ *Rursus reponit, Rursus ponit*

² *Eam alitem, &c. 'That such was the royal rank of the bird, such the quarter of the heaven, and such the god whose message it had borne.' The bird, the eagle; the quarter of the heaven, the entrance to Rome; the god, Jupiter.*

³ It is almost unnecessary to observe that Livy anticipates in this passage. The name Tarquinius Priscus, Tarquin the Ancient, equivalent to our Tarquin the First, could not have been assumed nor applied till a younger Tarquin rendered the epithet necessary, for the sake of distinction.

⁴ *Expertus, again used passively, as in cap. 17.*

⁵ *Quum, dice-*

‘ non primus, quod quisquam indignari mirarive posset, sed
 ‘ tertius Romae peregrinus regnum affectet; et Tatium
 ‘ non ex peregrino solum sed etiam ex hoste regem fac-
 ‘ tum; et Numam ignarum urbis, non petentem in regnum
 ‘ ultrò accitum. Se, ex quo sui potens fuerit, Romam cum
 ‘ conjuge ac fortunis omnibus commigrâsse; majorem par-
 ‘ tem aetatis ejus quâ civilibus officiis fungantur homines,
 ‘ Romae se quàm in vetere patriâ vixisse. Domi militiaeque
 ‘ sub haud poenitendo magistro ipso Anco rege, Romana se
 ‘ jura, Romanos ritus didicisse. Obsequio et observantiâ
 ‘ in regem cum omnibus, benignitate erga alios cum rege
 ‘ ipso certâsse.’ Haec eum haud falsa memorantem

v. c.

138. ingenti consensu populus Romanus regnare jussit.

Ergo virum cetera egregium secuta, quam in petendo habuerat, etiam regnantem ambitio est ¹. Nec minùs regni sui firmandi quàm augendae reipublicae memor, centum in Patres legit; qui deinde minorum gentium sunt appellati; factio haud dubia regis, cujus beneficio in curiam venerant. Bellum primum cum Latinis gessit, et oppidum ibi Apiolas vi cepit; praedâque inde majore quàm quanta belli fama fuerat ² revectâ, ludos opulentiùs instructiùsque quàm priores reges fecit. Tum primùm circo, qui nunc Maximus dicitur, designatus locus est. Loca divisa Patribus equitibusque ubi spectacula sibi quisque facerent, Fori appellati ³. Spectavere furcis duodenos ab terrâ spectacula alta

ret understood, as in the 48th chapter, *Quum ille ferociter ad haec.* Many join it with *petere*, some quoting such passages as *Quum Ap-
 pius . . . dicere*, ii. 27, which is totally inapplicable, and *quum . . .
 . . . legem confestim exerceri*, iv. 51, which is more appropriate, but still is not the same construction; and others suggesting *quum . . .
 . . . et Tatium*, to be equivalent to ‘ both . . . and that ‘ Tatius,’ evidently contrary to the intention of Livy. ¹ *Ergo,*

*ge. Ergo ambitio quam habuerat in petendo secuta est virum egregium
 caetera etiam regnantem. Petentem* has a reference to *regnum*, in-
 volved in *regnantem*, which is equivalent to *regnum possidentem*.

² The passage may mean that the booty was greater than the glory derived from so unimportant a conquest; or that it was greater than the expectation had been. The former seems to be the sentiment of Livy.

³ It is not improbable that there was a tradition of some distinction being made in the places of the spectators in early times. But the one adopted by Livy is not probable. Dionysius, (Lib. iii.) states that a place was marked off for each *Curia*, a statement made use of by Niebuhr, (*Hist. Rom.* i. 426,) as accounting for the erec-

sustinentibus pedes¹. Ludicrum fuit equi pugilesque ex Etruriâ maximè acciti. Solennes deinde annui mansere ludi², Romani Magnique variè appellati. Ab eodem rege et circa forum privatis aedificanda divisa sunt loca; porticus tabernaeque factae.

XXXVI. Muro quòque lapideo circumdare urbem parabat, quum Sabinum bellum coeptis intervenit. Adeòque ea subita res fuit, ut priùs Anienem transirent hostes quàm obviàm ire ac prohibere exercitus Romanus posset. Itaque trepidatum Romae est, et primò dubiâ victoriâ magnâ utrinque caede pugnatum est. Reductis deinde in castra hostium copiis, datoque spatio Romanis ad comparandum de integro bellum, Tarquinius 'equitem maximè suis deesse viribus' ratus, ad Ramnes, Titienses, Luceres, quas centurias Romulus scripserat³, addere alias constituit, suoque

tion of the Circus Flaminius, the Circus Maximus according to his conjecture, exhibiting games at which only the original Roman settlers were present in their *Curiae*, and the *Circus Flaminius* being allotted to the games of the *plebs* or commonalty, who were not included in the *Curiae*. Professor Malden, also, hence assumes, (*History of Rome*, p. 137,) the identity of the *Curiae* with the Patricians. However that may be, all distinctions must have vanished soon after; for we find Livy himself forgetful of his present statement, affirming, (xxxiv. 54, A. U. C. 558,) Horum aedilium ludos Romanos PRIMUM senatus a populo secretus spectavit. And in this latter statement he is confirmed by Cicero, *De Responsis Haruspium*, 12, *Pro C. Cornelio*; and by Valerius Maximus, ii. 4, § 3, iv. 5, § 1, in all which passages no notice is taken of the *Equites*. But it is still further observable, that even this could not apply to the *Ludi Circenses*, but only to the portion of the games that was scenic—celebrated by plays in a theatre. For in the *Circus*, Augustus first assigned the foremost place in all spectacles whatever to the senators, (*Suetonii Octavius*, 44.) which was confirmed and rendered precise by Claudius, (*Suetonii Claudius*, 21, *Dio. Cassius*, lx. 7,) Nero bestowing a similar privilege on the Equites. (*Taciti Annal.* xv. 32, *Suetonii Nero*, 11.) *Spectacula*, i. e. loca unde spectarent. Observe the evidence furnished by Livy of the Etrurian origin of the games.

¹ *Furcis*. Wooden horses, somewhat in the shape of X. *Furcis sustinentibus spectacula alta*, &c. ² *Ludi*. See Index. ³ *Equitum*, &c. In the early ages of every country, cavalry is the branch of service resorted to by the powerful, the infantry are ill-trained and uninfluential; but, as military skill advances, the infantry become the principal part of the army, and the cavalry mere accessaries. So it was with Rome. *Quas*, &c. See ch. 13.

insignes relinquere nomine. Id quia inauguratò Romulus fecerat, negare Attus Navius inclytus eâ tempestate augur, 'neque mutari neque novum constitui, nisi aves addixissent, 'posse¹.' Ex eo ira regi mota, eludensque artem, ut ferunt, 'Agedum,' inquit, divine tu, inaugura fierine possit, 'quod nunc ego mente concipio².' Quum ille, in augurio³ rem expertus, profectò futuram dixisset; 'Atqui hoc animo agitavi,' inquit, 'te novaculâ cotem discissurum. Cape hæc, et perage quod aves tuæ fieri posse portendunt.' 'Tum illum haud cunctanter discidisse cotem' ferunt⁴. Statua Atti capite velato, quo in loco res acta est, in comitio, in gradibus ipsis ad laevam curiæ⁵ fuit; 'cotem quod eodem loco sitam fuisse' memorant, 'ut esset ad posteros miraculi ejus monumentum.' Auguriis certè sacerdotioque augurum tantus honos accessit, ut nihil belli domique postea nisi auspicato gereretur; concilia populi, exercitus vocati, summa rerum, 'ubi aves non admisissent,' dirimerentur⁶. Neque tum Tarquinius de equitum centuriis quicquam mutavit; numero alterum tantum adjecit, ut mille et octingenti equites in tribus centuriis essent⁷.

¹ *Negare*, a negative joined with *neque mutari neque constitui*. To *nego* is generally attributed the force of *dicere non*. The difficulty is got rid of by resolving it into *dicere contra*. *Addixissent*, had sanctioned it; *Addicere* used in the same sense as *admittere* in a following passage.

² *Eludens*, with the meaning of *illudens*, *irridens*, as in ii. 45, *Adeo . . . hostis eludebat*. *Inaugura*, with the force of *augurio experire*. Elsewhere it signifies to inaugurate, to consecrate by previous auguries, as iii. 20. *Fama exierat locum augurari ubi, &c.*

³ *In augurio*. An unusual use of *in*. Hence some propose *inaugurio* as one word, corresponding with *inaugura*.

⁴ Cicero (*De Divin.* ii. 38,) sneers at this story of the whetstone, though himself an augur.

⁵ Statua Attii fuit ante Curiam, cujus basis conflagravit Curia incensa P. Clodii funere. *Plin.* xxxiv. 5, 11. This is the Curia Hostilia referred to in p. 53, note 5. *Comitio*. See Index.

⁶ *Concilia, &c.* 'The assemblies of the people were broken up, 'armies called to the field were dismissed; in short, all affairs of 'whatever importance were postponed whenever the Augurs declared that the birds had not sanctioned the proceedings.' But Rupertus thinks *concilia* to mean *comitia minora, curiata et tributa*, and *exercitus*, *comitia maxima s. centuriata*, as the latter, whose whole organization was military, are expressly called *exercitus urbanus*.

⁷ *Numero alterum tantum adjecit*, i. e. *duplicavit*. *Mille et octingenti*.

‘Posteriores’ modò sub iisdem nominibus, qui additi erant, appellati sunt¹; quas nunc, quia geminatae sunt, sex vocant centurias².

XXXVII. Hac parte copiarum auctâ, iterum cum Sabinis confligitur. Sed praeterquam quòd viribus creverat Romanus exercitus, ex occulto etiam additur dolus, missis qui magnam vim lignorum in Anienis ripâ jacentem, ardentem in flumen conjicerent; ventoque juvante accensa ligna, et pleraque in ratibus impacta publiciis quum haerent, pontem incendunt³. Ea quòque res in pugna terrorem attulit Sabinis; effusis eadem fugam impedit, multique mortales, quum hostem effugissent, in flumine ipso periëre; quorum fluitantia arma ad urbem cognita in Tiberi, priùs penè quàm nunciari posset, insignem victoriam fecere. Eo proelio praecipua equitum gloria fuit. ‘Utrinque ab cornibus positos, quum jam pelleretur media peditum suorum acies, ita incurrisse ab lateribus’ ferunt, ‘ut non sisterent modò Sabinas legiones ferociter instantes cedentibus, sed subitò in fugam averterent.’ Montes effuso cursu Sabini pete-

This is the reading of two MSS., all the rest having *mille et trecenti*, and many editions arbitrarily reading *mille et ducenti*. Livy, c. 13. states that Romulus instituted three centuries of Equites, whose number we conjecture from c. 15. (the *Celeres* being probably identical with the Equites) to have been 300. These were probably doubled on the admission of the Sabines, c. 13. (See also Plutarch, *Rom.* 13. 20.) Livy tells us that ten troops, or 300, were added from the Albans by Tullus Hostilius, (c. 30.) in all 900, which doubled makes 1800. ¹ That is, each century consisted of *Ramnes* and *Ramnes posteriores*, &c., or as Cicero and Festus call them, *secundi*. ² This change from three to six centuries, still retaining the old names however, was effected by Servius Tullius, c. 43.

³ *Ventoque*, &c. ‘As the wind assisted the blazing logs, and as most of them, being driven against the boats resting on piles (that formed the bridge,) stuck there, they set fire to the bridge.’ Ours is the undoubted reading of the MSS., but it has been altered on conjecture to *publicis*, meaning, according to some, that the logs were bound on rafts, and were driven against the piles, while Drakenborch joins *impacta* with *ratibus*, in which case *ratibus* may mean the boats of which the bridge was made. Gronovius conjectures *ratibus impacta publicisque*—‘driven against the boats and the piles that formed the bridge.’ Adverting to the MSS. reading Gronovius asks, *quas rates publiciae?* We answer *rates publiciae* are the boats resting on piles (*publiciae*) and forming the bridge?

bant, et pauci tenuere¹; maxima pars, ut antè dictum est, ab equitibus in flumen acti sunt. Tarquinius instandum perterritis ratus, praedâ captivisque Romam missis, spoliis hostium (id votum Vulcano erat) ingenti cumulo accensis, pergit porrò in agrum Sabinum exercitum inducere; et quanquam malè gesta res erat nec gesturos meliùs sperare poterant, tamen quia consulendi res non dabat spatium, ière obviàm Sabini tumultuario milite. Iterumque ibi fusi, perditis jam prope rebus, pacem petiére.

XXXVIII. Collatia et quicquid circa Collatiam agri erat Sabinis ademptum. Egerius² (fratris hic filius erat regis) Collatiae in praesidio relictus. Deditosque Collatinos ita accipio, eamque deditiois formulam esse. Rex interrogavit, 'Estisne vos legati oratoresque missi a populo Collatino, ut vos populumque Collatinum dederetis?' 'Sumus.' 'Estne populus Collatinus in suâ potestate?' 'Est.' 'Deditisne vos, populumque Collatinum, urbem, agros, aquam, terminos, delubra, utensilia, divina humanaque omnia, in meam populique Romani ditionem?' 'Deditumus.' 'At ego recipio.' Bello Sabino perfecto Tarquinius triumphans Romam rediit³. Inde Priscis Latinis bellum fecit. Ubi nusquam ad universae rei dimicationem⁴ ventum est, ad singula oppida circumferendo arma omne nomen Latinum domuit. Corniculum, Ficulea vetus, Cameria, Crustumerium, Ameriola, Medullia, Nomentum, haec de Priscis Latinis aut qui ad Latinos defecerant⁵ capta oppida. Pax deinde est facta⁶. Majore inde

¹ *Tenere*, to reach, is used where there has been difficulty or danger, as *Laurentem agrum tenuisse*, c. i. ² See p. 62, note 3.

³ Though something like the triumph seems to have been instituted by Romulus, on the occasion mentioned by Livy in the 10th chapter, this is the first time he notices it under its peculiar name. 'Ad, &c. 'To a general engagement,' in which all the forces at once (*universae*) should be engaged; or 'to a decisive engagement,' which should finish the whole war at once.

⁴ Crustumerium, (ch. 11.) and Medullia, (ch. 33.) were revolted towns. *Qui*, de his *qui*. 'Dionysius, (book iii.) in addition to these wars, records another carried on by Tarquin with the Etrurians, in which he was completely successful; and he says that it was on this occasion that the *insignia* of royalty, bestowed by the vanquished Etrurians, were, with the permission of the senate and people, first assumed by Tarquin, contrary to Livy's statement, ch. 8. This tradition of war with

animo pacis opera inchoata quàm quantâ mole gesserat bella, ut non quietior populus domi esset quàm militiae fuisset. Nam et muro lapideo, cujus exordium operis Sabino bello turbatum erat, urbem, quâ nondum munierat, cingere parat; et infima urbis loca circa forum aliasque interjectas collibus convalles, quia ex planis locis haud faciliè evehebant aquas, cloacis e fastigio in Tiberim ductis ¹ siccant; et aream ad aedem in Capitolio Jovis quam voverat bello Sabino, jam praesagiente animo futuram olim amplitudinem loci, occupat fundamentis ².

XXXIX. Eo tempore in regiâ prodigium visu eventumque mirabile fuit. 'Pueri dormienti,' cui Servio Tullio nomen fuit, 'caput arsisse' ferunt 'multorum in conspectu. Plurimo igitur clamore inde ad tantae rei miraculum orto excitos reges ³. Et quum quidam familiarium aquam ad rescutiendum ferret, ab reginâ retentum; sedatoque eam tumultu moveri vetuisse puerum, donec suâ sponte experiret rectus esset. Mox cum somno et flammam abissee.' Tum abducto in secretum viro Tanaquil, 'Viden' tu puerum hunc, inquit, 'quem tam humili cultu educamus ⁴. Scire licet hunc lumen quondam rebus nostris dubiis futurum, praesidiumque regiae afflictæ. Proinde materiem ingentis publicè privatimque decoris omni indulgentiâ nostrâ nutriamus.'

Etruria, is adopted by no other Roman writer except Florus, (i. 5.) Tullus Hostilius, according to Cicero, (*De Republicâ*, ii. 17,) first assumed the ensigns of power. ¹ *Cloacis*, &c. 'By common sewers sloping downwards (*e fastigio*) to the Tiber.' Some MSS. have *cloacis fastigio*, which is preferred by Gronovius. *Cloacis*. See Index. ² Livy afterwards states that Tarquinius Priscus did no more than vow this temple, c. 55. ³ Drakenborch has in this, and a subsequent passage in the second book, accumulated examples to prove that *reges* sometimes means *rex et regina*. One may suffice, from Livy, xlv. 43. *Rex cum liberis et conjuge et fratre*. Spoletium in custodiam ex senatusconsulto ductus. . . . Recusantibus custodiam Spoletinis Iguvium *reges* traducti. A king's son is called *rex*, as Cicero, *De Senectute*, 17, so styles Cyrus the younger, and a king's daughters *reginae*. Curt. iii. 10, § 25. So in Greek, Xenophon, *Memorabil.* lib. v., styles Cyrus the younger, *Ἰνδοκυβέστητος βασιλλεύς*. And similarly, Virgil, *Aen.* iv. 456, (this is remarked by Gronovius,) applies *soceros* to Priam and Hecuba; Sæpius Andromache ferre incommittata solebat Ad *soceros*. ⁴ *Educamus*. *Educere* is also used in this sense, as in the end of this chapter, *a parvo eductum*, unless, indeed, *educare* have more a reference to the *body*, and *educere* to the

‘Inde puerum liberum loco coeptum ¹ haberi, erudiri que artibus,’ quibus ingenia ad magnae fortunae cultum excitantur. Evenit facile quod Diis cordi esset ². Juvenis evasit verè indolis regiae. Nec, quum quaereretur gener Tarquinio, quisquam Romanae juventutis ullâ arte conferri potuit; filiamque ei suam Rex despondit. Hic, quâcunque de causâ, tantus illi honos habitus credere prohibet servâ natum eum parvumque ipsum servisse. Eorum magis sententiae sum qui ‘Corniculo capto, Servii Tullii,’ qui princeps in illâ urbe fuerat, ‘gravidam viro occiso uxorem, quum inter reliquas captivas cognita esset, ob unicam ³ nobilitatem ab reginâ Romanâ prohibitam’ ferunt ‘servitio partum Romae edidisse, Prisci Tarquinii domo. Inde tanto beneficio et inter mulieres familiaritatem auctam, et puerum, ut in domo a parvo eductum, in caritate atque honore fuisse; fortunam matris, quòd captâ patriâ in hostium manus venerit, ut servâ natus crederetur fecisse.’

XL. Duodequadragesimo ferme anno, ex quo regnare coeperat Tarquinius, non apud regem modò, sed apud Patres plebemque longè maximo honore Servius Tullius erat. Tum Anci filii duo,—etsi antea semper pro indignissimo habuerant, ‘se patrio regno tutoris fraude pulsos, regnare Romae advenam, non modò civicae sed ne Italicae quidem stirpis ⁴,’ tum impensiùs his indignitas crescere, ‘si ne ab

mind. Both words, it must be confessed, often imply simple *rearing, bringing-up*, without *education*, technically so called. *Viden*, a poetical form, common among the poets, for *videtur*, which latter is found in the majority of the MSS.

¹ *Coeptum haberi.* *Coepi*, when used with a verb in the passive, generally assumes itself a passive form.

² *Cor*, the heart, in Latin not only the seat of the judgment, but of the affections, the region of pleasurable sensation, hence *esse cordi*, synonymous with *esse voluptati*; and as here, *curae*. But why *esset*? A modest expression of Livy’s, ‘which perhaps was,’ ‘might, in truth, be?’ Or does it refer to Tanaquil, ‘which in the opinion of the queen was?’ One MS. has *est*, in my opinion a preferable reading. With *esset*, it is a statement confined to the case of Servius Tullius *evenit*, with *est*, a general proposition *evenit*.

³ See p. 37, note 1. *Unicam* must be understood with reference to *princeps* in a preceding clause, ‘her rank exalted above all others.’

⁴ *Non modo*, &c. In all the critical notices of this passage, (and this is assumed as a general rule in all cases where two clauses occur, the first with *non modo*, and the second with *ne quidem*,) the reader is directed to supply *non* after *non modo*. In a most valuable

‘ Tarquinio quidem ad se rediret regnum, sed praeceps
 ‘ inde porro ad servitia caderet ; ut in eâdem civitate post
 ‘ centesimum ferè annum ¹, quam Romulus, Deo progna-
 ‘ tus, Deus ipse, tenuerit regnum donec in terris fuerit, id
 ‘ servus servâ natus possideat ; tum commune Romani
 ‘ nominis, tum praecipuè id domûs suae dedecus fore, si,
 ‘ Anci regis virili stirpe salvâ, non modò advenis sed ser-
 ‘ vis etiam regnum Romae pateret ²,’—ferro igitur eam ar-
 cere contumeliam statuunt. Sed et injuriae dolor in Tar-
 quinium ipsum magis quàm in Servium eos stimulabat ;
 et quia gravior ultor caedis, si superesset, Rex futurus
 erat quàm privatus ; tum, Servio occiso, quemcunque alium
 generum delegisset, eundem regni haeredem facturum vide-
 batur ³ ; ob haec ipsi regi insidiae parantur. Ex pastoribus

note by Dr Hunter, on a passage in the 2d book, this doctrine has been examined in a manner worthy of that eminent philologist. It will be sufficient here to state merely the two canons which he seems to have incontestably established, by reasoning derived both from the nature of the language generally, and the uniform practice of the Latin authors. ‘ I. When *one common circumstance* is denied in both clauses, and in the arrangement of the sentence is placed after *ne quidem*, no second negative is necessary after *non modo*. II. When *two different and distinct circumstances* are denied severally, one in each of the clauses, a second negative is *indispensably* required after *non modo*.’ Of the first canon we have an example, in such a sentence as this, *hic homo non modo scribere, sed ne legere quidem didicit*, where the common circumstance denied in both clauses is *didicit*. *Ne* being equivalent to *non*, the *rationale* of the usage is obvious. *Hic homo non modo scribere—sed—legere quidem NON DIDICIT*. This man has NOT LEARNED. What has he not learned? Not only writing but reading even. In the example before us, Dr Hunter says, ‘ The *ne* of *ne quidem* denies the family of Tarquin, *not only* as *stirps civica*, but also as *stirps Italica* ; and the denial of the term *stirps* as common to both clauses, amounts, as in the former example, ‘ to the same thing, as denying it severally in each clause.’ The *rationale* of the second canon, where two negatives are stated to be necessary to two distinct negative assertions, is obvious. ¹ The real period was more than 140 years. But the sons of Ancus make the contrast stronger by bringing the two reigns closer in point of time. ² The ingenious punctuation of Dr Hunter, to shew the connexion between *fili* and the distant *statuunt* has, with some modification, been adopted. ³ Much disquisition has been employed on this sentence, from the fact that there seem to be three distinct reasons given for the assassination of Tarquinius Priscus, instead of

duo ferocissimi delecti ad facinus, quibus consueti erant uterque agrestibus ferramentis ¹, in vestibulo regiae, quàm potuere tumultuosissimè, specie rixae in se omnes apparitores regios convertunt; inde, quum ambo regem appellarent clamorque eorum penitus in regiam pervenisset, vocati ad regem pergunt. Primò uterque vociferari et certatim alter alteri obstrepere; coërciti ab lictore et jussi in vicem ² dicere, tandem obloqui desistunt. Unus rem ex composito orditur. Cùm intentus in eum se Rex totus averteret,

that of Servius Tullius, severally introduced by *et—et—tum*, while the second alone has *quia*. Hence Gronovius, Drakenborch, Crevier and Bauer propose to omit the *quia*. Stroth, however, asserts that there were but two classes of reasons, one why Tarquinius Priscus should be killed, another why Servius Tullius should not be killed, arising from the danger and the uselessness of the deed, and that the former has not *quia*, because it was a fact, (*et injuriae dolor, &c.*) while the latter has it in the first part, (the danger, *et quia gravior, &c. quia* being understood also before the other, the uselessness, *tum, Servio occiso, &c.*) because it contained the reasoning of the youths. Doering says there were only two principal reasons, revenge and fear, and a *ratio probabilis* introduced by *tum*, which has the force of *insuper*. Raschig holds by Gronovius and Drakenborch, interprets *quia*, if retained, as meaning *id quod—et id stimulabat quod*, and styles Stroth's reasoning as *ratio singularis*. Dr Hunter is of opinion that there are two formal assertions, one that resentment stimulated the sons of Ancus against the king himself, the other 'that the plot is laid for the king himself, upon two considerations of reason and policy,' the two formal assertions being marked by *et*. Hence *ob haec* refers only to the clauses *et quia*, onwards. Ruperti smiles at all this, and says, 'the commentators have sought a knot in a bulrush,' retaining *quia*, but assigning no reason. Nor does it seem easy to give one, except that Livy (for all the MSS. have it,) chose to use *quia*, where he might have done without it. Omit the *quia*, and the sense is perfectly good. Keep *quia* where it is, or place *quia* before *injuriae* and the meaning is equally plain,—give all three clauses *quia*, and you add nothing to the sense. But on an attentive consideration of the sentence, there seems no doubt that *ob haec* refers to the whole three clauses as reasons, whatever view be taken. ¹ *Quibus consueti, &c.* *Cum* is understood, as often in Livy. *Quibus* joined with *ferramentis*, somewhat on the principle pointed out, p. 53, note 1. 'With what rural implements of iron,' i. e. in this case, hatchets. Bauer connects *ferramentis* with *conversantur*. Ruperti says, *cum ferramentis, quibus uti uterque consueti erant, vel quibus adsueta erant.* ² *In vicem.* Quisque sua vice, suo

alter elatam securim in caput dejecit¹; relictoque in vulnere telo, ambo se foras ejiciunt.

XLI. Tarquinium moribundum quum qui circà erant excepissent, illos fugientes lictores comprehendunt. Clamor inde concursusque populi mirantium² quid rei esset. Tanaquil inter tumultum claudi regiam jubet, arbitros ejecit³; simul, quae curando vulneri opus sunt, tanquam spes subesset, sedulò comparat; simul, si destituat spes, alia praesidia molitur. Servio properè accito, quum penè exsanguem virum ostendisset, dextram tenens orat, 'ne inultam mortem soceri, ne socrum inimicis ludibrio esse sinat. Tuum est,' inquit, 'Servi, si vir es, regnum; non eorum⁴ qui alienis manibus pessimum facinus fecere. Erige te, Deosque duces sequere, qui clarum hoc fore caput divino quondam circumfuso igni portenderunt⁵. Nunc te illa coelestis excitet flamma; nunc expergiscere verè. Et nos pergrini regnavimus. Qui sis, non unde natus sis, reputa. Si tua re subitâ consilia torpent, at tu mea sequere.' Quum clamor impetusque multitudinis vix sustineri posset, ex superiore parte aedium per fenestras in novam viam

loco, h. e. alter post alterum. Ruperti. ¹ *Se averteret, se ab altero verteret.* *Totus*, similarly Horace, Sermon. i. 9. 2. Nescio quid meditans nugarum, *totus* in illia. *Se totum* would be equally good Latin, but *rex totus* gives a stronger notion of the king's willingness; mind and body are of course both implied. *Elatam securim dejecit.* Let the learner mark the force of the perfect participle here. There are two actions specified; raising the hatchet, and hurling it down. The former, first in point of time, is expressed by the perfect participle, giving a double advantage; fewer words are required, and a pictorial effect is communicated to the account of the subsequent action. *Elatam dejecit*, is equivalent to *extulit et deinde dejecit*, 'he raised and then hurled down.' Observe, then, that in such sentences, and they abound in Latin, the perfect participle expresses an action prior and leading to that expressed by the governing verb.

² *Populi mirantium.* *Populus*, a collective noun, hence the plural of the participle, as *Haec ingens turba circumfusi fremebant* (xxvi. 35.), where it is to be observed that *turba* has *circumfusi* in the masculine, it being universally the case in this transmutation of number that regard is had to the gender of meaning, not of termination. Thus, *Pars in crucem acti, pars bestiis objecti.* Sallust. Jugurth. 14.

³ So the MSS. Some editions read *ejecit* as connected with *jubet*; unnecessarily. See p. 16, note 1.

⁴ *Tuum est, non eorum.* See p. 42, note 2.

⁵ See Chap.

versas (habitat enim rex ad Jovis Statoris ¹) populum Tanaquil alloquitur. Jubet 'bono animo esse, sopitum' 'fuisse regem subito ictu; ferrum haud altè in corpus descendisse; jam ad se redisse; inspectum vulnus abstergo' 'cruore; omnia salubria ² esse; confidere propediem ipsum' 'eos visuros; interim Servio Tullio jubere populum dicto' 'audientem esse; eum jura redditurum obiturumque alia' 'regis munia esse.' Servius cum trabea ³ et lictoribus prodit; ac sede regiâ sedens alia decernit, de aliis consulturum se regem esse simulat. Itaque per aliquot dies, quum jam expirâsset Tarquinius, celatâ morte, per speciem alienae fungendae vicis suas opes firmavit. Tum demum ^{u. c.} ^{176.} palam facto ⁴, et comploratione in regiâ ortâ, Servius praesidio firmo munitus, primus injussu populi, voluntate Patrum regnavit. Anci liberi jam tum ⁵, comprehensis sceleris ministris, ut vivere regem et tantas esse opes Servii nunciatum est, Suessam Pometiam exsultatum ierant.

XLII. Nec jam publicis magis consiliis Servius quàm

39, as also below at *expergiscere verè*.

¹ Supply *aedem*. A common mode of expression with the Romans. See p. 61, note 4.

² *Omnia*, &c. 'That all the symptoms were favourable;' another meaning of *saluber*. See p. 56, note 3.

³ *Trabea*. See Index.

⁴ The early reading was, *palam facta ex* (sup. *morte*.) But all the best MSS. and all the later editions have the reading of the text. *Facto* is, it must be admitted, an extreme case of the use of the perfect participle of an active verb, as referring in the neuter gender to a clause, independently of any specific noun with which it should agree. In all the other instances that I have examined the clause is expressed. Thus, to take one quoted by Drakenborch, and the most closely resembling this that I can find, Livy, (xlv. 5,) speaking of L. Atilius, says, *Petit, ut sibi paucis adloquendi potestatem facerent. Permisso*, &c. Then follows his address. Here *permisso* evidently refers to the previous clause, as may be seen by changing *permisso* into its equivalent *quum permissum esset*, i. e. *quum ut paucis adloqueretur permissum esset*. In *palam facto* there is no such clause, but converting it into its equivalent, we have *quum palam factum esset*, when we must understand with the critics a reference to *regem mortuum esse*. The same thing occurs not only in the ablative of the participle but the nominative, and we may infer from analogy, the accusative. See below, ch. 53.

⁵ I have, following the suggestion of Doering, placed the comma after *jam tum*, not *liberi*, as I conceive that these

privatis munire opes¹. Et ne, qualis Anci liberum animus adversus Tarquinium fuerat, talis adversus se Tarquinii liberum² esset, duas filias juvenibus regiis, Lucio atque Arunti Tarquiniis jungit. Nec rupit tamen fati necessitatem humanis consiliis, quin invidia regni etiam inter domesticos infida omnia atque infesta faceret. Peroportunè ad praesentis quietem status, bellum cum Vejentibus (jam enim induciae exierant³) aliisque Etruscis sumptum. In eo bello et virtus et fortuna enituit Tullii. Fusoque ingenti hostium exercitu, haud dubius rex, seu Patrum seu plebis animos periclitaretur, Romam rediit. Aggrediturque inde ad pacis longè maximum opus; 'Ut, quemadmodum' Numa divini auctor juris fuisset, ita Servium conditorem 'omnis in civitate discriminis ordinumque,' quibus inter gradus dignitatis fortunaeque aliquid interlucet, 'posteris' famam ferrent.' Censum⁴ enim instituit, rem saluberrimam tanto futuro imperio; ex quo belli pacisque munia non viritum, ut antè, sed pro habitu pecuniarum fierent. Tum classes centuriasque et hunc ordinem⁵ ex censu descripsit, vel paci decorum vel bello.

XLIII. Ex iis qui centum millium aeris aut majorem censum haberent, octoginta confecit centurias, quadragenas seniorum ac juniorum⁶; prima classis omnes appellati; se-

words refer to their departure before the public announcement of the king's death.

¹ *Publicis*, referring to the measures detailed in the previous chapter, *privatis*, to his domestic plans, which are narrated in the next sentence.

² Dionysius (lib. iv.) endeavours, at great length, to prove that these must have been the grandsons, not the sons, of Tarquin.

³ See p. 54, note 2. This war, according to the tradition followed by Dionysius, lasted twenty years, and yielded three triumphs to Servius. Livy makes no further allusion to it than that contained in the beginning of the 46th chapter, *agro capto ex hostibus*.

⁴ *Census* here means an inquiry into the names, families and fortunes of the citizens, the result of which was registered in the public records, with a view to a regularly organised division according to their means. In the first sentence of the next chapter it means simply the fortune of the citizens.

⁵ *Hunc ordinem*. 'The arrangement of the state as at present existing.' In the same way *Hoc Lupercal*, chap. 5.

⁶ For a brief account of the result of modern researches into the nature of the Comitia Centuriata, as instituted by Servius Tullius, see Index, under the word *Centuriata*. *Centum millium aeris*, that is, *assium*, pounds of copper, the standard money of Rome. The vague no-

niores ad urbis custodiam ut praesto essent, juvenes ut foris bella gererent. Arma his imperata galea, clipeum, ocreae, lorica, omnia ex aere; haec ut tegumenta corporis essent; tela² in hostem hastaque et gladius. Additae huic classi duae fabrum centuriae, quae sine armis stipendia facerent; datum munus, ut machinas in bello ferrent³. Secunda classis intra centum usque ad quinque et septuaginta millium censum instituta; et ex his, senioribus junioribusque, viginti conscriptae centuriae: arma imperata scutum⁴ pro clipeo, et praeter lorica omnia eadem. Tertiae classis quinquaginta millium censum esse voluit⁵. Totidem

tions which we must necessarily entertain of the value here mentioned, as well as of ancient money in general, may be judged of from this statement of Dr Adam: 'The first class consisted of those whose estates in lands and effects were worth at least 100,000 *asses*, or pounds of brass; or 10,000 drachmae, according to the Greek way of computing, which sum is commonly reckoned equal to L.322 : 18 : 4 of our money; but if we suppose each pound of brass to contain 24 *asses*, as was the case afterwards, it will amount to L.7,750.' This, be it observed, in computing the fortunes of the other classes, gives, in the former case the *as* = $3\frac{1}{8}$ farthings, and in the latter, the *as* = 1s. $6\frac{1}{8}$ d. *Juniorum*, from 17 to 45 years of age, *Seniorum*, all above.

² *Arma, tela*. See p. 44, note 1. *Arma* is used in its generic sense, including both, in the subsequent sentences of this chapter. *Clipeum*. This noun has another form, *clipeus*. In this description of the arms and weapons of the Romans of the first class, Livy embodies the notion of those called by Homer, *πρόμαχοι*, (a complete suit of armour, being at once indicative of wealth, and necessary for those fighting in the front ranks,) and by the later Greek writers, *επιτάται*. The young reader will find the Grecian armour of Homer's time, which Livy's account exactly resembles, described, Il. iii. 328-339, and other passages. See also Ephesians, vi. 14-17, where the spear only is wanting, and we have sandals for *ocreae*, greaves, that is, armour covering the legs. *Hasta*, see p. 49, note 3.

³ The *Fabri*, 'carpenters and smiths,' Dionysius in his account of the census, (lib. iv.) joins to the second class. *Ferrent*, for which *facerent*, *ferrent*, and (for in bello, ad bella,) *pararent*, have been proposed, must be used here in the not uncommon sense of *suppeditarent*. ⁴ *Scutum*, *θυρίς*, (from its door-like shape,) a long, wooden oblong shield, fitted to, and covering the whole body, and rendering unnecessary the *lorica*, which was worn by those who were defended by the *clipeus*, *ἀσπίς*, round bronze shield. Polybius states the *scutum* to have been 4 feet long, by $2\frac{1}{2}$ broad. It ultimately superseded the *clipeus* altogether. Livy, viii. 8.

⁵ The ordinary reading,

centuriae et hae, eodemque discrimine aetatum factae¹; nec de armis quicquam mutatum, ocreae tantum ademptae. In quartâ classe census quinque et viginti millium, totidem centuriae factae. Arma mutata; nihil praeter hastam et verutum datum². Quinta classis aucta, centuriae triginta factae; fundas lapidesque missiles hi secum gerebant; in his accensi, cornicines tubicinesque, in tres centurias³ dis-

which is unsupported by any of the MSS., inserts *is* before *quinquaginta*. The passage seems to be corrupt, but the reading adopted is recommended by Rhenanus and Ruperti, and has the sanction of one MS., and the edition of Sigonius at least.

¹ That is, there were twenty centuries, ten *juniorum*, ten *seniorum*. ² Dionysius gives the fourth class the *scutum*, and instead of the *verutum* the *gladius*, probably thinking the descent too rapid. He arranges also in this class the *cornicines*, &c. placed by Livy in the fifth class, and makes only two centuries of them. *Hastam*, for close combat, *verutum*, for throwing. Heyne on Virg. Geor. ii. 168, *Volcosque verutos*, remarks that *verutum* is properly an adjective, agreeing with *telum* or *jaculum*, *veru instructum ac munitum*. Its shaft, as we learn from Vegetius, (ii. 15,) was 3½ feet long, its head 5 inches, whereas the *pilum*, *ύσσός*, pike of the heavy armed troops, (and which was not probably used in the early organization of Roman phalanx, but the lighter and longer *lancea*, *λίσχην*.) had a shaft of 5½ feet long, with an iron head 9 inches long. The head of the *verutum* tapered away in a spit-like form, hence Virgil, Aen. vii. 665. *Et tereti pugnans mucrone, veruque Sabello*. Dionysius gives it to the fifth class along with slings, and calls it *σαυίον*. It is said to have been originally peculiar to the Samnites, (and consequently to the Sabines, *veru Sabello*.) whence, according to some, their name, Samnitium quos Sabellos et Graeci *Samnitas* dixere, *Plin.* iii. 12. Donatus not observing the uselessness of full armour to the rear of a phalanx, and anxious to reconcile Livy with Dionysius, proposes, *arma mutata nihil praeter hastam; et verutum datum*. Ingenious, but unsound.

³ The undoubted meaning of the MSS., except that the majority have *tibicines*, a class of musicians unknown in the Roman army; and one has *inter* for *in tres*. Perizonius conjectures, *his accensi*, 'to these were added,' which Ruperti says is the force of *in his accensi*. Moreover, Sigonius, Drakenborch and Ruperti would read *duas* for *tres*, to agree with the statement of Dionysius, and to have *seniores* and *juniores*. As to the meaning of *accensi*, be it observed that, according to Livy, the fifth class was the lowest that furnished soldiers. Now, we learn from Livy, viii. 8, 10, that there was a class of soldiers little trusted, and kept in the rear, called *accensi*. We learn from other sources, principally Festus and Varro, that they were unarmed (hence they are called *velati*, because they were only 'clothed' with the *sagum*) supernumeraries, who only

tributi. Undecim millibus haec classis censebatur¹. Hôc minor census reliquam multitudinem habuit; inde² una centuria facta est immunis militiâ. Ita pedestri exercitu ornatō distributoque, equitum ex primoribus civitatis duodecim scripsit centurias. Sex item alias centurias, tribus ab Romulo institutis, sub iisdem quibus inauguratae erant nominibus fecit³. Ad equos emendos⁴ dena millia aeris

fell into the ranks, as the regular soldiers fell in battle, and carried commands between the officers, like our orderlies. Belonging to the army, they must, according to Livy's expressed account, have been enrolled in a class, and undoubtedly that must have been the fifth. *Duas* for *tres* is inadmissible as contrary to all the MSS. and unsupported by any plausible argument. There is nothing in the reasoning derived from the distinction into *seniores* et *juniores*. Dionysius, to be sure, preserves this distinction carefully throughout, but not so Livy. He takes no notice of it after the third class, an omission which is evidently intentional. We need not however conclude that the *accensi*, *cornicines* and *tibicines*, formed each a century. More probably in Livy's opinion the *accensi* formed two, divided into *accensi* and *velati*, the *cornicines* and *tibicines* together one. Cicero instead of *tibicines* mentions *liticines*. *Hor. Car. i. 1, 23*, has *Multos castra juvant, et lituo tubae permixtus sonitus*, where Acron remarks that the *lituus* was used for the cavalry, and the *tuba* for the infantry. This is the only notice we have of any distinction in their use, and it is unsupported by any other authority. We learn from Seneca, *Oed. 734*, Ovid *Metamorph. i. 98*, and other writers, that the *cornu* was wholly bent, like a C, *ueris cornua flexi*, and had a low, deep, hoarse sound, *rauco cornua cantu*; the *lituus* was slightly curved at the extremity, *aere adunco*, and had a shrill sound, *stridulos cantus elisit*; and the *tuba* was straight, *tuba directi aeris*, loud, harsh and piercing, *clangorque tubarum*.

¹ Dionysius states the minimum of this class as $12\frac{1}{2}$ minae, equal to 12,500 asses. ² *Inde*, hoc est, e reliqua multitudine.

³ It will be remembered that Tarquinius Priscus, according to Livy, (ch. 36,) was deterred from making any alteration in the names or the number of the equestrian centuries, while he doubled the number of the members. Servius retained the names still, of course with the distinction adopted by Tarquin, but converted them into six distinct centuries, called the *sex suffragia*. *E* is understood before *tribus*.

⁴ 'It has been doubted whether this sum be meant 'as the price of one horse or two; Niebuhr supposes that it includes 'the purchase of a slave to act as a groom, and also of a horse for him, ' The small value of copper at Rome is shown not only 'by the size of the coins, the *as* having been at first a full pound in 'weight, but also by the price of the war horse, according to the regulation of Servius Tullius, namely ten thousand pounds of copper. 'This statement, connected as it is with the other details of the cen-

ex publico data ; et, quibus equos alerent, viduae attributae, quae bina millia aeris in annos singulos penderent ¹. Haec omnia in dites a pauperibus inclinata onera. Deinde est honos additus. Non enim, ut ab Romulo traditum ceteri servaverant Reges, viritim suffragium eâdem vi eodemque jure promiscuè omnibus datum est ; sed gradus facti, ut neque exclusus quisquam suffragio videretur, et vis omnis penes primores civitatis esset. Equites enim vocabantur primi ; octoginta inde primae classis centuriae ; ibi si variaret, quod rarò incidebat, ut secundae classis vocarentur ; nec fere unquam infrâ ita descenderent, ut ad infimos pervenirent ². Nec mirari oportet, hunc ordinem qui nunc est, post expletas quinque et triginta tribus, duplicato earum numero ³ centuriis juniorum seniorumque, ad institutam ab Ser. Tullio summam non convenire. Quadrifariam enim urbe divisâ regionibus collibusque, quae habitabantur partes,

' sus, seems original and authentic ; nor, considering the great abundance of cattle and other circumstances, is it inconsistent with the account in Plutarch's life of Publicola, that an ox in the beginning of the commonwealth was worth one hundred oboli, and a sheep ten ; nor with the provisions of the Aternian law, which fixed the price of the one at one hundred asses, and the other at ten.' *Arnold's History of Rome*, vol. i. 85-6. ¹ *Et quibus, &c.* ' And the burden of maintaining their horses was laid on the widows, who were ordered to pay (not each, but collectively,) to each horseman 2000 pounds of brass yearly.' Construe *millia* with *quibus*. Cicero, *De Republica*, ii. 20, joins orphans with the widows. It is an acute remark of Niebuhr's that the 2000 *asses*, allowed to the Equites, divided by ten months, the division of time then in use, and giving 200 *asses* a month, is just double the pay, which we learn from Polybius compared with Pliny, the foot soldiers received at an after period. Afterwards the Equites received triple pay. ² A difficult passage as it stands. Equites enim vocabantur primi, octoginta inde primae classis centuriae, ibi (*inter equites*) si variaret ; quod (*so that*) raro incidebat ut, &c. would remove all difficulty of construction, but would involve a discussion too long for a foot note, and perhaps unprofitable here. The easiest method, as the passage stands, is to adopt the plan of Sigonius, (who, however, unnecessarily suggests *descenderunt* for *descenderent*,) supplying *gradus facti ita ut secundae, &c.* ³ *Duplicato earum numero centuriis, &c.* ' Their number (the number of the tribes) being (in effect) doubled, by the centuries, &c. Others refer *earum* to *centuriarum*, and make *convenire* govern *centuriis*.

Tribus¹ eas appellavit, ut ego arbitror, ab tributo; nam ejus quòque aequaliter ex censu conferendi ab eodem initia ratio est. Neque hae tribus ad centuriarum distributionem numerumque quicquam pertinere².

XLIV. Censu perfecto, quem maturaverat metu legis de incensis³ latae cum vinculorum minis mortisque, edixit ut omnes cives Romani, equites peditesque, in suis quisque centuriis, in campo Martio⁴ primâ luce adessent. Ibi instructum exercitum omnem suovetaurilibus lustravit⁵. Idque conditum⁶ lustrum appellatum, quia is censendo finis factus est. Millia octoginta eo lustro civium censa dicuntur⁷. Adjicit scriptorum antiquissimus Fabius Pictor, 'eorum qui ferre arma possent eum numerum fuisse.' Ad eam multitudinem urbs quòque amplificanda visa est. Addit duos colles, Quirinalem Viminalemque. Inde deinceps auget Esquilias⁸; ibique ipse, ut loco dignitas fieret, habitat. Aggere et fossis et muro circumdat urbem. Ita pomoerium profert. Pomoerium verbi vim solam intuentes 'postmoerium' interpretantur esse⁹. Est autem magis circa murum locus, quem in condendis urbibus quondam Etrusci, quâ murum ducturi erant, certis circâ terminis in-

¹ These tribes were called, *Palatina, Esquilina, Suburrana, Collina*.

² To understand the last three sentences, see Index, under *Tribus*.

³ *Incensis*—*non censis*. The same word occurs, iv. 8. Most of the MSS. have *deinceps* for *incensis*. ⁴ *Campo Martio*, here so called by anticipation, see ii. 5. Let the military character of the arrangement into centuries be observed. ⁵ *Ibi, &c.* 'There he purified

' with the sacrifice of a sow, a sheep, and a bull, (*Suovetaurilia*, compounded of *sus, ovis* and *taurus*,) the whole army drawn up in order.' Many MSS. read *sue, oves, tauris tribus*. Dionysius substitutes a goat for a sow: *Exercitum*. See p. 67, note 6. ⁶ *Condere* often signifies to terminate, as in Virgil, *Cantando puerum memini me condere soles*. ECL. ix. 52. Hence we may translate *conditum lustrum*,—the closed *lustrum*, 'the concluding purificatory sacrifice.' ⁷ Dionysius gives the number as 84,700, and states, on the authority of the censor's book, that this included all the Roman citizens, not those only who were able to bear arms, which we learn, from the next sentence, to have been the opinion of Fabius Pictor.

⁸ Supply *aedificiis*. Some suggest *Esquilis*, supplying *urbem*.

⁹ *Postmoerium*. As Livy is giving an explanation (*interpretantur*) not a derivation, Perizonius suggests *post murum*, which is approved of by Gronovius and Drakenbarch. Varro and Plutarch maintain the opinion opposed by Livy. *Post* with the meaning of immediately outside, as in the next sentence *circa*, immediately on both sides.

auguratò consecrabant, ut neque interiore parte aedificia moenibus continuarentur¹, quae nunc vulgò etiam conjungunt, et extrinsecus puri aliquid ab humano cultu pateret soli. Hoc spatium, quod neque habitari neque arari fas erat, non magis 'quòd post murum esset' quàm 'quòd murus post id,' pomoerium Romani appellârunt; et in urbis incremento semper, quantum moenia processura erant, tantum termini hi consecrati proferebantur.

XLV. Auctâ civitate magnitudine urbis, formatis omnibus domi et ad belli et ad pacis usus, ne semper armis opes acquirerentur, consilio augere imperium conatus est, simul et aliquod addere urbi decus. Jam tum erat inclytum Dianae Ephesiae fanum; 'id communiter a civitatibus Asiae factum' fama ferebat. Quum consensum Deosque consociatos laudaret mirè Servius inter proceres Latinorum, cum quibus publicè privatimque hospitia amicitiasque de industriâ junxerat, saepe iterando eadem perpulit tandem ut Romae fanum² Dianae populi Latini cum populo Romano facerent. Ea erat confessio 'caput rerum Romam esse,' de quo toties armis certatum fuerat. Id quanquam omissum jam ex omnium curâ Latinorum ob rem toties infelicitè tentatam armis videbatur, uni se ex Sabinis fors dare visa est privato consilio imperii recuperandi³. Bos in Sabinis nata cuidam patri familiae dicitur, mirandâ magnitudine ac specie; (fixa per multas aetates cornua in vestibulo templi Dianae monumentum ei fuere miraculo;) habita, ut erat⁴, res prodigii loco est, et cecinere vates⁵, 'cujus civitatis eam cives

¹ *Continuarentur*, 'should be built without an intervening space.' See p. 53, note 1. Mark the contrast *quondam* with *nunc*, and that heightened by *vulgo etiam*.

² It was built (Dionysius, iv.) on the Aventine Hill, which was not within the Pomoerium. (Aulus Gellius, xiii. 14.)

³ *Uni, &c.* Fors imperii recuperandi privato consilio visa est uni ex Sabinis dare se. The same story is told by Valerius Maximus, vii. 3, § 1, and by Plutarch, who gives the names of the Sabine and the priest.

⁴ *Ut erat.* By these words Livy indicates a belief in this prodigy, somewhat at variance with his common practice of narrating such incidents without any comment.

⁵ *Cecinere vates.* It is hardly necessary to remind the reader, that *canere*, *vates* and *carmen*, are applied alike to singing and prophesying, to poet and priest, to song and prophecy. Each word is here employed in its second meaning.

‘ Dianae immolâssent ¹, ibi fore imperium ;’ idque carmen pervenerat ad antistitem fani Dianae. Sabinus, ut prima apta dies sacrificio visa est, bovem Romam actam deducit ad fanum Dianae et ante aram statuit. Ibi antistes Romanus, quum eum magnitudo victimae celebrata famâ movisset, memor responsi Sabinum ita alloquitur ; ‘ Quidnam ‘ tu, hospes, paras ?’ inquit, ‘ incestè sacrificium Dianae ‘ facere ? Quin tu antè vivo perfunderis flumine ² ? Infimâ ‘ valle praeffluit Tiberis.’ Religione tactus hospes, qui omnia, ut prodigio responderet eventus, cuperet ³ ritè facta, ex templo descendit ad Tiberim. Interea Romanus immolat Dianae bovem. Id mirè gratum regi atque civitati fuit.

XLVI. Servius, quanquam jam usu haud dubium regnum possederat, tamen, quia interdum jactari voces a juvene Tarquinio audiebat ‘ se injussu populi regnare,’ conciliatâ priùs voluntate plebis agro capto ex hostibus viritim diviso, ausus est ferre ad populum, ‘ vellent juberentne, se regnare ?’ Tantoque consensu quanto haud quisquam alius antè rex est declaratus. Neque ea res Tarquinio spem affectandi regni minuit ; immò eo impensius, quia de agro plebis adversâ Patrum voluntate senserat agi, ‘ criminandi ‘ Servii apud Patres crescendique in curiâ sibi occasionem ‘ datam’ ratus est, et ipse juvenis ardentis animi, et domi uxore Tulliâ inquietum animum stimulante. Tulit enim et Romana regia sceleris tragici exemplum ⁴, ut taedio regum maturior veniret libertas, ultimumque regnum esset quod scelere partum foret ⁵. Hic L. Tarquinius (Prisci

¹ *Cives immolassent.* So all the MSS. A mere conjecture of Rhenanus has been universally adopted, *civis immolasset.* Unnecessarily ; such general forms are common in prophecies. ² *Quin, &c.* ‘ Why do you not first wash yourself in running water ?’ *Perfunderis, passive,* used as a *middle verb.*

³ *Qui cuperet.* This subjunctive indicates the motive ; ‘ because, or, inasmuch ‘ as he desired.’ *Cupiebat* would only state the fact. ⁴ *Tulit, &c.* ‘ For the Roman palace also’ (as well as that of Agamemnon, a favourite scene of the tragic writers, where an infamous murder was committed on the king by his wife Clytemnestra, and where she herself was killed by her son Orestes,) ‘ furnished an exhibition of guilt equal to any thing presented in tragic exhibitions.’

⁵ *Partum foret,* in the subjunctive, under the influence of *quod*, a construction of great elegance depending on a notion thus delicately

Tarquiniū regis filius neposne¹ fuerit parum liquet, pluribus tamen auctoribus filium ediderim) fratrem habuerat² Aruntem Tarquiniū mitis ingenii juvenem. His duobus, ut antè dictum est, duae Tulliae regis filiae nupserant, et ipsae longè dispares moribus. Fortè ita inciderat ne³ duo violenta ingenia matrimonio jungerentur, fortunâ, credo, populi Romani, quò diuturnius Servii regnum esset constitutique civitatis mores possent⁴. Angebatur ferox Tullia nihil materiae in viro⁵ neque ad cupiditatem neque ad audaciam esse; tota in alterum versa Tarquiniū eum mirari, eum virum dicere ac regio sanguine ortum; spernere sororem 'quòd virum nacta muliebri cessaret audaciâ.' Contrahit celeriter similitudo eos, ut ferè fit malum malo aptissimum. Sed initium turbandi omnia a feminâ ortum est. Ea secretis viri alieni assuefacta sermonibus, nullis verborum contumeliis parcere, de viro ad fratrem, de sorore ad virum; et 'se rectiùs viduam, et illum coelibem futurum 'fuisse' contendere, 'quàm cum impari jungi, et elanguescendum alienâ ignaviâ esset. Si sibi eum quo digna esset 'Dii dedissent virum, domi se propediem visuram regnum 'fuisse quod apud patrem videat.' Celeriter adolescentem suae temeritatis implet⁵. Aruns⁶ Tarquinius et Tullia

conveyed of the object imputed to the palace (thus, as it were, personified) in furnishing such an exhibition. ¹ See p. 76, note 2.

² *Habuerat*. The pluperfect, marking that previously to the events recorded in the opening sentences of the chapter, the incidents *had* happened, which are now about to be recorded. But after this warning tense has been repeatedly used, Livy gets tired of it, and varies, as usual with him. ³ *Ne*. See p. 9, note 3. ⁴ Livy

insinuates that had they been married at first, they would have much sooner achieved the murder of the king. ⁵ *Temeritatis implet*.

A verb of filling, governing the accusative with the genitive, in imitation of the Greek usage. ⁶ *Aruns*. The common reading of the

MSS. is *Aruns*, but there is considerable doubt whether Lucius would not be correct. I. In all phrases similar to *quum domos vacuas novo matrimonio fecissent*, the verb has for its agent the guilty

individuals, as in the familiar passage of Cicero, Catil. I. *Cum morte superioris uxoris domum vacuum novis nuptiis fecisses*. II. If we suppose that Livy, contrary to this practice, used, as the agent

to the verb, the names of the parties put out of the way, a new nominative is required to *junguntur*; of which, however, an instance has been already pointed out, p. 11, note 4. III. Dionysius states that Aruns Tarquinius, the second grandson of Tarquinius Priscus,

was married to Tullia minor, the second daughter of Servius Tul-

minor propè continuatis funeribus quum domos vacuas novo matrimonio fecissent, junguntur nuptiis, magis non prohibente Servio quàm approbante.

XLVII. Tum verò in dies infestior¹ Tullii senectus, infestius coepit regnum esse. Jam enim ab scelere ad aliud spectare mulier scelus; nec nocte nec interdiu virum con- quiescere pati, ne gratuita praeterita parricidia² essent. 'Non sibi defuisse cui nupta diceretur, nec cum quo tacita serviret; defuisse qui se regno dignum putaret, qui meminisset se esse Prisci Tarquinii filium, qui habere quàm sperare regnum mallet. Si tu³ is es cui nuptam esse me arbitror, et virum et regem appello; sin minùs, eo nunc pejùs mutata est res, quòd isthic cum ignaviâ est scelus⁴. 'Quin accingeris⁵? Non tibi ab Corintho nec ab Tarqui-

lius. If, then, the old reading were accurate, and we could trust to Dionysius in such a matter, we should require *major* not *minor*. Only one MS. has *Arms*, and all have *minor*.¹ *Infestior*. See p. 15, note 4. It has been noticed, p. 24, note 2,

that many nouns are used both actively and passively; here we observe that the same remark applies to adjectives. The old age of Tullius and his reign were not actively hostile *against* Tullia, but awakened feelings of active hostility *in the mind of* Tullia. Stroth refers to a similar expression from ii. 11, adeo *infestum* omnem Romanum agrum reddidit, 'so much exposed to active hostilities,' and quotes from Cicero, Pro Roscio Amerin. 11. filii vita *infesta*, saepe ferro atque insidiis appetita.² *Parricidia*. See p. 24, note 3. ³ *Si tu*, &c. For the change from the oblique to the direct form, see p. 24, note 4. Also consult the following passages referred to by Dr Carson in his work on the Relative, p. 124. *Livy*, 2, 2 and 7; 3, 9, 19, 48; 6, 24, 21, 10; 35, 49, 2. *Tac. Ann.* 3, 12. *Hist.* 3, 2, &c. *Sen. N. Q.* 4. praef. 7. Rupert's remarks on this sentence. *Si tu is es*, cui talis, quali. This is a mistake; we should then require *arbitrer*. There is no such indefinite notion connected with *arbitror*. It does not mean, 'if you are such a man as methinks I have been married to,' but 'if you are the man.' ⁴ *Sin minus*, &c. 'But if not, my condition has been changed to the worse, in as much as in you,' (*isthic*, perhaps involving in it the contempt often inferred from *iste*—at all events used in the manner called *δυσκρινῆς*, pointing to her husband,) 'there is guilt added to cowardice.'

⁵ *Quin*. It occurs before in the same sense, c. 45, 'why not?' indicative of strong remonstrance, another added to the list of interrogatory particles. See p. 18, note 6. *Accingeris*, used with the force of the Greek middle voice. The Roman, like the Oriental garments were loose,

'niis, ut patri tuo, peregrina regna moliri necesse est. Dii
'te penates patriique, et patris imago, et domus regia, et in
'domo regale solium, et nomen Tarquinius creat vocatque
'regem. Aut si ad haec parum est animi, quid frustraris
'civitatem? Quid te ut regium juvenem conspici sinis?
'Facesse hinc Tarquinius aut Corinthum. Devolvere re-
'trò ad stirpem, fratri similior quàm patri.' His aliisque
inrependo juvenem instigat, nec conquiescere ipsa potest;
'si, quum Tanaquil peregrina mulier tantum moliri potu-
'isset animo, ut duo continua regna viro ac deinceps genero
'dedisset, ipsa regio semine orta nullum momentum¹ in
'dando adimendoque regno faceret.' His muliebribus in-
stinctus furiis Tarquinius circumire et prensare minorum
maximè gentium Patres; admonere paterni beneficii², ac
pro eo gratiam repetere; allicere donis juvenes; tum de se
ingentia pollicendo, tum regis criminibus omnibus locis
crescere. Postremò ut jam agenda rei tempus visum
est³, stipatus agmine armatorum in forum irrupit; inde,
omnibus percussis pavore, in regiâ sede pro curiâ sedens,
Patres in curiam per praeconem ad 'Regem Tarquinius
'citari' jussit. Convenere extemplo, alii jam antè ad hoc
praeeparati, alii metu ne non venisse fraudi esset, novitate
ac miraculo attoniti et jam de Servio actum rati. Ibi
Tarquinius maledicta ab stirpe ultimâ⁴ orsus; 'Servum,
'servâque natum, post mortem indignam parentis sui⁵, non

and required to be girded round the person, previously to any exertion. Hence such expressions applied metaphorically to mental preparation for active exertion, similar to the Scripture *ἰσχυρὸν καὶ ἀναζώνον*. 'Gird up the loins of your mind,' 1 Pet. i. 13. See Luke, xii. 35; Eph. vi. 14.

¹ *Nullum momentum faceret.* 'Could in no way turn the balance.' *Momentum* contracted for *movimentum*, 1. a moving power; 2. the consequent motion; 3. the moving power that turns a balance; 4. from the instantaneousness of this, a small space of time, a moment, 'the twinkling of an eye.' Let the learner exert his ingenuity upon, *Tam levi momento mea apud vos fama pendet?* ii. 7. *Juvenem maximum momentum rerum civitatis*, iii. 12. *Puncto saepe temporis maximarum rerum momenta verti*, iii. 27. Also the same word in iv. 12; v. 49.

² See the institution of the *patres minorum gentium* in the 35th chapter.

³ Dionysius (iv.) states that the opportunity seized
h. was the time of harvest, when the people were engaged in the
th. fields.

⁴ *Ab stirpe ultima.* 'From his degraded origin.'
'wa.' *Sui* 'of his'—of the person speaking, referring to the untimely

'interregno, ut antea, inito, non comitiis habitis, non per suffragium populi, non auctoribus Patribus, muliebri dono¹ regnum occupâsse. Ita natum, ita creatum regem, fau-
'torem infimi generis hominum ex quo ipse sit, odio alienae
'honestatis ereptum primoribus agrum sordidissimo cuique
'divisisse; omnia onera, quae communia quondam fuerint,
'inclinâsse in primores civitatis; instituisse censum, ut
'insignis ad invidiam locupletiorum fortuna esset et parata,
'unde², ubi vellet, egentissimis largiretur.'

XLVIII. Huic orationi Servius quum intervenisset tre-
pido nuncio excitatus, extemplo a vestibulo curiae magnâ
voce, 'Quid hoc,' inquit, 'Tarquini, rei est? Quâ tu auda-
'ciâ, me vivo, vocare ausus es Patres, aut in sede consi-
'dere meâ?' Quum ille ferociter ad haec, 'Se patris sui
'tenere sedem, multo quàm servum potiorum filium regis
'regni haeredem; satis illum diu per licentiam eludentem
'insultâsse dominis³,' clamor ab utriusque fautoribus oritur,
et concursus populi fiebat in curiam, apparebatque⁴ regna-

death of Tarquinius Priscus. See p. 58, note 1. ¹ *Dolo* is found in some MSS., and has been approved by some critics, as referring to the policy adopted by Tanaquil; see end of 41st chap. ² *Unde*. The introduction by Gronovius of this word, necessary to the sense, is an instance of the good use that may be made of one good MS. ³ *Eludentem*. See p. 67, note 2. *Dominis*. Here used in its proper acceptation of 'masters of slaves.' ⁴ Avoid translating *apparet*, by 'it appears,' for which the proper word is *videtur*. *Apparet* means it is 'evident, manifest, clear.' *Regnabit qui vicerit* would be the direct form, hence, as *viciisset* corresponds with *vicerit*, we learn that the pluperfect subjunctive is used with the force of a future perfect, but only when introduced by a past verb. Dr Carson (Rules for the Construction of the Relative, p. 112, 113,) controverts this, applying the change to all cases, so far as oblique sentences are concerned, whatever be the tense of the introductory verb, quoting two sentences from Nepos, of which this is one: *Præscripta ei mittit in quibus docet, eum magno fore periculo, si quid illo imperante in Aegypto adversi accidisset*, *Nep. xiv. 5, 3*. With great deference to so high an authority, I would suggest that in all such cases, the writer loses sight of the *tense* time of the introductory verb, and yields to the mental influence of the *real* time which is *past*. Thus, Caesar, i. 13, we have, *Is ita cum Caesare agit*; afterwards we have, it is true, *constituisset*, where the direct form would be *constitueris*, but all the other tenses are similarly changed, as *perseveraret* for *perseveret*. Ch. 17 of Caesar's first book gives a pure instance of an indirect speech preserving the correct tenses, and here

turum qui vicisset. Tum Tarquinius, necessitate jam ipsâ cogente ultima audere, multo et aetate et viribus validior medium arripit Servium, elatumque e curiâ in inferiorem partem per gradus dejecit; inde ad cogendum Senatum in curiam redit. Fit fuga regis apparitorum atque comitum. Ipse prope exsanguis, quum semianimi¹ regio comitatu domum se reciperet pervenissetque ad summum Cyprium vicum, ab iis qui missi ab Tarquinio fugientem consecuti erant, interficitur. Creditur, quia non abhorret a cetero scelere, 'admonitu Tulliae id factum.' Carpento certè (id quod satis constat) in forum invecta; nec reverita coetum virorum, evocavit virum e curiâ regemque prima appellavit. A quo facessere jussa ex tanto tumultu, quum se domum reciperet pervenissetque ad summum Cyprium vicum ubi Dianium² nuper fuit, flectenti carpentum dextrâ in Urbium clivum ut in collem Esquiliarium eveheretur, restitit pavidus atque inhibuit frenos is qui jumenta agebat, jacentemque dominae Servium trucidatum ostendit³. Foedum inhu-

we have, si Helvetios *superaverint* Romani, perf. sub., where the direct form would give *superaverint*, fut. perf. A clearer instance may be seen in Caesar, ii. 14, where he sometimes observes the tense of the introductory verb, and sometimes neglects it. Divitiacus *facit* verba; then we have *dicerent* for *dicant*, and other instances of neglect. But even here, returning again to the present, he has *quod si fecerit*, perf. sub., where the direct form would unquestionably be *feceris*, fut. perf.

¹ *Semianimi*. I owe to the distinguished scholar mentioned in the last note a suggestion as to the reading of this passage, admittedly corrupt, which at once commends itself. The previous sentence states the flight of the royal attendants; and that Livy has this distinctly before him is evident from *ipse*. The variety in the MSS. sufficiently indicates, besides, that something is wrong. *Semianimis*, *semianimes*, *semianimus*, and as in the text, prove that there is something wrong, of which the copyists are aware, and which they do not know how to amend. As usual, one critic proposes to omit the puzzling words, and has actually the barbarity to recommend the omission of the touching words, *domum se reciperet*. Gronovius proposes *cum minime regio . . . recipere . . . Quum pervenisset*. Dr Carson suggests, *sine omni regio comitatu*. Not the least recommendation of this ingenious emendation, is its Livian picturesqueness,—the reader sees the old king fainting with loss of blood, tottering home alone.

² *Dianium*. A temple to Diana, as in Greek from *Ἥρακλῆος*, is formed *Ἥρακλῆιον*.

³ This sentence has three difficulties; 1. the repetition of the words before used regarding Servius, *quum se domum*, &c. Could this be the fragment of an old ballad, according

manumque inde traditur scelus, monumentoque locus est. 'Sceleratum' ¹ vicum vocant quo 'amens, agitantibus furiis' sororis ac viri, Tullia per patris corpus carpentum egisse fertur, 'partemque sanguinis ac caedis paternae cruento vehiculo, contaminata ipsa respersaque, tulisse ad penates' suos virique sui, quibus iratis, malo regni principio similes 'prope diem exitus sequerentur.' Ser. Tullius regnavit annos quatuor et quadraginta ita, ut bono etiam moderatoque succedenti regi difficilis aemulatio esset. Ceterum id quodque ad gloriam accessit, quod cum illo simul justa ac legitima regna occiderunt. 'Id ipsum tam mite ac tam moderatum imperium, tamen, quia unius esset, deponere eum in animo habuisse' quidam auctores sunt, 'ni scelus intestinum liberandae patriae consilia agitantem intervenisset.'

XLIX. Inde L. Tarquinius regnare coepit, 'cui Superbo' ²

to the habit of such compositions, repeating what has been said before, as is to be found so often in Homer? 2. *flectenti* gives at the best a harsh construction, but it is the best reading supported by the MSS., except perhaps that condemned by Gronovius, *flectere carpentum in dextram jussit aurigam ut in collem*; 3. the ordinary reading supported by the majority of the MSS. is, *Virbium clivum*. But we learn on the authority of Persius, vi. 55. and his scholiast, that the *Virbium clivus* was near Bovillae, some miles from Rome. The best MSS. have as in the text, which comes near to *Orbius*. Ruperti says, *susplicari possis Oppium* ex Varr. L. L. 4, 8. Sed. ὀφθίος (al. ἄλβιος) apud Dionysium et Festum. *Urbicus* ap. Solinum. The sentence as it stands may be thus construed. Is qui agebat jumenta restitit, atque inhibuit frenos, ostenditque dominae flectenti (jubenti ut flecteret) carpentum dextra in Urbium clivum ut reveheretur in collem Esquiliarium, jacentem Servium trucidatum.

¹ The queen, according to Livy, had come to the top of the *vicus Cyprius*, (the street 'of good omen,' Varro, iv. 32. says, from *cyprus*, the Sabine word for good, it being the residence of Sabines,) and was turning to another road, the *Urbium clivus*, where lay the dead body of her father. It was on the *Urbium clivus* then the deed was done, and a street on that slope had the name 'Sceleratus,'—not the *vicus Cyprius*, as Sigonius and Ruperti allege.

² This epithet indicates an accumulation of gross acts of cruel and tyrannical oppression, which are described by Livy in this case down to *diremitque*; for *eo accedebat* in the third sentence is to be joined with the first, of which the second is merely explanatory. Servius in Virgil, Aen. xi. 15. *de rege superbo*, says, Apud majores enim superbia ingens facinus fecit, adeo ut Tarquinius pro multis sceleribus *Superbi* nomen acceperit. Our epithet 'The Tyrant' will most nearly correspond

U. C. cognomen facta indiderunt, quia socerum gener
 220. sepulturâ prohibuit¹, 'Romulum quodque insepultum
 'perisse' dictitans; primores Patrum, quos Servii
 rebus favisse credebat, interfecit; conscius deinde malè
 quaerendi regni ab se ipso adversus se exemplum capi
 posse, armatis corpus circumsepsit. Neque enim ad jus
 regni quicquam praeter vim habebat, ut qui neque populi
 jussu neque auctoribus Patribus regnaret. Eò accedebat ut
 in caritate civium nihil spei reponenti metu regnum tutan-
 dum esset²; quem ut pluribus incuteret, cognitiones capi-
 talium rerum sine consiliis per se solus exercebat; perque
 eam causam occidere, in exilium agere, bonis multare pote-
 rat non suspectos modò aut invisos, sed unde³ nihil aliud
 quàm praedam sperare posset. Ita Patrum praecipuè nu-
 mero imminuto, statuit nullos in Patres legere, quò con-
 temptior paucitate ipsâ ordo esset, minùsque per se nihil agi
 indignarentur. Hic enim regum primus traditum a priori-
 bus morem⁴ de omnibus senatum consulendi solvit; domes-
 tici consiliis rempublicam administravit; bellum, pacem,
 foedera, societates per se ipse, cum quibus voluit, injussu
 populi ac senatûs, fecit diremitque. Latinorum sibi maximè
 gentem conciliabat, ut peregrinis quodque opibus tutior inter
 cives esset. Neque hospitia modò cum primoribus eorum,
 sed affinitates quodque jungebat. Octavio Mamilio⁵ Tuscu-

with *Superbus*.

¹ Horace may have had in view this conduct of Tarquinius as connected with his name, when, writing of the want of funeral rites as perhaps awaiting one who should refuse them to Archytas, the latter is made to say, Fors et Debita jura vicesque *superbae* te maneant ipsum, Car. i. 28. 31-2. Dionysius says that Tarquin's motive in refusing burial to Servius Tullius was fear of a popular commotion, that the dead king was privately buried during the night by his wife, the daughter of Tarquinius Priscus, who died immediately after, some say by her own hand, others by order of her son and daughter-in-law. From this may be seen the true poetical taste with which Livy selects from the incidents of the old traditions.

² *Eo*, &c. 'Besides, a man who placed no confidence in the affec-
 'tions of his subjects, was forced to maintain his power by exciting
 'their fear.'

³ *Unde*—id est—*eos a quibus*. ⁴ Draken-
 borch says, ita *recte* editum Basilleae, &c. I presume, therefore,
 that there is some authority. But he states that all the editions
 prior to the Basle edition of 1531, and all the MSS. have, *primus*,
 ut traditur a prioribus, a reading decidedly inferior. The other
 critics give no sign of the change.

⁵ Caius Julius Cæsar;

lano, (is longè princeps Latini nominis erat, si famae credimus, ab Ulixè Deâque Circe oriundus ¹,) ei Mamilio filiam nuptum dat, perque eas nuptias multos sibi cognatos amicosque ejus conciliat.

L. Jam magna Tarquinii auctoritas inter Latinorum proceres erat, quum 'in diem certam ut ad lucum Feren-
'tinae conveniant' indicit; 'esse quae agere de rebus
'communibus velit.' Conveniunt frequentes primâ luce. Ipse Tarquinius diem quidem servavit, sed paullo antè quàm sol occideret venit. Multa ibi totâ die in consilio variis jactata sermonibus erant. Turnus Herdonius ab Ariciâ ferociter in absentem Tarquinium erat invectus; 'Haud mirum esse, Superbo ² inditum Romae cognomen.' Jam enim ita clàm quidem mussitantes, vulgò tamen, eum appellabant. 'An quicquam superbius esse quàm ludificari
'sic omne nomen Latinum? principibus longè ab domo
'excitis, ipsum qui consilium indixerit ³ non adesse? Ten-
'tari profectò patientiam, ut, si jugum acceperint, obnoxios ⁴

Caius is the *praenomen*, and distinguished him from his brothers; *Julius* the *nomen*, marking the *gens* or clan in which his family was included, and in whose sacred rites they shared; *Caesar*, the *cognomen*, shewing to what family of the Julian clan he belonged. Now, among the Romans, Octavius was the name not of an *individual*, but of a *clan*, and Dionysius and Festus say that the name of this individual's clan was *Mamilia*. On this ground Sigonius objects to *Octavius* as a *praenomen*, and proposes *Octavus*. It has been properly remarked by Gronovius, and after him by others, that not only had the other states of Italy no such usage, but that numerous instances of *nomina gentilia* are to be found in Livy himself, given to the allies. The aptest instance is x. 41, where we find *Octavius Mecius*, a captain of auxiliary cavalry. ¹ *Ulixè*; another reading *Ulyssè*. *Circe*; another reading *Circa*, in the Latin form. The tradition ascribed the origin of the family of Mamilius to Telegonus, the son of Ulysses and Circe, who ignorant of his relationship slew his father in Ithaca, and then returning to Italy founded Tusculum; hence *Telegoni juga parricidae*. Hor. Car. iii. 29. 8. and *Tusculi Circaea moenia*, Epod. 2. 30. ² *Superbo*. *Ei* understood. See p. 7. note 3. ³ *Indixerit*. Just as the present tense introductory is forgotten by a writer and past tenses follow, (see p. 87, note 4,) so past tenses introductory are followed by a present, as here, *invectus erat* followed by *indixerit* for *indixisset*, and so throughout the remainder of this reported speech. ⁴ The primary notion of *obnoxios* is liable to punishment for a fault *ob noxam*; hence completely in the power of another. Our *obnoxious* to punishment is borrowed from the first notion.

‘premat. Cui enim non apparere affectare eum imperium in Latinos? Quod si sui bene crediderint cives, aut si creditum illud et non raptum parricidio sit, credere et Latinos, (quanquam ne sic quidem alienigenae,) debere¹. Sin suos ejus poeniteat, (quippe qui alii super alios trucidantur, exsulatum eant, bona amittant,) quid spei melioris Latinis portendi? Si se audiant, domum suam quemque inde abituros, neque magis observaturos diem consilii, quàm ipse qui indixerit observet.’ Haec atque alia eodem pertinentia seditiosus facinorosusque homo hisque artibus opes domi nactus quum maximè dissereret, intervenit Tarquinius. Is finis orationi fuit. Aversi omnes ad Tarquinium salutandum, qui silentio facto, monitus a proximis ‘ut purgaret se quòd id temporis venisset,’ ‘disceptatorem,’ ait, ‘se sumptum inter patrem et filium, curà reconciliandi eos in gratiam moratum esse; et quia ea res emisisset illum diem, postero die acturum quae constituisset.’ ‘Ne id quidem ab Turno tulisse tacitum’ ferunt; ‘dixisse² enim,’ ‘Nullam breviorē esse cognitionem quàm inter patrem et filium, paucisque transigi verbis posse; ni pareat patri, habiturum infortunium esse.’

LI. Haec Aricinus in regem Romanum increpans ex consilio abiit. Quam rem Tarquinius aliquanto quàm videbatur aegrius ferens, confestim Turno necem machinatur, ut eundem terrorem quo civium animos domi oppresserat Latinis injiceret, et quia pro imperio³ palàm interfici non poterat, oblato crimine insontem oppressit. Per adversae factionis⁴ quosdam Aricinos servum Turni auro cor-

¹ Quod referring to *regnum*. *Sui*. See p. 58, note 1. Taken in connection with *eum* there is no ambiguity in *sui* as referring to Tarquin, nor in *suos* in the next sentence connected with *ejus*,—otherwise *sui*—*suos* would refer to Turnus himself. *Credere*, ‘that he (Turnus) supposes’—said ironically. ² *Tulisse*—*dixisse*.

Tarquinius tulisse. *Turnum dixisse*, a change of subject (see p. 11, note 4,) disliked by Sigonius and Ruperti, who approve of a reading found by Sigonius in *vetere libro*, *id Turnum tulisse tacitum*. Both forms are good Latin, *fero tacitus*, ‘I bear—submit to that without speaking,’ *fero id tacitum a Turno*, ‘I carry the matter off without remark on the part of Turnus.’ ³ *Pro imperio*.

‘Considering the power’ possessed by Tarquin over the Latins, over whom he had no authority. *Poterat Turnus, oppressit Tarquinius*, another change of subject. ⁴ According

rupit, ut in deversorium ejus vim magnam gladiatorum inferri clàm sineret. Ea quum unà¹ nocte perfecta essent, Tarquinius, paullò ante lucem accitis ad se principibus Latinorum, quasi re novâ perturbatus, 'moram suam hesternam' velut Deorum quâdam providentiâ illatam,' ait, 'saluti sibi' atque illis fuisse. Ab Turno dici sibi et primoribus populorum parari necem, ut Latinorum solus imperium teneret. Aggressurum fuisse hesterno die in consilio; dilatam rem esse, quòd auctor consilii abfuerit, quem maximè peteret. Inde illam absentis insectationem esse natam, quòd morando spem destituerit². Non dubitare, si vera deferantur, quin primâ luce, ubi ventum in consilium sit, instructus cum conjuratorum manu armatusque venturus sit. Dici³ gladiatorum ingentem numerum esse ad eum convectum. Id vanum necne sit, extemplo sciri posse. Rogare eos, ut inde secum ad Turnum veniant.' Suspectam fecit rem et ingenium Turni ferox, et oratio hesterna, et mora Tarquinii; quòd videbatur ob eam differri caedes potuisse. Eunt inclinatis quidem ad credendum animis, tamen, nisi gladiis deprehensis, cetera vana existimaturi. Ubi est eò ventum, Turnum ex somno excitatum circumstant custodes; comprehensisque servis, qui caritate domini⁴ vim parabant, quum gladii abditi ex omnibus locis

to Dionysius, Mamilius, the son-in-law of Tarquin, was at the head of the opposite faction. The reader will recognise the old story of Palamedes.

¹ *Unâ*. A note of Gronovius, (a man of 'vast erudition, and unequalled critical acumen' as Dr Hunter justly says,) on this word should teach us charity in commenting on mistakes in criticism, to which the most learned are liable. He explained it as meaning *prima*, remarking that it is used to indicate the impatience of Tarquin, to wait for another night. This is an evident mistake; as shewn by Drakenborch, after Gronovius, however, had omitted the note in a subsequent edition, it means *una eademque nocte*.

² *Spem destituerit*. *Spes destituit me*, 'I lose all hope,' *spem destituo*, 'I frustrate the hope' of another. Tarquinius is the subject to *destituerit*, some would read *spes*.

³ *Dici*, 'that it is said.' ⁴ *Caritate domini*. Actuated by affection for their master. *Caritas*, passive. In the 49th chapter *caritate civium*, the affection of his subjects. *Caritas*, active. That is, it expresses an active feeling on the part of *civium*, the governed noun, which might be called an active possessive, as in *caritate domini*, passive, the governed noun, the passive possessive is the object of the feeling, experiences it, as is fully brought out in the expression in the 34th c. *erga patriam caritatis*. Dr

deverticuli ¹ protraherentur, enimvero manifesta res visa, injectaeque Turno catenae et confestim Latinorum consilium magno cum tumultu advocatur. Ibi tam atrox invidia orta est gladiis in medio positis, ut indictâ causâ, novo genere lethi, dejectus ad caput ² aquae Ferentinae crate supernê injectâ ³ saxisque congestis mergeretur.

LII. Revocatis deinde ad consilium Latinis, Tarquinius, collaudatisque ⁴ 'qui Turnum novantem res pro manifesto parricidio merita poenâ affecissent,' ita verba fecit 'Posse quidem se vetusto jure agere, quòd quum omnes Latini ab Albâ oriundi sint, in eo foedere teneantur quo ab Tullo res omnis Albana cum colonis suis in Romanum cesserit imperium ⁵. Ceterum se utilitatis id magis omnium causâ censere, ut renovetur id foedus, secundâque potiùs fortunâ populi Romani ut participes Latini fruantur, quàm urbium excidia vastationesque agrorum, quas Anco priùs, patre deinde suo regnante perpassi sint, semper aut expectent aut patiantur.' Haud difficulter persuasum Latinis, quanquam in eo foedere superior Romana res erat. Ceterum et capita nominis Latini stare ac sentire cum rege videbant, et Turnus sui cuique periculi, si adversatus esset, recens erat documentum. Ita renovatum foedus, indictumque junioribus Latinorum 'ut ex foedere die certâ ad lucum Ferentinae armati frequentes adessent.' Qui ubi ad edictum Romani regis ex omnibus populis convenere, ne ducem suum, neve secretum imperium, propriave signa ha-

Hunter quotes an instance of what we have called an active and a passive possessive in the same sentence. Caesar, B. G. i. c. 30. *Injuriae Helvetiorum populi Romani*. *Helvetiorum*, convertible into *ab Helvetiis*, the active possessive, the Helvetii *did* the wrongs; *populi Romani*, convertible into *in* or *erga populum Romanum*, the passive possessive, the Romans *suffered* them. See p. 24, note 2. ¹ *Deverticulo*. *Deverticulum* est ubi iter de via flectitur. Et proprie deverticula dicuntur in via domicilia ad quae de itinere devertendum sit. *Donatus* ad *Terent.* Eun. iv. 2, 7. In the same sense, and of a similar etymology, *deversorium* in the beginning of the ch. Both words are often spelled as if compounded with *di*. ² *Caput*. The source. So Horace, Ad aquæ lene caput sacrae. Car. i. l. 22.

³ This is afterwards mentioned as a military punishment, iv. 50.

⁴ *Revocatis*, &c. We have here a striking instance of the rule laid down, p. 16, note 3, for which we are indebted to Dr Hunter.

⁵ See ch. 28, 29.

berent, miscuit manipulos ex Latinis Romanisque, ut ex binis singulos faceret, binosque ex singulis. Ita geminatis manipulis centuriones imposuit ¹.

LIII. Nec ut injustus in pace rex, ita dux belli pravus fuit. Quin eâ arte aequâset superiores reges, ni degeneratum ² in aliis huic quodque decori officisset. Is primus Volscis bellum in ducentos ampliùs post suam aetatem annos movit, Suessamque Pometiam ex his vi cepit. Ubi quum dividendâ praeda quadraginta talenta argenti aurique recepisset ³, concepit animo eam amplitudinem Jovis templi

¹ *Miscuit*, &c. Various meanings have been attached to these words. One is: He divided every maniple into two parts, and then formed two of these divisions, one of each nation, into one maniple. More correctly, perhaps, the passage is taken to mean, 'He intermingled the maniples of the Latins and Romans, by first throwing two into one, and then dividing the united body into two.' *Centuriones Romanos*. ² *Ni degeneratum in aliis*, 'nisi id, quod in aliis rebus ab eo degeneratum esset, quod ille degenerasset a virtutibus majorum; nisi degeneratio facta, vel animus degener, &c. Ita passim Livius, 'ubi causam alicujus rei significare vult, his participiis, neut. gen. 'utitur pro substantivis.' *Ruperti*. It may be mentioned that Perizonius, Sanct. Min., iii. 8, while he gives the same explanation with all the critics, (but with more discrimination, see note on iv. 59, *Pronunciatum*,) that *degeneratum* is a perfect participle used independently, using moreover the barbarous expedient of adding *negotium* as understood, considers it as analogous in meaning to *juratus*, *conspiratus*, and explains it *negotium quod degeneravit in aliis rebus*. But that would lead to another construction altogether, *ni eum degeneratum fuisse in aliis rebus*, &c.

³ *Dividendâ—quadraginta—aurique—recepisset* are all doubtful words. *Quadraginta* must be reserved for consideration till we come to the parallel passage in the 55th chapter. *Aurique* is found in all the MSS. but three. Glarcan's explanation of *argenti aurique* is, as much gold and silver as made forty talents—'forty talents' worth of gold and 'silver.' The gold talent was much inferior in size and value to the silver talent, which was sometimes called *magnum talentum* on that account. All the MSS. agree in *dividendâ praeda*, except a few, which have *dividendo praedam*, and all have *recepisset* but three, one having *refecisset*, one *fecisset*, and one *cepisset*. Yet the editors have varied exceedingly in their readings. For *dividenda*, *divenditâ* and *divendenda*, both unsupported by MSS. authority, have been edited, and *cepisset* and *refecisset* 'had realized' for *recepisset*. Drakenborch thinks *recepisset* would require *divendita*; on the other hand, Stroth and Hunter think *dividenda* and *refecisset* 'an incongruous combination.' Doering dislikes *dividenda*, as the sum was too

quae digna Deūm hominumque rege, quae Romano imperio, quae ipsius etiam loci ¹ majestate esset. Captivam pecuniam in aedificationem ejus templi seposuit. Excepit deinde eum lentius spe bellum, quo Gabios ² propinquam urbem nequicquam vi adortus, quum obsidendi quodque urbem spes pulso a moenibus adempta esset, postremò minimè arte Romanâ, fraude ac dolo aggressus est. Nam quum velut posito bello fundamentis templi jaciendis aliisque urbanis operibus intentum se esse simularet, Sextus filius ejus qui minimus ex tribus ³ erat, transfugit ex composito Gabios, patris in se saevitiam intolerabilem conquerens; 'Jam ab alienis in suos vertisse superbiam; et liberorum quodque eum frequentiae taedere, ut, quam in curiâ solitudinem fecerit, domi quodque faciat, ne quam stirpem, ne quem haeredem regni relinquat. Se quidem inter tela et gladios patris elapsū, nihil usquam sibi tutum nisi apud hostes L. Tarquinii credidisse. Nam, ne errarent, manere his bellum ⁴ quod positum simuletur, et per occasionem eum incautos invasurum. Quòd si apud eos supplicibus locus non sit, pererraturum se omne Latium, Volcosque se inde, et Aequos, et Hernicos petiturum, donec ad eos perveniat qui a patrum crudelibus atque impiis suppliciis tegere liberos sciant. Forsitan etiam ardoris aliquid ad bellum armaque se adversus superbissimum regem ac ferocissimum populum inventurum.' Quum, si nihil morarentur ⁵,

large for the king's portion in a division. All this seems to realize the proverb, *nodum in scirpo quaerere*. Whether we take *recepisset* in the sense of 'had received,' or 'had reserved,' both of which are undoubtedly sanctioned by the best authorities, the general MSS. reading seems unexceptionable. The expression *dividendâ praedâ* seems to have been the main source of confusion, the force of which is, as expressed by Ruperti, *ex divisione praedae*. Drakenborch objects to *dividenda*—*recepisset*, and yet approves of *dividendâ*—*refecisset*. To reason from the amount of the sum is useless, especially as other traditions (see c. 55.) make it much larger than Livy states, Dionysius averring that 400 talents made a *tithe* of the plunder, the rest being given to the soldiers! ¹ *Loci*. The capitol.

² On all the subsequent events of Tarquin's reign, see Ovid's *Fasti*, ii. 685-852. ³ *Minimus ex tribus*. Compare

ex tribus with Ovid's, *Namque trium minimus*. *Fasti*, ii. 691. Dionysius says he was the eldest.

⁴ *Manere his bellum*. That the war with them still exists, or, 'still awaits them.' ⁵ *Morarentur*. Some read *moverentur*. *Morari*, when active, to detain, is

infensus irâ porro inde abiturus videretur, benignè ab Gabinis excipitur. Vetant 'mirari, si qualis in cives, qualis 'in socios, talis ad ultimum in liberos esset. In se ipsum 'postremò saeviturum, si alia desint. Sibi verò gratum adventum ejus esse, futurumque credere brevi, ut illo adjuvante ab portis Gabinis sub Romana moenia bellum transferatur.'

LIV. Inde in consilia¹ publica adhiberi. Ubi, quum 'de aliis rebus assentire se veteribus Gabinis' diceret 'quibus 'hae notiores essent,' ipse identidem belli auctor esse, in eo sibi praecipuam prudentiam assumere, 'quòd utriusque populi vires nôsset, sciretque² invisam profectò superbiam re-

used either in a good, bad or neutral signification. Here, good—'if they did not detain him' hospitably; bad, ii. 24. *Nequis . . . liberos nepotesve ejus moraretur*, 'that no one should detain,' from the free enjoyment, molest in the enjoyment, of his effects; neutral, *Nihil vos moramur, Patres Conscripti*, the formula used by the presiding magistrate in dismissing the senate. *Möror*, to be foolish, comes from the Greek *μωρίς*.

¹ There is a valuable note by Gronovius on a passage in xlv. 2, wherein, from numerous examples, he derives the difference of meaning between *consilium*, (of course not considered in its meaning of 'advice, a prudent device,' but of 'an assembly,') and *concilium*. Trusting to his guidance we may state *consilium* to be a deliberative body, where the members met to give their opinions, *consilia*; *concilium*, an assembly where they met only to listen to matters brought before them by competent authorities, before determining with regard to them. In the first are included the senate and councils of war, the *judices* and *assessores* of the praetors. In the latter we find the Roman *comitia*, national meetings in general, as of the Germans, and conferences with ambassadors. We must demur to one part of his doctrine, however, wherein he states that private meetings are called *concilia*. Such meetings are, in their very nature, peculiarly deliberative, and in the only passage which he quotes in support of this, as well as in many that he has not quoted, the MSS. unanimously have *consilia*. Ruperti insinuates that *concilium* may be used for any meeting whatever, as a generic term, derived as it is from *concio*. In this passage the MSS. reading both ways, and it being clearly the deliberative meetings to which Sextus was admitted, I have adopted the reading *consilia*, with the old editions, and with Crevier, Stroth and Ruperti. 'Nocere is to know or to be acquainted with any thing, as an object of perception—to have an idea or notion of it, as apprehended by the mind. 'Novi aedes,' *Plaut. Amph.* i. 1, 292. 'I know the house.' . . *Novi*, the preterite tense of this verb, denotes present knowledge, and past perception. 'Novi ego te,' *Plaut.* 'I know you from previous

‘giam civibus esse, quam ferre ne liberi quidem potuissent.’ Itaque sensim ad rebellandum primores Gabinorum incitaret, ipse cum promptissimis juvenum praedatum atque in expeditiones iret, et dictis factisque omnibus ad fallendum instructis vana accresceret fides¹, dux ad ultimum belli legitur. Ibi quum, insciâ multitudine quid ageretur, proelia parva inter Romam Gabiosque fierent quibus plerumque Gabina res superior esset², tum certatim summi infimique Gabinorum ‘Sex. Tarquinius dono Deûm sibi missum ducem’ credere. Apud milites verò obeundo pericula ac labores pariter, praedam munificè largiendo, tantâ caritate esse ut non pater Tarquinius potentior Romae quàm filius Gabiis esset. Itaque, postquam satis virium collectum ad omnes conatus videbat, tum a suis unum sciscitatum Romam ad patrem mittit, ‘quidnam se facere vellet? quandoquidem ut ‘omnia unus Gabiis posset ei³ Dii dedissent.’ Huic nuncio,

‘experience or acquaintances.’ Scire is to know any thing as a matter of fact, or any truth as an object of conviction; as ‘scio omnibus ‘esse moriendum.’ ‘I know that all must die.’ CA. ‘Phania ille frater meus fuit.’ Si. ‘Noram, et scio.’ *Ter. And. v. 4. 32.* ‘I was acquainted with the man, and I know (as a matter of fact) that he was your brother.’ *Dr Crombie, Gymnasium, i. 71, 72.* ¹ *Fides vana.* ‘Ill-grounded confidence,’ arising from false appearances. As the sentence is pointed, *dictis factisque* are in the dative governed by *accresceret*; put a comma after *et*, and another after *instructis*, and they become the ablative absolute with *instructis*. ² The resemblance between this stratagem and that by which Zopyrus enabled Darius Hystaspis (*Herodotus*, iii. 154-158) to take Babylon, is sufficiently striking. But the suspicion of the Greek origin of this tradition rises almost to certainty, when the similarity of the subsequent story of the poppies with the narrative in *Herodotus* (v. 92,) of the advice sought by Periander, tyrant of Corinth, and administered by Thrasybulus, tyrant of Miletus, through means of beheading the tallest ears of corn in presence of a wondering messenger, is combined with the fact learned from *Dionysius*, (book iii.) that tradition ascribed the origin of the family of Tarquin to the very same Corinthian Bacchiadae, to whom Periander was opposed, and their exile from Corinth (ob seditiones domo profugus, *Livy*, i. c. 34,) to the time of Cypselus, the father of Periander, which is confirmed by *Pliny*, xxxv. 5. ³ *Ei.* The reader may here be reminded that the pronoun *sui* is used in the indirect form, when applied to the individual whose words or sentiments the author is reporting. In this case why not *sibi*? As *se* occurs in the previous clause, referring to the same person, we can only account for this ap-

quia, credo, dubiae fidei videbatur, nihil voce responsum est. Rex velut deliberabundus in hortum aedium transit, sequente nuncio filii; ibi inambulans tacitus summa papaverum¹ capita dicitur baculo decussisse. Interrogando exspectandoque responsum nuncius fessus, ut re imperfectâ, redit Gabios; quae dixerit ipse, quaeque viderit, refert; 'seu irâ, seu odio, seu superbiâ insitâ ingenio, nullam eum 'vocem emisisse.' Sexto ubi quid vellet parens quidve praeciperet tacitis ambagibus patuit, primores civitatis, criminando alios apud populum, alios suâ ipsos invidiâ opportunos² interemit; multi palàm, quidam, in quibus minùs speciosa criminatio erat futura, clam interfecti. Patuit quibusdam volentibus fuga, alii in exsilium acti sunt, absentiumque bona juxtâ atque interemptorum divisui³ fuere. Largitionis inde praedaeque et dulcedine privati commodi sensus malorum publicorum adimi, donec orba consilio auxilioque Gabina res regi Romano sine ullâ dimicatione in manum traditur.

LV. Gabiis receptis, Tarquinius pacem cum Aequorum gente fecit, foedus cum Tuscis renovavit. Inde ad negotia urbana animum convertit. Quorum erat primum 'ut Jovis templum in monte Tarpejo, monumentum regni sui nominisque relinqueret, Tarquinius reges ambos, patrem vovisse⁴ filium perfecisse.' Et 'ut libera a ceteris religionibus area esset tota Jovis templique ejus quod inaedificaretur,' exaugurare fana sacellaque statuit⁵, quae aliquot ibi a Ta-

parent violation of common usage, by supposing that, in the first question, Livy states the question as put by Sextus Tarquinius, and then passes, in the concluding clause, to give the reason for the question, as stated by the messenger. ¹ *Papaverum*. According to Ovid lilies were selected by Tarquin,

Virgâ lilia summa metit. *Fasti*, i. 706.

² *Alios, &c.* 'Others who were rendered an easy prey by the public odium to which they had, by their own conduct, exposed themselves.'

³ *Divisui*, a happy conjecture of the elder Gronovius for *divisa*, the old reading, and afterwards confirmed by two MSS. of high authority. Three MSS. have *fugere* for *fuga*.

⁴ See p. 70, note 2. ⁵ *Religiones*. Here used in a good sense, (see p. 56, note 4,) obligations to worship other deities as in a place sacredly theirs.

Exaugurare. Ruperti has brought together the various steps connected with the dedication of temples. They were first vowed, *voveri*; then their sacred limits were marked out, *termi-*

tio rege primùm in ipso discrimine adversus Romulum pugnae vota, consecrata inaugurataque postea fuerant. 'Inter principia condendi hujus operis movisse numen¹ ad indicandam tanti imperii molem' traditur 'Deos'; nam quum omnium sacellorum exaugurationes admitterent aves, in Termini fano non addixere². Id omen auguriumque ita acceptum est, 'non motam Termini sedem, unumque eum Deorum non evocatum sacratis sibi finibus firma stabiliaque cuncta portendere.' Hoc perpetuitatis auspicio accepto, secutum aliud magnitudinem imperii portendens prodigium est; caput humanum integrâ facie aperientibus fundamenta templi dicitur apparuisse³. Quae visa species,

nari; built, *condi*; consecrated or set apart to a sacred purpose, *effari* et *consecrari*; tried by omens, and sanctioned by the gods, inaugurated, *inaugurari*; and dedicated by man to the particular deity, *dedicari*. A spot previously sacred to one deity might be dedicated to another, or it might be rendered profane by solemnly calling out the god, when, if the omens indicated his consent, it was said *exaugurari*. *Fanum*. Much obscurity rests on the proper distinction between *fanum*, *delubrum*, *templum*, *aedes*, *sacellum*, nor are the ancients agreed on it themselves. In this passage, however, the meaning seems clear enough. One undoubted meaning of *fanum*, and if we regard the root, *fari*, its primary meaning, is (see x. 37, where we learn that the temple vowed to Jupiter Stator by Romulus, c. 12, was not built, A. U. C. 294, but was still *fanum tantum*, id est, says Livy,) *locus templo effatus, sacratus*. No mention is made in our next clause of any temples having been built; the sacred precincts only had been marked out, and duly set apart to sacred purposes, where the temples *were to be*—meanwhile temporary shrines, roofless inclosures with an altar, and perhaps statues of the deities worshipped, *sacella*, were erected on the ground.

¹ *Numen* from *nuo*, is indicative of divine will, and divine power, as sufficiently indicated by and requiring no more than a mere sign, 'a nod.' *Movere numen* seems to mean 'actively and indubitably to declare their divine will.' *Numen* is sometimes reverentially applied to men in power, (Ye shall not revile the gods, Exodus, xxii. 28.) *Adnuite*, Patres Conscripti, *nutum numenque vestrum*, vii. 30. *Numen* often indicates, also, a deity simply.

² *Admitterent*—*addixisse*. See p. 67, note 1. *Termini*. Critics have expressed their wonder that Livy does not add *Juventatisque*, as that goddess is joined with *Terminus* in the epitome, as well as by Dionysius and Livy himself in v. 54.

³ As usual, Dionysius goes farther, and states, that though the head was dug up from a great depth, it was that of a man newly killed, the features still lively, and the blood dripping from it. Compare with this legend, Virgil, i. 443-5, where a *horse's* head only is assigned to

haud per ambages, arcem eam imperii caputque rerum fore portendebat; idque ita cecinere vates, quique in urbe erant, quosque ad eam rem consultandam ex Etruriâ acciverant. Augebatur ad impensas regis animus¹. Itaque Pometinae² manubiae quae perducendo ad culmen operi destinatae erant, vix in fundamenta suppeditavere. Eò magis Fabio praeterquam quòd antiquior est, crediderim quadraginta ea sola talenta fuisse, quàm Pisoni qui quadraginta millia pondo argenti³ seposita in eam rem scribit, quia summam pecu-

Carthage. There is a childish story told by Servius on Virgil, *Aeneid*, viii. 345, of this head being that of a man called *Ollus*, hence the name *Capitolium*.

¹ 'We cannot but connect with this story' (that alluded to p. 36, note 2,) 'what is told of Tarquin the elder,' (according to Dionysius, of Tarquin the tyrant according to Livy,) 'how he cleared away the holy places of the Sabine gods from the Capitoline hill' (Tatius introduced them) 'to make room for his new temple; and the statement which Augustine quotes from Varro, and which is found also in Plutarch, that during the first 170 years from the foundation of the city, the Romans had no images of their gods. All these accounts represent a change effected in the Roman religion; and the term of 170 years given by Varro and Plutarch fixes the change to the reigns of the latter kings. It is said also (Servius on Virgil, *Aen.* i. 422,) that Jupiter, Juno and Minerva, the three deities to whom the Capitoline temple was dedicated, were the very powers whose worship, according to the Etruscan religion, was essential to every city; there could be no city without three gates duly consecrated, and three temples to these divinities.' *Arnold's Rome*, vol. i. p. 59-60.

² See chap. 53. ³ See p. 95, note 3. Only two MSS. have *quadringenta* in either place, and there is only one that gives it in both. This, in the difficulty that always rests on the MSS. rendering of numbers, would seem to settle the question. Yet Pighius, Gronovius and Drakenborch read *quadringenta*, on the absurd principle of making Livy agree with Dionysius, which also may account for the *aurique* of the former passage, Glairean's interpretation seeming to be taken from the parallel passage of Dionysius. But, besides the agreement of the MSS. there is no such striking discrepancy between 400 talents, and 4000 pounds as to account for Livy's preferring in contrast the account of Fabius to that of Piso; and there is a manifest antithesis between *talanta* and *pondo*, which is destroyed by reading *quadringenta* in the one, and *quadraginta* in the other, *quadraginta ea sola talenta fuisse*, meaning that that number *forty* (agreed on by both writers) were *talents only*, not *thousand pounds*. The talent here spoken of is the Attic talent. *Talentum* means originally a weight. Proceeding from the weight of the Attic drachma = 66.5 gr. avoirdupois weight, as

nise neque ex unius tum urbis praedâ sperandam, et nullius, ne horum quidem magnificentiae operum, fundamenta non exsuperaturam ¹.

LVI. Intentus perficiendo templo, fabris undique ex Etruriâ accitis, non pecuniâ solùm ad id publicâ est usus, sed operis ² etiam ex plebe. Qui quum haud parvus et ipse militiae adderetur labor, minùs tamen plebs gravabatur se templâ Deûm exaedificare manibus suis; quae posthac et ad alia, ut specie minora, sic labores aliquantò majoris traducebatur opera; foros ³ in circo faciendos, cloacamque maximam ⁴, receptaculum omnium purgamentorum urbis, sub terram agendam; quibus duobus operibus vix nova haec magnificentia quicquam adaequare potuit. His laboribus ⁵ exercitâ plebe, quia et 'urbi multitudinem, ubi usus ' non esset, oneri' rebatur 'esse,' et colonis mittendis occupari latius imperii fines volebat, Signiam Circejosque co-

ascertained from existing coins, and of which 100 make a mina, 60 minae making a talent, we have 56 lb. 15½ oz. 100.32 gr. as the weight of the talent. When we consider it as a mere money denomination, not a coin, making allowance for alloy, according to the value of our silver coinage at 80.7 grains of pure silver to a shilling, as we have 9¾d. as the value of the drachma, and L.4 : 1 : 3 that of the mina, L.243, 15s. is that of the talent. This gives 5s. 5d. per ounce, and the Roman *libra*, as, which is here meant by *pondo*, being ascertained to be about 11½ oz. 60 gr. we have its value fixed at L.3 : 4 : 4½. Let the learner work out the results for himself.

¹ I reluctantly admit *quia* before *summam*, as the unquestionable reading of the MSS. It is, however, defensible. Convert *qui scribit* into its equivalent *scribenti*, and supply *scribenti* after *quia*, and the meaning is obvious, and the construction *tolerable*. *Et nullius* (magnificentiae, &c.)

'And which would do much more than suffice to lay the foundations of the most splendid structure even of our own times.' These negatives deserve analysis. *Horum*. See p. 13. note 1.

² *Operis* for *operariis*, as in Tacitus, *Annal.* i. 16. *Dux theatralium operarum*, a leader of the *claqueurs*, or hired applauders. So *servitium*, or oftener *servitia* for *servi*. Cicero joins the two, (pro Flacco 38,) *operas facessant, servitia sileant*. In Anglo-American a servant is similarly called a *help*.

³ See chap. 35.

⁴ Begun by Tarquinius Priscus, c. 38.

⁵ *His laboribus*, &c. All the traditions agree in representing the oppression of Tarquin, in the form of compulsory labour, as frightful. Servius in a note on Virgil xii. 663, says, Cassius autem Emina ait, 'Tarquinius Superbum cum 'cloacas populum facere coegisset, et ob hanc injuriam multi se suspendio necarent, jussisse corpora eorum cruci affigi,' &c.,

lonos misit, praesidia urbi futura terrâ marique. Haec agenti portentum terribile visum. Anguis ex columnâ lignâ elapsus quum terrorem fugamque in regiam fecisset, ipsius regis non tam subito pavore perculit pectus quàm anxiis implevit curis. Itaque quum ad publica prodigia Etrusci¹ tantum vates adhiberentur, hoc velut domestico exterritus visu, Delphos ad maximè inclytum in terris oraculam mittere statuit². Neque responsa sortium³ ulli alii committere ausus, duos filios per ignotas eâ tempestate terras, ignotiora maria, in Graeciam misit. Titus et Aruns profecti. Comes his additus L. Junius Brutus, Tarquiniâ sorore⁴ regis natus, juvenis longè alius ingenio quàm⁵ cuius simulationem induerat. Is, quum primores⁶ civitatis, in quibus fratrem suum ab avunculo interfectum audisset, neque in animo suo quicquam regi timendum neque in fortunâ concupiscendum relinquere statuit, contemptuque tutus esse, ubi in jure parum praesidii esset. Ergo ex industriâ factus ad imitationem⁷ stultitiae, quum se suae prae-

¹ As in the case of the head, c. 55. ² 'The story of the last of the Roman kings sending to consult the oracle at Delphi is in itself nothing improbable. We read of the Agylleans of Agylla or Coere doing the same thing at an earlier period, Herodotus, i. 167. These were Tyrrhenians or Pelasgians; and there was a sufficient mixture of the same race in the Roman people, to give them a natural connection with the religion of Greece.' Arnold's Rome, vol. i. p. 101.

³ *Sors*, in its general signification, imports any thing that indicates the will of heaven in answer to inquiry. This the ancients sought to know in various ways, the Romans chiefly by casting lots, which were of various kinds. Hence *sors* and *sortes* often mean not *lots* merely, but any means by which the gods were supposed to reveal their will to inquirers. Here *sortes*, *responsa sortium*, meaning 'the answers given by the oracular *sortes* or revelations.' And Cicero, writing of the same oracle, where the answers were not given by *lot*, properly so called, but vocally, says, De Divinatione, ii. 56, Cum *sors* illa edita est opulentissimo regi Asiae, 'Croesus Halym pene trans magnam pervertet opum vim' hostium, &c.

⁴ According to Dionysius the king's aunt. See p. 62, note 3.

⁵ The ellipsis may be thus supplied, quam *ingenium fuit*.

⁶ *Primores*, supply *interfectos*, as involved in *interfectum*, which agrees with the nearest noun.

⁷ Macrobius, ii. 16, preserves a traditional story of one method in which Brutus 'The dullard,' (so translated by Dr Arnold,) shewed his stupidity. Ea causa sese stultum brutumque faciebat; grossulos ex melle edebat, he ate unripe figs out of honey, i. e. as Dr Arnold explains it, 'dipping them into the honey, and

dae esse regi sineret, Bruti quoque haud abnuvit cognomen, ut sub ejus obtentu cognominis liberator ille populi Romani animus latens opperiretur tempora sua. Is tum ab Tarquinii ductus Delphos, ludibrium veriùs quàm comes, 'aureum baculum inclusum corneo cavato ad id baculo tulisse domum Apollini' dicitur, per ambages¹ effigiem ingenii sui. Quò postquam ventum est, perfectis patris mandatis², cupido incessit animos juvenum sciscitandi ad quem eorum regnum Romanum esset venturum. 'Ex infimo specu vocem redditam' ferunt; 'Imperium summum Romae habebit, qui vestrum primus, ô juvenes, osculum matritulerit³.' Tarquinii, ut Sextus qui Romae relictus fuerat ignarus responsi expersque imperii esset, rem summâ ope taceri jubent; ipsi inter se, uter prior, quum Romam redissent, matri osculum daret, sorti permittunt⁴. Brutus, 'aliò' ratus 'spectare Pythicam vocem,' velut si prolapsus cecidisset, terram osculo contigit; scilicet, 'quòd ea communis mater omnium mortalium esset⁵. Reditum

'eating them when just taken out of it, i. e. with the honey clinging all about them.'

¹ *Ambages*, properly (from *am* and *ago* or *ambio*) a circuitous route. Hence similar to our own expression *round about*, a long story, a matter that is indicated indirectly in a round about way, as *tacitis ambagibus* applied to the story of the poppies, c. 53. Here 'through means of a contrivance presenting one meaning to the eye, in reality indicating another.'

² Zonaras, vii. 11, says that the answer of the Pythian priestess was, that when a dog spoke with a man's voice, (this was fulfilled in the case of Brutus, being spoken *per ambages*.) the power of Tarquin was doomed.

³ *Ex infimo specu*. See *oraculum* in Index. *Habebit, tulerit*. As the English idiom admits of 'will first kiss, will possess,' it is the more necessary for the reader to advert to the force of *tulerit*, future perfect, as indicating the completion of this future action before that expressed by *habebit* take place.

⁴ Another instance of Livy's neglect of the grammatical tense. Properly, *redissent, daret*, should be *redierint, det*. See p. 87, note 4. In these two words is the same distinction of completion, previous to a subsequent action, as is noticed in the last note, and the same danger; for the English idiom admits of, 'should first kiss, when they should,' *should* being the corresponding past of *shall* or *will*, as the imperfect subjunctive in Latin is the corresponding past of the future indicative, and the pluperfect subjunctive that of the future perfect indicative.

⁵ The reader will recognise *Magna parens terra est*. Ovid. *Metamorph.* i. 393.

inde Romam, ubi adversus Rutulos bellum summâ vi parabatur.

LVII. Ardeam Rutuli habebant, gens, ut in eâ regione atque in eâ aetate, divitiis praepollens. Eaque ipsa causa belli ¹ fuit, quòd rex Romanus tum ipse ditari, exhaustus magnificentiâ publicorum operum, tum praedâ delinire popularium animos studebat, praeter aliam superbiam regno infestos etiam, quòd ' se in fabrorum ministeriis ac servili ' tamdiu habitos opere ab rege ' indignabantur. Tentata res est, si primo impetu capi Ardea posset. Ubi id parum processit, obsidione munitionibusque coepti ² premi hostes. In iis stativis, ut fit longo magis quàm acri bello, satis liberi commeatus erant, primoribus tamen magis, quàm militibus. Regii quidem juvenes interdum otium convivii commensationibusque inter se terebant. Fortè potantibus his apud ³ Sex. Tarquinius, ubi et Collatinus coenabat Tarquinius, Egerii filius, incidit de uxoribus mentio; suam quisque laudare miris modis. Inde certamine accenso, Collatinus negat ⁴ ' verbis opus esse, paucis id quidem horis posse sciri, quantum ceteris praestet ' Lucretia sua. Quin ⁵ si vigor juventae inest, conscendimus equos invisimusque praesentes nostrarum ingenia? ' Id cuique spectatissimum sit, quod nec opinato viri adventu occurrerit oculis ⁶. ' Incaluerant vino. ' Age sane, omnes. Citatis equis avolant Romam. Quòd quum primis se intendentibus tenebris pervenissent, pergunt inde Colla-

¹ Whether the Romans conquered Ardea on this occasion or not, (Dionysius says a truce was made with them,) it is certain that it is mentioned as a Latin city, subject to them, (Ἰππῆλαι) in a treaty made with the Carthaginians in the first year after the banishment of the Tarquins, recorded by Polybius, iii. 22. Dionysius narrates nothing of the consulting of the oracle, but relates the story of the purchase of those Sabine Books, to which Livy first alludes, iii. 10.

² See p. 71, note 1.

³ Apud ' in the tent

' of; ' as we say with, meaning in the house of, and the French chez. ⁴ Negat involves *dicit non*, of which both belong to *esse*, but only *deicit* to *posse sciri*.

⁵ See p. 24, note 4.

Quin. See p. 85, note 5.

⁶ *Id—quod—occurrerit—sit—spectatissimum*. The future perfect, marking the completion of the experiment, before a determination is come to. *Spectatissimum*, ' the surest proof as experimentally obtained.' *Spectatus* is so applied to metals, coins,—and to actors, gladiators, &c. ' Let that be considered as the surest proof which ' shall have met our eyes on each husband's unexpected arrival.'

tiam, ubi Lucretiam haudquaquam ut regias nurus, quas in convivio luxuque cum aequalibus viderant tempus terentes, sed nocte serâ deditam lanae inter lucubrantes ancillas in medio aedium sedentem inveniunt¹. Muliebris certaminis

¹ The whole spinning and weaving of the clothes of the household was performed by the women among the Greeks, Romans and Jews. See Proverbs, xxxi. 13, 15-19, 21-24. The beautiful picture there described corresponds exactly with those presented in the classics of the employments of the mistress of the household with her maids, of which here are a few examples easy of reference. See Homer, *Il.* xii. 433-5, compared with Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 408-413, for an industrious woman rising early to support her family by spinning; and *Odyssey*, vii. 105-7, 234-5, in which latter passage the Phœacian queen recognises on her guest the workmanship of her own royal hands. Telemachus tells his mother to go spin with her maidens, *Odyssey*, i. 356-360, as Hector does Andromache, *Il.* vi. 490-2. Calypso spins and sings by a bright fire, *Odyssey*, v. 59-62, as does Circe, *Odyssey*, x. 221-2, compared with Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 14. Among the winter employments of the female peasantry, Virgil, *Georg.* i. 293-4, has weaving with the song. Herodotus, ii. 35, says that the Egyptians do all things differently from other nations; the men spin, and the women go to the market. Pliny, viii. 48, records that Tanacquil, called also Caia Coecilia, was an indefatigable spinster, (her distaff and spindle being preserved till the days of Varro,) and so successful, that a dress made for her son-in-law, Servius Tullius, or a statue dedicated by him, lasted 560 years, being extant in the time of the Emperor Tiberius. Newly married women called themselves *Caia*, perhaps as imitators of her industry, Cicero *pro Muraena*, 12. The Roman women, on account of their merit in putting a stop to the Sabine war, were exempted from all domestic work but spinning and weaving. *Plut. Rom.* Perhaps from this being peculiarly a female employment, Pliny says, xi. 24, that the female spiders alone spin, and the males hunt for their prey. Ovid, *Met.* vi. 55-128, describes the process of weaving. Alexander the Great deeply grieved Sisymbria, Darius's mother, by requesting her, when he sent her a present of Macedonian robes and purple wool, to teach her grand-daughters to spin the latter for him; and when he learned that spinning was accounted servile among the Persians, he apologised on the ground of ignorance, stating that his own sisters had wrought the clothes he then wore. Curtius, v. 2. Augustus seldom wore any other dress than that manufactured by the ladies of his household, his wife, sisters, daughters, and grand-daughters. *Sueton.* Oct. 73. Juvenal laments bitterly, however, that this spinning had ceased in his day. It was passing into the hands of regular manufacturers, and of slaves in their employ; and in the fourth century it was transferred to men. It was carried on in the *atrium*, which

laus penes Lucretiam fuit. Adveniens vir Tarquinique excepti benignè. Victor maritus comiter invitat regios juvenes. Ibi Sex. Tarquinius mala libido Lucretiae per vim stuprandae capit. Tum forma, tum spectata castitas incitat. Et tum quidem ab nocturno juvenili ludo in castra redeunt.

LVIII. Paucis interjectis diebus Sex. Tarquinius, inscio Collatino, cum comite uno Collatiam venit. Ubi exceptus benignè ab ignaris consilii, quum post coenam in hospitale cubiculum deductus esset, amore ardens, postquam satis tuta circa sopitque omnes videbantur, stricto gladio ad dormientem Lucretiam venit, sinistrâque manu mulieris pectore oppresso, 'Tace, Lucretia,' inquit, 'Sex. Tarquinius sum; ferrum in manu est; moriere, si emiseris vocem.' Quum pavida ex somno mulier nullam opem prope¹, mortem imminentem videret, tum Tarquinius fateri amorem, orare, miscere precibus minas, versare in omnes partes muliebrem animum. Ubi obstinatum videbat, et ne mortis quidem metu² inclinari, addit ad metum dedecus; 'cum mortuâ jugulatum servum nudum positurum,' ait, 'ut in sordido adulterio necata dicatur.' Quo terrore³ quum vicisset

was in medio aedium—itemque *telas, quae ex veteri more in atrio texebantur*, diruerunt. Asconius in Ciceron. pro Milone, 5. In the poetical descriptions, and Livy is here highly poetical, the writers almost uniformly represent the work as going on at night or early in the morning, indicative of industry. ¹ As suggested by Douatius and Dr Hunter, I have placed the comma after *prope*, instead of after *opem*.

² The Latin language is precise in its emphasis. It would be an erroneous translation, 'not even by the fear of death,'—it should be, 'by the fear not of death even.' The idea singled out as the most to be dwelt upon is marked by *ne* before and *quidem* after. This should be rigorously observed in English. ³ 'Cicero says nothing of this;' (the threat of the slave;) 'he may, indeed, have omitted it for the sake of brevity; but the story seems to be not at all after the spirit of rude and simple times. It is exceedingly valuable, however, as marking distinctly the morality of the ages in which it was invented, and during which it remained the popular tradition. The desire of praise, and the fear of shame, in subordination to the laws of morality, founded on independent principles, may be useful as a stimulus, or as a safeguard. But the Romans, when they began to philosophize, very commonly set them up as the first motives of action. This false feeling became a portion of the national character, and even the best among the Romans

obstinatam pudicitiam velut victrix libido, profectusque inde Tarquinius ferox expugnato decore muliebri esset, Lucretia moesta tanto malo, nuncium Romam eundem ad patrem, Ardeamque ad virum mittit, 'ut cum singulis fide-
' libus amicis veniant; ita facto maturatoque opus esse;
' rem atrocem incidisse.' Sp. Lucretius cum P. Valerio Volesi filio, Collatinus cum L. Junio Bruto venit, cum quo fortè Romam rediens ab nuncio uxoris erat conventus¹.
Lucretiam sedentem moestam in cubiculo inveniunt. Adventu suorum lacrimae abortae; quaerentique viro, 'satin' salvae?² 'minimè,' inquit; 'quid enim salvi est mulieri, 'amissâ pudicitia? Vestigia viri alieni, Collatine, in lecto 'sunt tuo. Ceterum corpus est tantum violatum, animus 'insons; mors testis erit. Sed date dextras fidemque haud 'impune adultero fore. Sex. est Tarquinius, qui hostis pro 'hospite priore nocte vi armatus mihi sibi, si vos viri 'estis, pestiferum hinc abstulit gaudium.' Dant ordine omnes fidem; consolantur aegram animi, avertendo noxam ab coactâ in auctorem delicti; 'mentem peccare, non corpus; et unde consilium abfuerit culpam abesse.' 'Vos,' inquit, 'videritis quid illi debeatur; ego me³, etsi peccato 'absolvo, supplicio non libero; nec ulla deinde impudica 'Lucretiae exemplo vivet.' Cultrum quem sub veste abditum habebat, eum in corde defigit, prolapsaque in vulnus moribunda cecidit. Conclamant vir paterque⁴.

'made the object of their ruling passion that praise of men, the love of which, for its own sake, we know from a better philosophy, and from revealed religion, to be fatal to true moral goodness. Thus Lucretia was extolled for preferring the means to the end, the name to the reality of virtue; and Christian writers have been blind enough to repeat the eulogium.' *Professor Malden's History of Rome*, p. 36. Without assenting to this estimate of the feeling ascribed to Lucretia, it furnishes material for thought on human motives,—one of the most valuable lessons to be learned in the reading of history.

¹ *Convenio nuncium*, I meet a messenger. *Convenior ab nuncio*, I am met by a messenger. So Cicero: *De Antonio jam ante tibi scripsi, non esse eum a me conventum. Ad Attic. xv. 1.*

² Supply *res eunt*. Others prefer *salvè*, supplying *agis* or *se habet res*, analogously to *Satin' recte. Terent. Andr. iv. 5, 9. Perizonius on Sanctii Minerva, iv. 4, 110, defends both expressions.*

³ The pronouns both in their use and position marking strong contrast, *vos—illi; ego—me.*

⁴ 'When the eyes were closed, they' (the nearest relations) 'called (*inculabant*) upon the deceased by

LIX. Brutus, illis luctu occupatis, cultrum ex vulnere Lucretiae extractum, manantem cruore, prae se tenens ¹, ‘Per hunc,’ inquit, ‘castissimum ante regiam injuriam sanguinem juro, vosque, Dii, testes facio, me L. Tarquinium Superbum, cum sceleratâ conjuge et omni liberorum stirpe, ferro, igni, quacunque dehinc vi possim executurum ², nec illos, nec alium quenquam regnare Romae passurum.’ Cultrum deinde Collatino tradit; inde Lucretio ac Valerio, stupentibus miraculo rei, unde novum in Bruti pectore ingenium. Ut praeceptum erat, jurant; totique ab luctu versi in iram, Brutum jam inde ad expugnandum regnum vocantem sequuntur ducem. Elatum domo Lucretiae corpus in forum deferunt, concientque miraculo, ut fit, rei novae atque indignitate homines. Pro se quisque scelus regium ac vim queruntur ³. Movet tum

¹ name several times at intervals, *Ovid. Trist.* iii. 3, 43, repeating ‘AVE OR VALE, *Catull.* xcvi. 10. *Ovid. Met.* x. 62. *Fast.* iv. 852, whence *corpora nondum conclamata*, just expiring, *Lucan.* ii. 23; and those who had given up their friends for lost, or supposed them dead, were said *eos conclamavisse*. *Liv.* iv. 40; so when a thing was quite desperate, CONCLAMATUM EST, all is over. *Ter. Eux.* ii. 3, 56.’ *Dr Adam.* Conclamat is the reading of a number of the MSS. and the early editions.

² *Teneans, extractum, inquit.* While holding, after having drawn out, he speaks. This fixes the moment of the picture, which is full of points, *prae se, manantem cruore, illis luctu occupatis.* See p. 74, note 1. Dionysius narrates that this scene took place at Rome, whither Lucretia had come from Collatia in the morning. Of course this view alters his account of much of the subsequent narrative.

³ An uncommon, if not solitary instance of *exsequi*, in the sense of ‘to take vengeance,’ governing the accusative of the person on whom vengeance is inflicted, it being usually combined with the crime, as iii. 13, *rem tam atrocem exsequi*. Two MSS. read *extincturum*, one *persecuturum*, and Gronovius conjectures *exacturum*.

⁴ Is *quisque*, the nominative to *queruntur*? I think not, though Ruperti here refers to it as collective, and Gronovius, Cortius and Drakenborch, in similar passages, are of this opinion. Verum enimvero, says Cortius, *ad Sall. Cat.* c. 38, id demum juvat, si cum cura perpendas vocem *quisque* suâ vi notare *quis et quis*; inde per se singularem numerum ferre nequit. On the other hand, ‘were I to hazard,’ says Dr Hunter, commenting on a passage, ii. 26, ‘an opinion in opposition to so high authorities, I should be inclined to say, that *quisque* is never construed with a verb or adjective plural, but that in all the instances supposed to be of this kind, the

patris moestitia, tum Brutus castigat lacrimarum atque inertium querelarum, auctorque, 'quod viros, quod Roma-
' nos ¹ deceret,' arma capiendi adversus hostilia ausos. Ferocissimus quisque juvenum cum armis voluntarius adest; sequitur et cetera juvenus. Inde, pari praesidio ² relicto Collatiae ad portas, custodibusque datis ne quis eum motum regibus ³ nuntiaret, ceteri armati duce Bruto Romanam profecti. Ubi eò ventum est, quacunque incedit, armata multitudo pavorem ac tumultum facit. Rursus, ubi anteire primores civitatis vident, 'quicquid sit, haud temerè
' esse' rentur. Nec minorem motum animorum Romae tam atrox res facit quam Collatiae fecerat. Ergo ex omnibus locis urbis in forum curritur. Quò simul ventum est, praeco ad tribunum ⁴ Celerum, in quo tum magistratu

'attribute expressed by the verb or adjective plural is assigned to
'an assemblage or plurality of objects, and that *quisque* is added to
'notify that the attribute belongs to each of the objects severally,
'thereby rendering the statement more explicit or more emphatical;
'as in this example from our translation of the Sacred Scriptures,
'*All the congregation are holy, every one of them.*' *Numbers*, ch.
'16.' In this doctrine I fully concur, and would explain here, 'They
'complain,' all complain,—but, *quisque pro se*, 'every one on some
'peculiar ground.' ¹ A climax, 'what became them
'not only as *men*, but as *Romans*.' From the pride of country men
derive their strongest excitement. This is well known to poets and
orators. Shakspeare appeals to this, when he puts in the mouth of
Anthony the words, 'Friends, *Romans*, Countrymen;' and again,
'On, on ye noblest *English*, whose blood is fetched from fathers of
'war-proof.' So Burns, '*Scots wha hae wi' Wallace bled.*' Paul
addressing the Athenians, Acts, xvii. 22, begins, "*Ἀνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι.*
Peter, willing to conciliate the Jews, Acts, ii. 22, says, "*Ἀνδρες Ἰου-
δαῖοι.*" ² *Pari praesidio*, 'a sufficient garrison.' *Pars* .
. . . *relicti* . . . *ad portas, custodibus, &c.*, is a happy conjecture of
Gronovius. ³ *Regibus*, the king and his sons, see p. 70, note 3.
⁴ The *Tribunus Celerum* was commander of the horse, who composed
the king's body-guard, 'and was to the king what the master of the
'horse was afterwards to the dictator. It is hardly necessary to
'point out the extravagance of the story in representing Brutus,
'though a reputed idiot, yet invested with such an important office.
'Festus says that Brutus in old Latin was synonymous with *Gravis*;
'this would shew a connection between the word and the Greek βαρύς.
'It is very possible that its early signification as a cognomen may have
'differed very little from that of *Severus*. When the signification of
'dulness' came to be more confirmed, the story of Brutus' pre-

forte Brutus erat, populum advocavit. Ibi oratio habita, nequaquam ejus pectoris ingenique quod simulatum ad eam diem fuerat, de vi ac libidine Sex. Tarquinius, de stupro infando Lucretiae et miserabili caede, de orbitate Tricipitini, 'cui morte filiae causa mortis indignior ac miserabilior esset.' Addita superbia ipsius regis, miseriaeque et labores plebis in fossas cloacasque exhauriendas demersae; 'Romanos homines, victores omnium circa populorum, opifices ac lapidas pro bellatoribus factos.' Indigna Ser. Tullii regis memorata caedes, et invecta corpori patris nefando vehiculo filia¹; invocatique ultores parentum Dii. His atrocioribusque, credo, aliis, quae praesens rerum indignitas haudquaquam relatu scriptoribus facilia subjicit², memoratis, incensam multitudinem perpulit ut imperium regi abrogaret, exsulesque esse juberet L. Tarquinius cum conjuge ac liberis. Ipse, junioribus qui ultrò nomina dabant lectis armatisque, ad concitandum inde adversus regem exercitum, Ardeam in castra est profectus; imperium in urbe Lucretio praefecto urbis jam antè ab rege instituto relinquit. Inter hunc tumultum Tullia domo profugit, exsecrantibus, quacunque incedebat, invocantibusque parentum furias viris mulieribusque.

LX. Harum rerum nunciis in castra perlatis, quum renovâ trepidus rex pergeret Romam ad comprimendos motus, flexit viam Brutus (senserat enim adventum) ne obvius fieret; eodemque fere tempore, diversis itineribus, Brutus Ardeam, Tarquinius Romam, venerunt³. Tarquinio clausae portae exsiliumque indictum⁴, liberatorem urbis laeta castra accepere; exactique inde liberi regis. Duo patrem secuti sunt, qui exsulatum Caere in Etruscos ierunt. Sex.

'tended idiocy would be invented to explain the fact of so wise a man being called by such a name.' Dr Arnold, *History of Rome*, vol. i. p. 105. ¹ See chap. 58. ² *Quae, &c.* 'Which

'are usually suggested by the immediate indignation arising from the events, and which it is by no means easy for historians to report.'

³ *Brutus, &c.* 'Venerunt equal to venit repeated; and universally the plural form of words of every description is equal to the singular repeated, and is used to supersede the necessity of such repetition.' Dr HUNTER. ⁴ The day on which the king was

exiled was observed as a festival ever after, under the name of Regifugium. This was held annually on the 23d, 24th or 25th of February; for there are authorities for all three.

Tarquinius Gabios, tanquam in suum regnum profectus, ab ultoribus veterum simultatum, quas sibi ipse caedibus rapinisque conciverat, est interfectus¹. L. Tarquinius Superbus regnavit annos quinque et viginti. Regnatum Romae ab conditâ urbe ad liberatam annos ducentos quadraginta quatuor². Duo consules inde comitiis centuriatis a
 v. c.
 245. praefecto urbis ex commentariis Ser. Tullii³ creati sunt, L. Junius Brutus et L. Tarquinius Collatinus.

¹ According to Dionysius, Sextus was killed at the battle of the Lacus Regillus, fought ten years after, narrated by Livy ii. 19-20.

² Romulus.....	reigned	37 years.
Interregnum		1 year.
Numa.....	reigned	43 years.
Tullus Hostilius.....	.....	32 —
Ancus Martius.....	.....	24 —
Tarquinius Priscus .....	.....	38 —
Servius Tullius.....	.....	34 —
Tarquinius Superbus .....	.....	25 —

244 years.

³ *Ex commentariis Ser. Tullii.* According to some, founding on the report mentioned in the 48th chapter, as to the intention of Ser. Tullius to resign the sovereign power, these words import, that a scheme was found in the repositories of that king, for the establishment of a republic governed by consuls. It seems more probable, however, that these words have a reference to the forms of holding the comitia centuriata, which, from disuse, (see chap. 49.) must have become uncertain. *Praefecto urbis.* See Index.

LIBER SECUNDUS.

EPITOME.

I. *BRUTUS jurejurando populum adstrinxit neminem regnare Romae passuros*; II. *Tarquinius Collatinum collegam suum, propter affinitatem Tarquiniorum*

suspectum, coëgit consulatu se abdicare et civitate cedere ; V. Bona regum diripi jussit ; agrum Marti consecravit, qui Campus Martius nominatus est ; adolescentes nobiles, in quibus suos quoque et sororis filios, quia conjuraverant de recipiendis regibus, securi percussit ; serco indici, cui Vindicio nomen fuit, libertatem dedit ex cujus nomine vindicta est appellata ; VI. Quum adversus reges, qui contractis Vejentium et Tarquiniensium copiis bellum intulerant, exercitum duxisset, in acie cum Arunte, filio Superbi, commortuus est ; VII. Eumque matronae annum luxerunt. VIII. P. Valerius consul legem de provocatione ad populum tulit. Capitolium dedicatum est. IX. X. Porsena, Rex Clusinorum, bello pro Tarquiniiis suscepto, quum ad Janiculum venisset, ne Tiberim transiret virtute Coclitis Horatii prohibitus est ; qui, dum alii pontem sublicium rescindunt, solus Etruscos sustinuit ; et, ponte rupto, armatus se in flumen misit et ad suos tranavit. XII. Alterum accessit virtutis exemplum a Mucio ; qui, quum ad feriendum Porsenam castra hostium intrâset, occiso scribâ quem regem esse putabat, comprehensus, impositam altaribus manum in quibus sacrificatum erat exuri passus est, dixitque tales trecentos esse conjuratos in mortem ipsius regis. Quorum admiratione coactus Porsena pacis condiciones ferre, bellum omisit, acceptis obsidibus. XIII. Ex quibus virgo una Cloelia, deceptis custodibus, per Tiberim ad suos tranavit ; et, quum reddita esset, a Porsena honorificè remissa, equestri statuâ donata est. XVI. Ap. Claudius ex Sabinis Romam transfugit ; ob hoc Claudia tribus adjecta est. Numerus tribuum ampliatus est, ut essent viginti una. XIX. XX. Adversus Tarquinium Superbum cum Latinorum exercitu bellum inferentem, A. Postumius dictator prosperè pugnavit apud lacum Regillum. XXIII, &c. Plebs, quum propter nexos ob aes alienum in Sacrum montem secessisset, consilio Menenii Agrippæ a seditione revocata est. Idem Agrippa, quum decessisset, propter paupertatem publico impendio elatus est. XXXIII. Tribuni plebis quinque creati sunt. Oppidum Volscorum Corioli captum est virtute et operâ C. Marcii, qui ob hoc Coriolanus vocatus est. XXXVI, &c. Ti. Atinius, vir de plebe, quum in visu admonitus

esset ut de quibusdam religionibus ad senatum perferret et neglexisset, amisso filio, debilis factus, postquam delatus ad senatum lecticâ eadem illa indicaverat, usu pedum recepto domum reversus est. XXXIX. XL. Quum C. Marcius Coriolanus qui in exilium erat pulsus, dux Volscorum factus, exercitum hostium urbi Romae admovisset, et missi ad eum primùm legati, postea sacerdotes, frustra deprecati essent ne bellum patriae inferret, Veturia mater et Volumnia uxor impetraverunt ab eo ut recederet. XLI. Lex agraria primùm lata est. Sp. Cassius consularis regni crimine damnatus est necatusque. XLII, &c. Oppia, virgo Vestalis, ob incestum viva defossa est. XLVI, &c. Quum vicini hostes Veientes, incommodi magis quàm graves, essent, familia Fabiorum id bellum gerendum depoposcit; misitque in id trecentos sex armatos, qui ad Cremeram ad unum ab hostibus caesi sunt, uno impubere domi relicto. LVIII. LIX. Ap. Claudius consul, quum adversus Volscos contumaciâ exercitûs malè pugnatum esset, decimum quemque militum fuste percussit. LX, &c. Res praeterea adversum Volscos, et Aequos, et Veientes, et seditiones inter Patres plebemque continet.

I. LIBERI jam hinc populi Romani res pace bello. C. loque gestas, annuos magistratus, imperiaque legum
245. potentiora quàm hominum peragam. Quae libertas ut laetior esset, proximi regis superbia fecerat. Nam priores ita regnârunt ut hand immeritò omnes deinceps conditores partium certè urbis quas novas ipsi sedes ab se auctae multitudini addiderunt¹, numerentur; neque ambigitur quin Brutus idem, qui tantum gloriae Superbo exacto rege meruit, pessimo publico² id facturus fuerit, si libertatis immaturae cupidine priorum regum alicui regnum extorsisset. Quid enim futurum fuit, si illa pastorum convenarumque plebs, transfuga ex suis populis, sub tutelâ inviolati templi aut libertatem aut certè impunitatem adepta, soluta regio metu agitari coepta esset³ tribuniciis procellis,

¹ Quas, &c. Quas partes novas ipsi addiderunt sedes multitudini auctae ab se. ² Pessimo publico. A singular expression. The phrases *bonum publicum*, *malum publicum*, are quite familiar; hence *pessimo publico*, 'with the worst consequences to the state.' ³ Tem-

et in alienâ urbe cum Patribus serere certamina, priùs quàm pignora conjugum ac liberorum caritasque ipsius soli, cui longo tempore assuescitur, animos eorum consociâset? Dissipatae res nondum adultae discordiâ forent; quas fovit tranquilla moderatio imperii, eoque nutriendo perduxit ut bonam frugem libertatis maturis jam viribus ferre possent. Libertatis autem originem inde magis quia annum imperium consulare factum est, quàm quòd deminutum quicquam sit ex regiâ potestate, numeres ¹. Omnia jura, omnia insignia primi consules tenuere. Id modò cautum est, ne, si ambo fasces haberent, duplicatus terror videretur. Brutus prior ², concedente collegâ, fasces habuit; qui non acrior vindex libertatis fuerat, quàm deinde custos fuit. Omnium primùm avidum novae libertatis populum, ne postmodum flecti precibus aut donis regiis posset, jurejurando adegit neminem Romae passuros regnare. Deinde, quò plus virium in senatu frequentia etiam ordinis faceret, caedibus regis deminutum Patrum numerum, primoribus equestri gradûs lectis, ad trecentorum summam explevit. 'Tra-
'ditumque inde, fertur 'ut in senatum vocarentur, qui
'Patres, quique conscripti essent ³.' 'Conscriptos,' videlicet, in novum senatum appellabant lectos. Id mirum quantum profuit ad concordiam civitatis jungendosque Patribus plebis animos.

pli. The asylum opened by Romulus. *Coepta esset.* See p. 71, note 1. It involves *coepit*, which governs *serere*. ¹ *Quia*, followed by the indicative, *factum est*; *quod*, by the subjunctive, *deminutum sit*. The reason seems to be, that Livy himself, in the clause introduced by *quia*, states, on his own authority, a fact as certain; in that introduced by *quod*, the possible reasoning of another, which he afterwards invalidates. *Quia*, 'because;' *quod*, 'that.' ² *Consulis imperium hic primus saevasque secures Accipiet, Virgil, vi. 819.* ³ This traditional conjecture has been combated with great success by Dr Hunter. It is his opinion, that by the terms *Patres Conscripti* were meant, agreeably to their literal import, the fathers whose names were contained in the roll of the Senate who alone had a decisive voice, or the right of deciding on every question submitted to their deliberation; and that the terms were employed, not only as the most respectful and honourable forms of address, but likewise to distinguish the senators on the roll from the other persons present,—*quibus in senatu sententiam dicere licebat*,—who joined in the deliberations, having the *jus sententiae*, though not the *jus suffragii*, a deliberative, but not a decisive voice in the question.

II. Rerum deinde divinarum habita cura. Et quia quaedam publica sacra per ipsos reges factitata erant, ne ubiubi regum desiderium esset, regem sacrificulum creant. Id sacerdotium pontifici subjecere, ne additus nomini honos aliquid libertati, cujus tunc prima erat cura, officeret. Ac nescio an, nimis undique eam minimis quodque rebus muniendo, modum excesserint. Consul enim alterius¹, quum nihil aliud offenderit, nomen invisum civitati fuit. 'Nimium Tarquinius regno assuêsse; initium a Prisco factum; regnâsse deinde Ser. Tullium. Ne intervallo quidem facto oblitum tanquam alieni regni Superbum Tarquinium, velut haereditatem gentis scelere ac vi repetisse². Pulso Superbo, penes Collatinum imperium esse; nescire Tarquinius privatos vivere; non placere nomen; periculosum libertati esse.' Hic primò sensim tentantium animos sermo per totam civitatem est datus, sollicitamque suspicione plebem Brutus ad concionem vocat. Ibi omnium primùm jusjurandum populi recitat; 'Neminem regnare passuros, nec esse Romae unde periculum libertati foret. Id summâ ope tuendum esse; neque ullam rem, quae eò pertineat, contemnendam. Invitum se dicere hominis causâ; nec dicturum fuisse, ni caritas reipublicae vinceret. Non credere populum Romanum solidam libertatem recuperatam esse. Regium genus, regium nomen non solùm in civitate, sed etiam in imperio esse; id officere, id obstare libertati. Hunc tu³, inquit, tuâ voluntate, L. Tarquini, remove metum. Meminimus, fatemur, ejecisti reges⁴. Absolve beneficium tuum; aufer hinc regium nomen. Res tuas tibi non solùm reddent cives tui, auctore me; sed, si quid

¹ *Consulis alterius.* L. Tarquinius Collatinus. The statement of Dionysius (v.) on this point is very different. He narrates the banishment of Collatinus as having occurred after the conspiracy, of which an account follows in the next chapters, and attributes it to his having favoured Tarquin's claims to his private property, and to his defence of his nephews, the *Aquillii*.

² *Ne, &c.* 'That this interruption even had not induced the proud Tarquin to forget the throne of a nation in which he was as it were (almost) a foreigner, and that he had wickedly and violently sought, as if it belonged to his family by inheritance, to regain it.' Such seems to be the force of *tanquam*, without which, I must confess, *alieni* would more naturally refer to the possession of the throne by Servius Tullius.

³ See p. 24, note 4.

⁴ See p. 70, note 3.

'deest, munificè augebunt¹. Amicus abi. Exonera civitatem vano forsitan metu. Ita persuasum est animis, cum 'gente Tarquiniâ regnum hinc abiturum.' Consuli primò tam novae rei ac subitae admiratio incluserat vocem. Dicere deinde incipientem primores civitatis circumsistunt, eadem multis precibus orant. Et ceteri quidem movebant minùs. Postquam Sp. Lucretius, major aetate ac dignitate, socer praeterea ipsius, agere variè rogando alternis suadendoque coepit 'ut vinci se consensu civitatis pateretur,' timens consul, ne postmodum privato sibi eadem illa cum bonorum amissione, additâque aliâ insuper ignominiâ acciderent, abdicavit se consulatu, rebusque suis omnibus Lavinium translatis, civitate cessit. Brutus ex senatus consulto ad populum tulit, ut omnes Tarquiniae gentis exsules essent; collegam sibi comitiis centuriatis creavit P. Valerium², quo adiutore reges ejecerat.

III. Quum haud cuiquam in dubio esset bellum ab Tarquiniis imminere, id quidem spe omnium serius fuit. Ceterum, id quod non timebant, per dolum ac proditionem propè libertas amissa est. Erant in Romanâ juventute adolescentes aliquot, nec ii tenui loco orti, quorum in regno libido solutior fuerat, aequales sodalesque adolescentium Tarquiniorum, assueti more regio vivere. Eam tum, aequato jure omnium, licentiam quaerentes libertatem aliorum in suam vertisse servitutem inter se conquerebantur. 'Regem hominem esse, a quo impetres, ubi jus, ubi injuria opus sit; esse gratiae locum, esse beneficio; et irasci et ignoscere posse; inter amicum atque inimicum discrimen nôsse. Leges rem surdam, inexorabilem esse, salubriorem melioremque inopi quàm potenti; nihil laxamenti nec veniae habere, si modum excesseris. Periculosum esse, in tot 'humanis erroribus solâ innocentia vivere.' Ita jam suâ sponte aegris animis legati ab regibus superveniunt, sine mentione reditûs bona tantum repetentes. Eorum verba postquam in senatu audita sunt, per aliquot dies ea consultatio tenuit³; ne non reddita, belli causa, reddita, belli ma-

¹ According to Dionysius, Collatinus received from the Roman state 20 talents. ² See I. 58. ³ *Tenuit*. Supply *senatum*. *Tenere* is, however, often used in an intransitive sense, 'continued;' thus, Imber continens per noctem totam usque ad horam tertiam diei insequentis tenuit, xxiii. 44. In a similar manner, though not in the same

teria et adjumentum essent. Interim legati alii alia moliri, apertè bona repetentes, clàm recuperandi regni consilia struere. Et, tanquam ad id quod agi videbatur, ambientes nobilium adolescentium animos pertentant. A quibus placidè oratio accepta est, his literas ab Tarquiniis reddunt ¹, et de accipiendis clàm nocte in urbem regibus colloquuntur.

IV. Vitelliis Aquilliisque fratribus primò commissa res est. Vitelliorum soror consuli nupta Bruto erat: jamque ex eo matrimonio adolescentes erant liberi, Titus Tiberiusque. Eos quòque in societatem consilii avunculi assumunt. Praeterea et nobiles aliquot adolescentes conscii assumpti, quorum vetustate memoria abiit. Interim quum in senatu vicisset sententia, quæ censebat reddenda bona, eamque ipsam causam morae in urbe haberent legati, 'quòd spatium ad vehicula comparanda a consulibus sumpsissent, quibus regum asportarent res;' omne id tempus cum conjuratis consultando absumunt, evincuntque instando ut literae sibi ad Tarquinius darentur, 'nam aliter qui credituros eos, non vana ab legatis super rebus tantis afferri?' Datae literae ut pignus fidei essent, manifestum facinus fecerunt. Nam quum, pridie quàm legati ad Tarquinos proficiscerentur, et coenatum fortè apud ² Vitellios esset, conjuratique ibi, remotis arbitris, multa inter se de novo, ut fit, consilio egissent, sermonem eorum ex servis unus excepit qui jam antea id senserat agi: sed eam occasionem, ut literae legatis darentur, quæ deprehensae rem coarguere possent, expectabat. Postquam datas sensit, rem ad consules detulit. Consules ad deprehendendos legatos conjuratosque profecti domo, sine tumultu rem

sense, the English verb, to hold, in such expressions as, This argument *holds* good.

¹ *Reddunt*. Not, as the composition of the word imports, *restore*, but simply *deliver*. The force of the particle *re* is often merged in a similar manner, but in all cases denoting a transference from one object to another. The letters had been in the hands of one set of men (the Tarquiniis) before the deputies were intrusted with them; they gave them *again*; though, when they delivered them to the Roman youth, as they did not give them to the same set, they cannot be said to have *restored* them. In the same way, we may explain such passages as, *In castris Helvetiorum tabulae repertae sunt literis Graecis confectae, et ad Caesarem relatae* (some read *perlatae*.) *Caes. B. G. i. 29. Redditus his primum terris. Virgil, Aen. vi. 18*, alluding to the flight of Daedalus through the air, '*restored to land first on these shores.*'

² See p. 105, note 3.

omnem oppressere : literarum in primis habita cura, ne interciderent. Proditoribus extemplo in vincula coniectis, de legatis paullulum addubitatum est ¹; et quanquam visi sunt commississe ut hostium loco essent, jus tamen gentium valuit.

V. De bonis regiis, quae reddi antè censuerant, res integra refertur ad Patres. Illi victi irâ vetuere reddi, vetuere in publicum redigi. Diripienda plebi sunt data; ut contacta regiâ praedâ spem in perpetuum cum his pacis amitteret. Ager Tarquiniorum qui inter urbem ac Tiberim fuit, consecratus Marti, Martius deinde campus fuit. Fortè ibi tum seges farris dicitur fuisse matura messi. Quem campi fructum quia religiosum erat consumere ², desectam cum stramento segetem magna vis hominum simul immissa ³ corbibus fudere in Tiberim, tenui fluentem aquâ, ut mediis caloribus solet. 'Ita ⁴ in vadis haesitantis 'frumenti acervos sedisse illitos limo; insulam inde paulatim, et aliis' (quae fert temerè flumen) 'eòdem invec-tis, factam.' Postea credo additas moles manumque adjutum, ut tam eminens area firmaque templis quòque ac porticibus sustinendis esset. Direptis bonis regum, damnati proditores sumtumque supplicium, conspectus eo quòd poenae capiendae ministerium patri de liberis consulatus imposuit, et qui spectator erat amovendus, eum ipsum fortuna exactorem supplicii dedit. Stabant deligati ad palum nobilissimi juvenes. Sed a ceteris, velut ab ignotis capitibus, consulis liberi omnium in se averterant oculos, miserebatque non poenae magis homines quàm sceleris, 'quo poe-nam meriti essent; illos, eo potissimùm anno patriam li-

¹ Grotius, in discussing the question whether ambassadors can be punished consistently with international law, cites this as a case. *De jure Belli ac Pacis*, ii. 18, § 4.

² *Quem, &c.* 'As it was considered sacrilegious to use,' (in secular purposes,) 'this crop of the field.'

³ *Immissa*, agreeing with *vis*; 'being sent into the Campus Martius.' Doering thinks that it agrees rather with *segetem et stramentum*.

⁴ By passing thus abruptly to the indirect mode of narrating the formation of the island, Livy indicates his disinclination to lay much stress on the truth of the account. Mark the connection between *inde, im* (an obsolete form of the accusative of *is*, governed by) *de* and *et aliis; factum im de et (de) aliis*, where *de* with *aliis* governs the ablative, according to the usage of the language when fully formed.

beratam, patrem liberatorem, consulatum ortum ex domo Junia, Patres, plebem, quicquid Deorum hominumque Romanorum esset, induxisse in animum ut superbo quondam regi, tum infesto exsuli proderent.' Consules in sedem processere suam; missique lictores ad sumendum supplicium nudatos virgis caedunt securique feriunt; quum inter omne tempus pater, vultusque, et os ejus spectaculo esset, eminente animo patrio¹ inter publicae poenae ministerium. Secundum poenam nocentium, ut in utramque partem arcendis sceleribus exemplum nobile esset, praemium indici, pecunia ex aerario, libertas et civitas data. Ille primum dicitur vindicta liberatus. Quidam 'vindictae'² quodque nomen tractum ab illo putant, 'Vindicio ipsi nomen fuisse.' Post illum observatum, 'ut qui ita liberati essent in civitatem accepti viderentur.'

VI. His, sicut acta erant, nunciatis, incensus Tarquinius non dolore solum tantae ad irritum cadentis spei, sed etiam odio iraque, postquam dolo viam obseptam vidit, bellum aperte moliendum ratus circumire supplex Etruriae urbes;

¹ *Animo patrio*, 'the affection of a father.' Others, with less force, and perception of the sublimity of the picture suggested by the struggle between the contending emotions of the first consul, translate it, affection for his country. Drakenborch, to reconcile Livy with Dionysius v. and Valerius Maximus, v. 8, § 1, who represent Brutus as totally unmoved, considers *animus patrius* to mean simply, his mind which was that of a father (*pro animo patris*), and that Livy means to say that not only the features of Brutus shewed no signs of emotion, but, more striking still (*eminente*), his soul, though that of a father, was unmoved. *Animo*, he says, is the emphatic word, and hence it is placed first.

² A slave was said to be freed *per vindictam*, 'when a master, going with his slave in his hand to the praetor or consul, and in the provinces to the proconsul or propraetor, said, 'I desire that this man be free, according to the custom of the Romans;' *Hunc hominem liberum esse volo more vel jure Quiritium*; and the praetor, if he approved, putting a rod on the head of the slave, pronounced, 'I say that this man is free, after the manner of the Romans.' Whereupon, the lictor or the master, turning him round in a circle, (which was called *vertigo*), and giving him a blow on the cheek, (*alapa*), let him go, signifying, that leave was granted him to go where he pleased. The rod with which the slave was struck was called *vindicta*.' DR ADAM. There were other modes of bestowing freedom upon slaves, most of which did not entitle the freedman, as this form did, to obtain the rights of citizenship.

orare maximè Vejentes Tarquiniensesque, ' ne se ortum ¹,
 ' ejusdem sanguinis, extorrem egentem ex tanto modò regno,
 ' cum liberis adolescentibus ante oculos suos perire sinerent.
 ' Alios peregrè in regnum Romam accitos ; se regem, au-
 ' gentem bello Romanum imperium, a proximis sceleratâ
 ' conjuratione pulsum. Eos inter se, quia nemo unus satis
 ' dignus regno visus sit, partes regni rapuisse ; bona sua
 ' diripienda populo dedisse, ne quis expers sceleris esset.
 ' Patriam se regnumque suum repetere, et persequi ingratos
 ' cives velle. Ferrent opem, adjuvarent ; suas quòque ve-
 ' teres injurias ultum irent, toties caesas legiones, agrum
 ' ademptum.' Haec moverunt Vejentes ; ac pro se quis-
 ' que, ' Romano saltem ² duce ignominias demendas belloque
 ' amissa repetenda' minaciter fremunt. Tarquinienses no-
 ' men ac cognatio movet. Pulchrum videbatur suos Romae
 ' regnare. Ita duo duarum civitatum exercitus, ad repe-
 ' tendum regnum belloque persequendos Romanos, secuti
 ' Tarquinium. Postquam in agrum Romanum ventum est,
 ' obviâ hosti consules eunt. Valerius quadrato agmine
 ' peditem ducit ; Brutus ad explorandum cum equitatu an-
 ' tecessit. Eodem modo primus eques ³ hostium agminis
 ' fuit ; praeerat Aruns Tarquinius filius regis ; rex ipse cum
 ' legionibus sequebatur. Aruns, ubi ex lictoribus procul
 ' consulem esse, deinde jam propiùs ac certiùs facie quòque
 ' Brutum cognovit, inflammatus irâ, ' Ille est vir,' inquit,
 ' qui nos extorres expulit patriâ. Ipse, en, ille, nostris de-
 ' coratus insignibus magnificè incedit. Dii regum ultores
 ' adeste.' Concitat calcaribus equum atque in ipsum infes-

¹ The reader will find *se* applied to three different parties in the course of this address, to Tarquin himself, to the Roman people, and to the Etrurians. In the first and last sentence to the Etrurians — *se*, *suos*, *suas*, with a reference to *sinerent* and *ultum irent* ; *se* sinentibus, *suos* sinentium ; *suas* ulciscantium. In the third sentence to the Romans, with a reference to *eos rapuisse* ; *rapuisse inter se* qui rapuerint. According to the pointing adopted, which is that of Drakenborch, *extorrem* immediately influences *ex tanto*, &c. ' a needy fugitive from.' ² *Saltem*. The position of this word clearly shews, that the meaning of the passage is, since success had not attended them under their own leaders, ' That, headed by a Roman at least.' Others refer it to *ignominias*, if not for the purpose of assisting the Roman king ' That their disgraces at least.' Some MSS. read *duci*. ³ *Eques* equivalent to *equitatus* in the previous sentence.

tus consulem dirigit. Sensit in se iri Brutus. Decorum erat tum ipsis capessere pugnam ducibus; avidè itaque se certamini offert. Adèdque infestis animis concurrerunt, neuter, dum hostem vulneraret, sui protegendì corporis memor, ut contrario ictu per parmam uterque transfixus, duabus haerentes hastis moribundi ex equis lapsi sint. Simul et cetera equestris pugna coepit; neque ita multò post et pedites superveniunt. Ibi variâ victoriâ et velut aequo Marte pugnatum est. Dextra utrinque cornua vicere, laeva superata. Vejentes, vinci ab Romano milite assueti, fusi fugatique; Tarquiniensis, novus hostis, non stetit solùm, sed etiam ab suâ parte Romanum pepulit.

VII. Ita quum pugnatum esset, tantus terror Tarquinium atque Etruscos incessit, ut omissâ irritâ re, nocte ambo exercitus, Vejens Tarquiniensisque, suas quisque abirent domos. Adjiciunt miracula huic pugnae; ' silentio proxima¹ noctis ex silvâ Arsiâ ingentem editam vocem; Silvanus² vocem eam creditam; haec dicta, ' Uno plus³ Tuscorum cecidisse in acie; vincere bello Romanum.' Ita certè inde abiêre Romani ut victores, Etrusci pro victis. Nam postquam illuxit nec quisquam hostium in conspectu erat, P. Valerius consul spolia legit triumphansque inde Romam rediit. Collegae funus, quanto tum potuit apparatu, fecit. Sed multo majus morti decus publica fuit moestitia, eo ante omnia insignis, quia matronae annum, ut parentem, eum luxerunt, ' quòd tam acer ultor violatae pudicitiae fuisset.' Consuli deinde qui superfuerat, ut sunt mutabiles vulgi animi, ex favore non invidia modò sed suspicio etiam cum atroci crimine orta. ' Regnum eum affectare' fama ferebat, quia nec collegam subrogaverat in locum Bruti, et aedificabat in summâ Veliâ, ' ibi alto atque munito loco arcem inexpugnabilem fore.' Haec dicta vulgò creditaque quum indignitate angerent consulis ani-

¹ *Proximus* indicates immediately before or immediately after; quid *proxima* nocte egeris, 'last night.' *Cic. Cat. i. 1.* se *proxima* nocte castra moturum 'the next night.' *Caes. B. G. i. 40.* Here 'the next night after the battle.' *Valerius Maximus, i. 8, § 5,* narrates it as a prophecy before the battle. To which tradition *Tibullus* seems to allude, *ii. 5, 74.* *Ferunt . . . lucos praecinuisse fugam.* ² *Uno plus.* 'More by one,' as v. 30. *Legem una plures* tribus antiquarunt, 'by a majority of one.' Many of the MSS. have *Etruscorum.*

mun, vocato ad consilium populo submissis fascibus in concionem escendit. Gratum id multitudini spectaculum fuit, 'submissa sibi esse imperii insignia, confessionemque factam populi quàm consulis majestatem vimque majorem esse.' Ubi audire jussi, consul laudare fortunam collegae, 'quòd liberatâ patriâ, in summo honore, pro republicâ dimicans, maturâ gloriâ nec dum se vertente in invidiam mortem occubisset. Se superstitem gloriae suae ad crimen atque invidiam superesse; ex liberatore patriae ad Aquilios se Vitelliosque recidissee. Nunquamne¹ ergo,' inquit, 'ulla adeò a vobis spectata² virtus erit, ut suspicione violari nequeat? Ego me, illum acerrimum regum hostem, ipsum cupiditatis regni crimen subitum timerem? Ego, si in ipsâ arce Capitolioque habitarem, metui me crederem posse a civibus meis? Tam levi momento³ mea apud vos fama pendet? Adeòne est fundata leviter fides, ut ubi sim quàm qui sim magis referat? Non obstabunt P. Valerii aedes libertati vestrae, Quirites; tuta erit vobis Velia. Deferam non in planum modò aedes, sed colli etiam subijciam, ut vos supra suspectum me civem habitetis. In Velia aedificent quibus meliùs quàm P. Valerio creditur libertas.' Delata confestim materia omnis infra Veliam, et ubi nunc Vicaepotae⁴ est, domus in infimo clivo aedificata.

VIII. Latae deinde leges, non solùm quae regni suspicione consulem absolverent, sed quae adeò in contrarium verterent ut popularem etiam facerent. Inde cognomen factum Publicolae est. Ante omnes de provocatione adversus magistratus ad populum, sacrandoque cum bonis capite ejus qui regni occupandi consilia inisset, gratiae in vulgus leges fuere. Quas quum solus pertulisset ut sua unius⁵ in his gratia esset, tum deinde comitia collegae subrogando⁶ habuit. Creatus Sp. Lucretius consul, qui magno natu, non sufficientibus

¹ See p. 24, note 4.

² See p. 105, note 6.

³ See

p. 86, note 1. The majority of the MSS. have *momentaneaque apud vos fama pendere*. But *momentanea* is found in no writer more ancient than Tertullian.

⁴ *Vicaepotae*, see p. 61, note 4. *Vicus Publicus*, *Vicae potae*, *Vicepotae* are MS. readings.

⁵ See p. 42, note 2.

⁶ *Subrogare*, applied to the person presiding at the *comitia*, for the election of one magistrate in room of another; *sufficere*, two sentences below, to the people electing, in the same circumstances.

jam viribus ad consularia munera obeunda, intra paucos dies moritur. Suffectus in Lucretii locum M. Horatius Pulvillus. Apud quosdam veteres auctores non invenio Lucretium consulem; Bruto statim Horatium suggerunt. Credo, quia nulla gesta res insignem fecerit consulatum, memoriâ¹ intercidisse. Nondum dedicata erat in Capitolio Jovis aedes. Valerius Horatiusque consules sortiti, uter dedicaret. Horatio sorte evenit. Publicola ad Vejentium bellum profectus. Aegrius quàm dignum erat tulere Valerii necessarii dedicationem tam inclyti templi Horatio dari. Id omnibus modis impedire conati, postquam alia frustra tentata erant, postem jam tenenti consuli foedum inter precationem Deum nuncium incutiunt, 'mortuum ejus filium esse, funestâque familiâ² dedicare eum templum non posse.' Non crediderit factum³ an tantum animo roboris fuerit, nec traditur certum nec interpretatio est facilis. Nihil aliud ad eum nuncium a proposito aversus quàm ut cadaver efferri juberet,

tenens postem precationem peragit et dedicat templum⁴. Haec post exactos reges domi militiaeque gesta primo anno. Inde P. Valerius iterum, T. Lucretius consules facti.

IX. Jam Tarquinius ad Lartem Porsennam⁵, Clusinum regem, perfugerant. Ibi, miscendo consilium precesque, nunc orabant 'ne se, oriundos ex Etruscis, ejusdem san-

¹ Many MSS. have *memoriam*. Both forms are found elsewhere.

² *Funestâ familiâ*. 'His family being polluted by an unburied corpse.'

³ It will be observed that the Latin language seldom uses *an* in the first branch of alternatives. Sometimes the *an* is placed before the second clause, as here, influencing both, 'whether he did not believe, 'or,' and sometimes *ne* or *utrum* is used with the first. *Nescio graterne tibi an metuum. Cic. Fam. 2, Ep. 5. Utrum hostem an vos, an fortunam utriusque populi ignoratis? Liv. xxi. 10.* With alternative verbs *an* seems never to be found in the first branch.

⁴ Omens were of two kinds, *oblativa*, and *impetrativa*. The first were presented by the gods unsought, and might be neglected; the latter were sought for, and were imperative. *Nihil aliud*, supply *secundum*, 'no farther.'

⁵ The name of this king occurs *Prosenna*, *Porsenna*, *Porsēna*, *Porsēna*, and *Porsenna*. I have adopted the last as the reading of the MSS. In Greek there is a similar variety *Περσίνος*, *Περσίνος*, *Περσίνος*. Pierius on Virg. Aen. viii. 646, asserts that most of the ancients wrote *Porsena*. Macaulay, in his admirable *Lays of ancient Rome*, has chosen *Porsēna*, "Heaven help him!" quoth 'Lars Porsena.'

‘guinis nominisque, egentes exulare pateretur,’ nunc monebant etiam, ‘ne orientem morem pellendi reges inultum sineret. Satis libertatem ipsam habere dulcedinis. Nisi quantâ vi civitates eam expetant tantâ regna reges defendant, aequari summa infimis, nihil excelsum, nihil quod supra cetera emineat, in civitatibus fore, adesse finem regnis, rei inter Deos hominesque pulcherrimae.’ Porsenna ‘tum regem esse Romae, tum Etruscae gentis regem amplum Tuscis’ ratus, Romam infesto exercitu venit. Non unquam aliâs antè tantus terror senatum invasit; adèd valida res tum Clusina erat magnumque Porsennae nomen, nec hostes modò timebant sed suosmet ipsi cives, ne Romana plebs metu perculsa, receptis in urbem regibus vel cum servitute pacem acciperet¹. Multa igitur blandimenta plebi per id tempus ab senatu data. Annonae in primis habita cura, et ad frumentum comparandum missi, alii in Volscos, alii Cumas. Salis quòque vendendi arbitrium, quia impenso pretio venibat, in publicum omni sumptu, ademptum privatis². Portoriisque et tributo plebes liberata, ‘ut divites conferrent, qui oneri ferendo³ essent; pauperes satis stipendii pendere, si liberos educarent.’ Itaque haec indulgentia Patrum asperis postmodum rebus in obsidione ac fame adèd concordem civitatem tenuit, ut regium nomen non summi magis quàm infimi horrerent, nec quisquam unus malis artibus postea tam popularis esset, quàm tum bene imperando universus senatus fuit.

¹ *Ipsi*. The reading of the great majority of the MSS. is *ipsos*, which I should have preferred, were I not deterred by the authority of the critics in favour of *ipsi*, backed as it is by MSS. of good reputation. *Vel, &c.* ‘Should receive peace even if purchased with slavery.’ ² *Satis, quoque, &c.* A passage of great obscurity, and one which has given rise to much annotation. The emendation and explanation of Gronovius are incomparably the most happy. He reads, *omne sumptum*; the translation would consequently be, ‘The whole privilege of selling salt also, in consequence of its being sold at an extravagant price, was transferred to the state, having been taken away from individuals in a private station,’ who had rented the salt pits at Ostia. With the reading as it stands, we may supply *omni sumptu arbitrii translatum in publicum*, ‘The whole expense arising from the exercise of that privilege being laid upon the state,’ by whom the salt was afterwards sold at a reasonable price. ³ *Oneri ferendo*, supply *pares*.

X. Quum hostes adessent, pro se quisque in urbem ex agris demigrant¹; urbem ipsam sepiunt praesidiis. Alia muris, alia Tiberi objecto videbantur tuta. Pons sublicius² iter penè hostibus dedit, ni unus vir fuisset, Horatius Cocles, (id munimentum illo die fortuna urbis Romanae habuit,) qui positus fortè in statione pontis, quum captum repentino impetu Janiculum atque inde citatos decurrere hostes vidisset, trepidamque turbam suorum arma ordinesque relinquere, reprehensans singulos, obsistens, obtestansque Deum et hominum fidem, testabatur³, 'nequicquam deserto praesidio eos fugere. Si transitum⁴ pontem a tergo reliquissent, jam plus hostium in Palatio Capitolioque quàm in Janiculo fore.' Itaque monere, praedicere, 'ut pontem ferro, igni, quacunque vi possent, interrompant. Se impetum hostium, quantum corpore uno posset obsisti, excepturum.' Vadit inde in primum aditum pontis; insignisque inter conspecta cedentium pugnae terga, obversis cominus ad ineundum proelium armis, ipso miraculo audaciae obstupescit hostes. Duos tamen cum eo pudor tenuit, Sp. Lartium ac T. Herminium, ambos claros genere factisque. Cum his primam periculi procellam, et quod tumultuosissimum pugnae erat, parumper sustinuit; deinde eos quodque ipsos, exigua parte pontis relictâ, revocantibus qui rescindebant, cedere in tutum coëgit⁵. Circumferens inde truces minaciter oculos ad procures Etruscorum, nunc singulos provocare, nunc increpare omnes, 'Servitia regum superborum, suae libertatis immemores⁶, alienam oppugnatum venire.'

¹ See p. 109, note 3. ² This bridge is the one mentioned in the 33d chapter of the 1st Book, as being built by Ancus to connect the *Janiculum* with the city. The possession of the *Janiculum*, we find immediately, had very nearly placed the bridge, and consequently an easy passage over the Tiber, in the power of the enemy. ³ *Obtestor*, 'I appeal to,' *Testor*, 'I declare solemnly.' ⁴ Though *eo*, from its *intransitive* sense, can have no passive participle, its compounds, which become *transitive*, may have, as in the present instance and many others, *O mihi praeteritos referat si Jupiter annos*. Virg. Aen. viii. 560. Some, however, consider *transitum* as a noun, in apposition with *pontem*, 'the bridge as a passage to the enemy.' ⁵ *Coëgit*, supply *Cocles*. Gronovius suggests *pars* instead of *partes*—*exigua pars relicta coëgit*. ⁶ *Servitia*. See p. 102, note 2. Note *servitia*—*immemores*, 'That they being slaves—(and that they 'being') regardless.' *Memor* and *immemor* refer sometimes not only

Cunctati aliquamdiu sunt, dum alius alium, ut proelium incipiant, circumspectant. Pudor deinde commovit aciem, et clamore sublato undique in unum hostem tela conjiciunt. Quae quum in objecto cuncta scuto haesissent neque ille minus obstinatus ingenti pontem obtineret gradu¹, jam impetu conabantur detrudere virum; quum simul fragor rupti pontis, simul clamor Romanorum alacritate perfecti operis sublatus, pavore subito impetum sustinuit. Tum Cocles, 'Tiberine² pater,' inquit, 'te sancte precor, haec arma et hunc militem propitio flumine accipias.' Ita sic armatus³ in Tiberim desiluit, multisque superincidentibus telis incolumis⁴ ad suos tranavit, rem ausus plus famae habituram ad posteros quam fidei. Grata erga tantam virtutem civitas fuit; statua in comitio posita, agri quantum uno die circumaravit datum. Privata quodque inter publicos honores studia eminebant. Nam in magnâ inopiâ pro domesticis copiis unusquisque ei aliquid, fraudans se ipse victu suo, contulit.

XI. Porsenna primo conatu repulsus, consiliis ab oppugandâ urbe ad obsidendam versis, praesidio in Janiculo locato, ipse in plano ripisque Tiberis castra posuit, navibus undique accitis, et ad custodiam ne quid Romam frumenti subvehi sineret, et ut praedatum milites trans flumen per occasiones aliis atque aliis locis trajiceret; brevique aded infestum⁵ omnem Romanum agrum reddidit, ut non cetera solùm ex agris, sed pecus quodque omne in urbem compelleretur, neque quisquam extra portas propellere auderet. Hoc tantum licentiae Etruscis non metu magis quàm consilio concessum. Namque Valerius consul, intentus in occasionem multos simul et effusos improvisò adoriundi, in parvis rebus negligens ultor, gravem se ad majora vindicem

to what has been in the mind before, the act of *remembering*, but simply to what ought, or might be expected, to be in the mind, as here.

¹ *Gradus*, a gladiatorial term signifying a position in fencing; a stride, as preparatory to stepping; a step;—*Ingenti gradu*, 'with mighty stride,' as Perizonius explains it, *firmiter gradu consistens, diductis pedibus*. Drakenborch happily applies a passage from Seneca, Epist. cxx. *Horatius Cocles solus implevit pontis angustias*.

² *Tiberinus* or *Tybris*, the river god; *Tiberis*, the river itself.

³ *Ita sic armatus*. 'Thus speaking, accoutred as he was.' ⁴ Polybius, vi. 53, represents Cocles as having been drowned. All the other authorities agree with Livy.

⁵ See p. 85, note 1.

servabat. Itaque ut eliceret praedatores, edicit suis 'postero die frequentes portâ Esquilinâ,' quae aversissima ab hoste erat, 'expellerent pecus;' 'scituros id hostes' ratus, 'quod in obsidione et fame servitia infida transfugerent.' Et sciêre perfugae indicio, multoque plures, ut in spem universae praedae, flumen trajiciunt. P. Valerius inde T. Herminius cum modicis copiis 'ad secundum lapidem Gabinâ viâ occultum considerare' jubet, Sp. Lartium cum expeditâ juventute 'ad portam Collinam stare, donec hostis praetereat, deinde se objicere, ne sit ad flumen reditus.' Consulum alter T. Lucretius portâ Naevîâ cum aliquot manipulis militum egressus; ipse Valerius Coelio monte cohortes delectas educit, hique primi apparuere hosti. Herminius ubi tumultum sensit, concurrit ex insidiis versisque in Lucretium¹ Etruscis terga caedit. Dextrâ laevâque, hinc a portâ Collinâ, illinc ab Naevîâ redditus clamor. Ita caesi in medio praedatores, neque ad pugnam viribus pares, et ad fugam septis omnibus viis. Finisque ille tam effusè evagandi Etruscis fuit.

XII. Obsidio erat nihilominus et frumenti cum summâ caritate inopia, sedendoque expugnaturum se urbem spem Porsenna habebat; quum C. Mucius², adolescens nobilis³, cui indignum videbatur, 'populum Romanum servientem, quum sub regibus esset, nullo bello nec ab hostibus ullis obsesum esse, liberum eundem populum ab iisdem Etruscis obsideri, quorum saepe exercitus fuderit; itaque magno audacique aliquo facinore eam indignitatem vindicandam' ratus, primò suâ sponte penetrare in hostium castra constituit. Dein metuens ne, si consulum injussu et ignaris omnibus iret, fortè deprehensus a custodibus Romanis retraheretur ut

¹ So far as the unvaried authority of the MSS. goes, this is the statement of Livy. That he meant to write *Valerium* is evident. Valerius is in front, Herminius in the rear, Lartius on their left at the *Porta Collina*, and Lucretius on their right at the *Porta Naevia*. But it is better to admit that Livy has mistaken, than introduce a word into the text contradicted by all the MSS.

² *Mucius*, the nominative to *constituit*. All difficulty is removed by considering the words from *Mucius* to *primo* parenthetical.

³ 'Niebuhr doubts whether the old story called him by any other name than *Caius*. Mucius, he thinks was a later addition, because the Mucii had the same cognomen of *Scaevola*; and he considers it inconsistent 'because the Mucii were plebeians.' *Arnold's Rome*, vol. i. p. 113.

transfuga, fortunâ tum urbis crimen affirmante¹, senatum adiit; 'Transire Tiberim,' inquit, 'Patres, et intrare, si possim, castra hostium volo, non praedo nec populationum in vicem ultor. Majus, si Dii juvant, in animo est facinus.' Approbant Patres; abdito intra vestem ferro proficiscitur. Ubi eò venit, in confertissimâ turbâ prope regium tribunal constitit. Ibi quum stipendium fortè militibus daretur, et scriba cum rege sedens pari fere ornatu multa ageret, eum milites vulgò adirent, timens sciscitari uter Porsenna esset, ne ignorando regem semet ipse aperiret quis esset, quò temerè traxit fortuna facinus, scribam pro rege obtruncat. Vadentem inde, quâ per trepidam turbam cruento mucrone sibi ipse fecerat viam, quum concursu ad clamorem facto comprehensum regii satellites retraxissent, ante tribunal regis destitutus², tum quòque inter tantas fortunae minas, metuendus magis quàm metuens; 'Romanus sum,' inquit, 'civis; C. Mucium vocant. Hostis hostem occidere volui, nec ad mortem minus animi est, quàm fuit ad caedem. Et facere et pati fortia³ Romanum est. Nec unus in te ego hos animos gessi; longus post me ordo est idem petentium decus. Proinde in hoc discrimen, si juvat, accingere⁴, ut in singulas horas capite dimices tuo, ferrum hostemque in vestibulo habeas regiae. Hoc tibi juvenus Romana indicimus bellum. Nullam aciem, nullum proelium timueris. Uni tibi, et cum singulis, res erit.' Quum rex, simul irâ infensus periculoque conterritus, 'circumdari ignes' minitabundus juberet, 'nisi expromeret properè quas insidiarum sibi minas per ambages jaceret;' 'En tibi,' inquit, 'ut sentias, quàm vile corpus sit iis qui magnam gloriam vident,' dextramque accenso ad sacrificium foculo injicit. Quam quum velut alienato ab sensu torreret animo, prope attonitus miraculo Rex, quum ab sede suâ prosiluisset, amoverique ab altaribus juvenem jussisset, 'Tu verò abi,' inquit, 'in te magis quàm in me, hostilia ausus. Juberem macte⁵ virtute esse si pro meâ patriâ

¹ *Fortunâ*, &c. 'The existing condition of the city giving force to such a charge.'

² *Destitutus*, de *statutus*, 'being placed beneath.'

³ *Et*, &c. 'Not only to do, but to suffer, what may beseem the brave.'

⁴ See p. 85, note 5.

⁵ *Macte*.

We should here expect *mactum*, but this word (said to be compounded of *magis* and *auctus*) is found only in the vocative singular and plu-

'ista virtus staret. Nunc jure belli liberum¹ te intactum 'inviolatumque hinc dimitto.' Tum Mucius, quasi remunerans meritum, 'Quandoquidem,' inquit, 'est apud te vir-tuti honos, ut beneficio tuleris a me quod minis nequisti, trecenti conjuravimus principes juventutis Romanae, ut in te hâc viâ grassaremur. Mea prima sors fuit. Ceteri, ut-cumque ceciderit primo, quoad te opportunum fortuna de-derit, suo quisque tempore, aderunt².'

XIII. Mucium dimissum, cui postea Scaevolae a clade dextrae manûs cognomen inditum, legati a Porsennâ Romam secuti sunt. Aded moverat eum et primi periculi casus, 'quo nihil se praeter errorem insidiatoris texisset,' et subeunda dimicatio toties quot conjurati superesset, ut pacis conditiones ultrò ferret Romanis. Jactatum in conditionibus nequicquam de Tarquiniis in regnum restituendis, magis quia id negare ipse nequiverat Tarquiniis, quàm quòd negatum iri sibi ab Romanis ignoraret. De agro Vejenti-bus restituendo impetratum³, expressaque necessitas obsides dandi Romanis, si Janiculo praesidium deduci vellent. His conditionibus compositâ pace, exercitum ab Janiculo deduxit Porsenna et agro Romano excessit. Patres C. Mucio vir-tutis causâ trans Tiberim agrum dono dedere, quae postea sunt Mucia prata appellata. Ergo, ita honoratâ virtute, feminae quòque ad publica decora excitatae. Et Cloelia vir-go, una ex obsidibus, quum castra Etruscorum fortè haud procul ripâ Tiberis locata essent, frustrata custodes, dux ag-minis virginum inter tela hostium Tiberim tranavit, sos-pitesque omnes Romam ad propinquos restituit. Quod ubi regi nunciatum est, primò incensus irâ oratores Romam mi-sit ad Cloeliam obsidem deposcendam; aliàs haud magni fa-cere; deinde in admirationem versus, 'Supra Coclites Mu-ciosque' dicere 'id facinus esse,' et prae se ferre, 'quemad-

ral. It was originally used in religious addresses, and hence perhaps acquired its fixed form.

¹ *Jure belli liberum.* 'Free from the punishment which the right of war empowers me to inflict.'

² *Utcumque.* This is the reading of the great majority of the MSS. and early editions, conveying this sense, 'the rest, however (ill) the lot may have fallen—however disastrous the result of the lot may have been—to me (on whom it has fallen) first.' Another reading is *ut cuique.* *Primum* and *quod* are found in a few MSS. Rhenanus needlessly suggests *primi* and *quo.*

³ See I. chap. 15. Agri parte mulctatis, &c.

‘modum si non dedatur obses, pro rupto se foedus habiturum, sic deditam, inviolatam ad suos, remissurum.’ Utrunque constitit fides; et Romani pignus pacis ex foedere restituerunt, et apud regem Etruscum non tuta solùm sed honorata etiam virtus fuit, laudatamque virginem ‘par-te obsidum se donare’ dixit; ‘ipsa, quos vellet, legeret.’ Productis omnibus, elegisse impubes dicitur; quòd et virginitati decorum, et consensu obsidum ipsorum probabile erat¹ ‘eam aetatem potissimùm liberari ab hoste, quae ‘maximè opportuna injuriae esset.’ Pace redintegratâ, Romani novam in feminâ virtutem, novo in² genere honoris statuâ equestri, donavere. In summâ Sacrà viâ fuit posita virgo insidens equo.

XIV. Huic tam pacatae profectioni ab urbe regis Etrusci abhorrens mos, traditus ab antiquis, usque ad nostram aetatem inter cetera solennia manet bonis vendendis, bona Porsennae regis vendendi³. Cujus originem moris necesse est aut inter bellum natam esse neque omissam in pace, aut a mitiore crevisse⁴ principio quàm hic prae se ferat titulus bona hostiliter vendendi. Proximum verò est ex iis quae traduntur⁵, ‘Porsennam discedentem ab Janiculo castra opulenta, convecto ex propinquis ac fertilibus Etruriae arvis commeatu, Romanis dono dedisse, inopi tum urbe ab longinquâ obsidione; ea deinde, ne populo immisso diriperentur hostiliter, venisse bonaque Porsennae appellata, gratiam muneris magis significante titulo quàm auctionem fortunae regiae, quae ne in potestatem⁶ quidem populi Romani esset.’ Omisso Romano bello, Porsenna ne frustra in ea loca exercitus adductus videretur, cum parte copiarum

¹ *Et, &c.* ‘And deserved to be approved of by the consent of the ‘hostages themselves.’ From *ipsorum*, and *quos*, in the preceding sentence, we infer that there were also male hostages. Dionysius says there were twenty of both sexes.

² So the great majority of the MSS. The *in* is generally omitted, because *donare in* is unusual. Here it is *donare statuâ in novo genere honoris*.

³ *Bona, &c.*

‘Of announcing that the effects of King Porsenna are for sale.

⁴ *Originem*, as the accusative to *omissam* and *crevisse*, forms an incongruous connection. Livy must have lost sight of the word with which he set out, as in the words, *originem natam esse*, it signifies the *origin*, in the two following clauses, the *practice originated*.

⁵ *Proximum, &c.* ‘But the most probable of the traditional accounts is.’

⁶ *Potestatem*, where we might expect *potestate*. So frequently in Livy, and other writers.

filium Aruntem Ariciam oppugnatum mittit. Primò Aricinos res nec opinata perculerat. Arcessita deinde auxilia et a Latinis populis et a Cumis tantum spei fecere, ut acie decernere auderent. Proelio inito, adèd concitato impetu se intulerant Etrusci ut funderent ipso incursu Aricinos. Cumanae cohortes arte adversus vim usae, declinavere paululum, effusèque praelatos ¹ hostes conversis signis ab tergo adortae sunt. Ita in medio prope jam victores caesi Etrusci; pars perexigua, duce amisso, quia nullum propius perfugium erat, Romam inermes et fortunâ et specie supplicum delati sunt. Ibi benignè excepti divisique in hospitium. Curatis vulneribus, alii profecti domos nuncii hospitalium beneficiorum; multos Romae hospitum urbisque caritas ² tenuit. His locus ad habitandum datus, quem deinde 'Tusculum' appellârunt.

XV. P. Lucretius inde et P. Valerius Publicola ^{u. c.} consules facti ²⁴⁷. Eo anno postremùm legati a Porsennâ de reducendo in regnum Tarquinio venerunt. Quibus quum responsum esset 'missurum ad regem senatum legatos,' missi confestim honoratissimus quisque ex Patribus. 'Non quin breviter reddi responsum potuerit, "non recipi reges," ideo potius delectos Patrum ad eum 'missos quàm legatis ejus Romae daretur responsum ⁴, sed

¹ *Praelatos*. *Prae* with the force of *praeter*, past. ² *Caritas*, affection *for*, see p. 93, note 4. Tacitus *Annal*, iv. 65, accounts for this name differently, as derived from the settlement of the followers of Caelus, who had come to the assistance of Tarquin or some other of the kings, and who gave name to the Caelian hill. Varro, *L. L.* iv, agrees in the main with Tacitus. ³ As Livy differs in these names from all other authorities, the passage is believed to be defective, and the supposed error is thus corrected: *M. Horatius, et Publius Valerius Publicola, inde Sp. Lartius et T. Herminius consules facti*.

⁴ *Non quin, &c.* Delectos patrum missos ad eum, potius quam (ut) responsum daretur legatis ejus Romae, non ideo, quin (quia non) responsum potuerit breviter reddi *reges non recipi*. 'That a select number of the senators had been sent to him, rather than an answer given to his ambassadors at Rome, not on this account, because an answer could not have been briefly returned, "that the return of the royal family was not agreed to." The passage seems to be faulty. Unless we reject the words *quam legatis ejus Romae daretur responsum*, as the explanatory interpolation of a transcriber, we must admit Rupert's emendation of *datum* for *daretur*. *Potuerit reddi*. See p. 59, note 5.

‘ut in perpetuum mentio ejus rei finiretur, neu in tantis mutuis beneficiis in vicem animi sollicitarentur, quum ille peteret quod contra libertatem populi Romani esset, Romani, nisi in perniciem suam faciles esse vellent, negarent cui nihil negatum vellent. Non in regno populum Romanum, sed in libertate esse. Ita induxisse in animum hostibus potiùs quàm regibus portas patefacere. Eam esse voluntatem omnium, ut qui libertati erit ¹ in illà urbe finis, idem urbi sit. Proinde si salvam esse vellet Romam, ut patiatür liberam esse orare.’ Rex verecundiâ victus ‘Quando id certum atque obstinatum est’ inquit, ‘neque ego obtundam sæpiùs eadem nequicquam agendo, nec Tarquinius spe auxilii, quod nullum in me est, frustabor. Allum hinc, seu bello opus est seu quiete, exsilio quaerant locum, ne quid meam vobiscum pacem distineat.’ Dictis facta amiciora adjecit; obsidum quod reliquum erat reddidit. Agrum Vejentem foedere ad Janiculum icto ademptum ² restituit. Tarquinius, spe omni reductus incisâ, exsulatum ad generum Mamilium Octavium ³ Tusculum abiit. Romanis pax fida ita cum Porsennâ fuit.

XVI. Consules M. Valerius, P. Postumius ⁴. Eo
^{u. c.}
^{249.} anno bene pugnatum cum Sabinis; consules triumphârunt; majore inde mole Sabini bellum parabant. Adversus eos, et ne quid simul ab Tusculo, (unde etsi non apertum, suspectum tamen bellum erat,) repentini periculi oriretur, P. Valerius quartum, T. Lucretius iterum
^{u. c.}
^{250.} consules facti. Seditio inter belli pacisque auctores orta in Sabinis, aliquantum inde virium transtulit ad Romanos. Namque Attus Clausus cui postea Ap. Claudio fuit Romae nomen, cum pacis ipse auctor a turbatoribus belli ⁵ premeretur nec par factioni esset, ab Regillo, magnâ ⁶ clientium comitatus manu, Romam transfugit. His civitas data agerque trans Anienem. ‘Vetus Claudia’ tribus, additis

¹ *Erit.* Against all usage. Ruperti suggests *foret*. ² See chap. 13. ³ See I. 49.

⁴ The chronology of these early years is admittedly obscure. I adhere to one system in order to avoid confusion. But it is worthy of notice, that, supposing the passage at the beginning of the preceding chapter to be correct, Livy's list of Consuls agrees with that of the Capitoline Marbles, which give these Consuls, *Ann. cclxviii.*

⁵ *A turbatoribus belli,* ‘by the agitators of war.’ ⁶ According to Dionysius,

postea novis tribulibus, qui ex eo venirent agro, appellata. Appius inter Patres lectus haud ita multò pòst in principum dignationem¹ pervenit. Consules infesto exercitu in agrum Sabinum profecti, quum ita vastatione, dein proelio affixissent opes hostium, ut diu nihil inde rebellionis timere possent, triumphantes Romam rediêrunt. P. Valerius,

omnium consensu princeps belli pacisque artibus,
 v. c. anno pòst, Agrippâ Menenio, P. Postumio Consuli-
 251. bus moritur, gloriâ ingenti, copiis familiaribus adedò exiguis ut funeri sumptus deesset; de publico est datus². Luxere matronae ut Brutum³. Eodem anno duae coloniae Latinae, Pometia et Cora, ad Auruncos deficiunt. Cum Auruncis bellum initum; fusoque ingenti exercitu qui se ingredientibus fines consulibus ferociter obtulerat, omne Auruncum bellum Pometiam compulsus est. Nec magis post proelium quàm in proelio caedibus temperatum est. Et caesi aliquanto plures erant quàm cãpti, et captos passim trucidaverunt. Ne ab obsidibus quidem, qui trecenti accepti numero erant, ira belli hostilis abstinuit.⁴ Et hoc anno Romae triumphatum⁵.

5000 men able to bear arms.

¹ *In principum dignationem.*

'To a rank equal with that of the leading men of the senate.'

² *Datus.* This is the reading of all the MSS. and of the majority of the early editions. *Elatus* is probably correct, and is admitted into the text by most editors. ³ See chap. 7.

⁴ For *iram belli hostis abstinuit*, the general reading, which is found in only one MS. I have adopted the reading of all the rest of the MSS., and that of the early editions. The general reading, though recommended by such names as Gronovius and Drakenborch, seems to me to convey a false meaning. It is evident, that as the *Romans* throughout were victorious, they must have been the slaughterers, not the slaughtered. *Hostilis*, a general word, implying by contrast sentiments different from those with which hostages ought to have been regarded, is applicable to the Romans, which *hostis* manifestly is not without forcing. Gronovius conjectures, more happily, I think, *hostilia*. Baker is naturally misled by the ordinary reading, and translates the passage, 'the enemy spared not even the hostages, three hundred of whom had been formerly put into their hands.'

⁵ *Et hoc anno*, 'in this year also,' (as well as in the two former years,) *triumphatum*. According to Dionysius, the honour of a triumph was given to Postumius only, an *ovation* being awarded to Menenius, in consequence of a check which his troops had received in the commencement of the war, which, according to him, was with the Sabines, not the Aurunci.

XVII. Secuti consules Opiter Virginius et Sp. U. C. Cassius Pometiam primò vi, deinde vineis ¹ aliisque 252. operibus oppugnaverunt. In quos Aurunci magis jam inexpiabili odio quàm spe aliquâ aut occasione coòrti, quum plures igni quàm ferro armati excucurrissent, caede incendioque cuncta complent. Vineis incensis, multis hostium vulneratis et occisis, consulum quòque alterum, (sed verum ² nomen auctores non adjiciunt,) gravi vulnere ex equo dejectum prope interfecerunt. Romam inde, malè gestâ re, reditum. Inter multos saucios consul spe incertâ vitæ relictus ³. Interjecto deinde haud magno spatio, quod vulneribus curandis supplendoque exercitui satis esset, tum irâ majore belli tum viribus etiam auctis, Pometiæ arma illata. Et quum, vineis reffectis aliâque mole belli, jam in eo esset ut in muros evaderet miles, deditio est facta. Ceterum nihilo minùs foedè deditâ urbe, quàm si capta foret, Aurunci passim principes securi percussi, sub coronâ venierunt ⁴ coloni alii; oppidum dirutum ⁵, ager veniit. Con-

¹ *Vineae*. 'Machines constructed of wood and hurdles, and covered with earth or raw hides, or any materials which could not easily be set on fire. They were pushed forwards by wheels below. Under them the besiegers either worked the battering ram, or tried to undermine the walls.' DR ADAM. ² The MSS. read *sed*

verum, except perhaps one, if we may so understand the following language of Lipsius; Vetus, *sed utrum*, &c. Recte. May *verum* not mean 'with certainty,' as Livy calls a variance about names *nominum error*? I. 24. The reading generally adopted is *sed utrum*, nomen.

³ It has been asked by some critics, where was the consul left? and *relictus* is proposed for *relictus*. The wounded consul was left at Rome, whilst his colleague returned to renew the attack on Pometia. Doering's opinion is, *incerta spe relinqui est*, in incerta spe esse.

⁴ *Sub coronâ venierunt*, 'were sold by auction.' The phrase probably originates from prisoners thus sold wearing a crown. ⁵ Yet

Livy, in the 25th chapter, states, that the Volsci took shelter in Pometia, seven years after this, and that it was then taken, and plundered. 300 hostages are mentioned in the 16th chapter; they are likewise mentioned in the 22d. The *Aurunci*, whom surely the present discomfiture must have disabled for many years, send a threatening message, and are totally defeated, in the 26th chapter. Lastly, Dionysius makes no mention of any such war at this time, but narrates two victories in this consulship, one gained by Cassius over the Sabines, the other by Virginius, when the town *Cameria* was taken. We may therefore look with great suspicion on this account of the two consulships, 251 and 252 U. C. 'It appears that Livy found the

sules magis ob iras graviter ultas quàm ob magnitudinem perfecti belli triumphârunt.

XVIII. Insequens annus Postumum Cominium et
 u. c. T. Lartium consules habuit. Eo anno Romae, quum
 253. per ludos ab Sabinorum juventute per lasciviam scorta
 raperentur, concursu hominum rixa ac prope proelium fuit ;
 parvâque ex re ad rebellionem spectare res videbatur. Su-
 pra belli Latini metum id quodque accesserat, quòd triginta
 jam conjurâsse populos, concitante Octavio Mamilio, satis
 constabat¹. In hâc tantarum expectatione rerum sollicitâ
 civitate, dictatoris primùm creandi mentio orta. Sed nec
 quo anno, nec quibus consulibus, ' quia ex factione Tarqui-
 niâ essent,' (id quodque enim traditur,) parum creditum
 sit², nec quis primùm dictator creatus sit, satis constat.
 Apud veterrimos tamen auctores T. Lartium dictatorem
 primum, Sp. Cassium magistrum equitum creatos invenio.
 Consulares³ legêre ; ita lex jubebat de dictatore creando
 lata. Eò magis adducor ut credam Lartium, qui consula-

' same people described in different annals by different names, as
 ' Aurunci and Volsci, and conceived them to be different nations,'
 Malden, p. 103. Niebuhr, I. 375, thinks them to have belonged
 to a common stock, but to be two different nations. ¹ There
 has been much critical disquisition on this sentence, some disliking
 the word *supra*, which, say they, should be *super*, and some object-
 ing to *Latini*, which they say, on the authority of two MSS., and
 from the scope of the passage, should be *Sabini*. *Supra* is certainly
 used here in an extraordinary sense ' besides,' but *Latini* is both
 admissible, referring to the statement ' *ab Tusculo*,' &c. in the 16th
 chap. in connection with the ' certainty' and the ' union' here spoken
 of, and necessary, as without it, we cannot tell to what thirty states
 Livy refers. ² *Nec quibus*. This is the reading of but one MS.
 the majority of the rest having *factis*, some *facti*. ' Nor who were
 ' the consuls in whom confidence was not reposed, ' because,' (for
 that also is asserted,) ' they belonged to the faction which favoured
 " the Tarquins." ' Dr Arnold, Rome, vol. i. p. 145, says that Livy
 ' has slighted this tradition.' This is evidently too strongly put.
³ *Consulares*. According to Drakenborch and Dr Hunter, the
 nominative to *legêre*, and antecedent to *qui*, in the second sentence
 below. Other commentators make it the accusative governed by
legêre ; and among more recent writers, Niebuhr and Arnold. I regret
 that it is impossible, from our limits, to enter into the discussion,
 but I think the reasoning in favour of its being the nominative in-
 controvertible. For *Dictator* and *Magister Equitum*, see Index.

ris ¹ erat, potiùs quàm Manium Valerium, M. filium, Volesi nepotem qui nondum consul fuerat moderatorem et magistrum consulibus appositum. Qui si maximè ex eà familiâ legi dictatorem vellent, patrem multò potiùs M. Valerium, spectatae virtutis et consularem virum, legissent. Creato dictatore primùm Romae, postquam praeferri se cures viderunt, magnus plebem metus incessit, ut intentiones essent ad dicto parendum. Neque enim, ut in consulibus 'qui pari potestate essent,' alterius auxilium neque provocatio erat, neque ullum usquam nisi in curâ parendi auxilium. Sabinis etiam creatus Romae dictator, eo magis quòd 'propter se creatum' crediderant, metum incussit. Itaque legatos de pace mittunt. Quibus orantibus dictatorem senatumque 'ut veniam erroris hominibus adolescentibus 'darent,' responsum 'ignosci adolescentibus posse, senibus non posse, qui bella ex bellis sererent.' Actum tamen est de pace; impetrataque foret, si quod impensae factum in bellum erat praestare Sabini, (id enim postulatum erat,) in animum induxissent. Bellum indictum; tacitae induciae quietum annum tenuere.

XIX. Consules Ser. Sulpicius, Manius Tullius. Nil dignum memoriâ actum ². T. Aebutius deinde et C. Vetusius. His consulibus Fidenae obsessae, Crustumeria capta, Praeneste ab Latinis ad Romanos descivit. Nec ultrà bellum Latinum, gliscens jam per aliquot annos, dilatum. A. Postumius dictator, T. Aebutius magister equitum magnis copiis peditum equitumque profecti, ad lacum Regillum in agro Tusculano agmini hostium occurrerunt ³. Et quia 'Tarquinius esse in exercitu Latinorum' auditum est, sustineri ira non potuit quin ex templo configerent. Ergo etiam proelium aliquanto quàm cetera gravius atque atrocius fuit. Non enim duces ad re-

¹ A singular use of *consularis*, a man who *had been* consul, applied to Lartius, who *was* consul, unless we suppose that he was denuded of the consulship as a preliminary step to the appointment of a dictator. It may here be noticed, that Dionysius places the appointment of a dictator three years later, in the consulship of Cloelius and Lartius. ² According to Dionysius, a plot was this year detected to give up the city to the Tarquins. ³ In the 22d chapter, Livy doubts whether this battle was not fought three years later.

gendam modò consilio rem affuere, sed suismet ipsis ¹ corporibus dimicantes miscuere certamina. Nec quisquam procerum ferme hâc aut illâ ex acie sine vulnere, praeter dictatorem Romanum, excessit. In Postumium primâ in acie suos adhortantem instruentemque, Tarquinius Superbus, quamquam jam aetate et viribus erat gravior, equum infestus admisit, ictusque ab latere, concursu suorum receptus in tutum est. Et ad alterum cornu Aebutius magister equitum in Octavium Mamilium impetum dederat. Nec fefellit ² veniens Tusculanum ducem; contra quem et ille concitat equum. Tantaque vis infestis venientium hastis fuit, ut brachium Aebutio trajectory sit, Mamilio pectus percussum. Hunc quidem in secundam aciem Latini recepère; Aebutius, quum saucio brachio tenere telum non posset, pugnâ excessit. Latinus dux nihil deterritus vulnere proelium ciet; et quia suos percussos videbat, arcessit cohortem exsulum Romanorum, cui L. Tarquinius filius praeerat. Ea quod ³ majore pugnabat irâ ob erepta bona patriamque ademptam, pugnam parumper restituit.

XX. Referentibus jam pedem ab eâ parte Romanis, M. Valerius, Publicolae frater conspicatus ferocem juvenem Tarquinium ostentantem se in primâ exsulum acie, domesticâ etiam gloriâ accensus, ut cujus familiae decus ejecti reges erant, ejusdem interfecti forent ⁴, subdit calcaria equo et Tarquinium infesto spiculo petit. Tarquinius retrò in agmen suorum infenso cessit hosti. Valerium temere invectum in exsulum aciem, ex transverso quidam adortus transfigit; nec quicquam equitis vulnere equo retardato, moribundus Romanus labentibus super corpus armis ad terram defluxit. Dictator Postumius, postquam cecidisse talem virum, exsules ferociter citato agmine invehit, suos percussos cedere animadvertit, cohorti suae, quam delectat manum praesidii causâ circa se habebat, dat signum ' ut

¹ Gronovius suggests *ipsi*.

² *Fallere* is often used in this sense, 'to escape notice.' Thus Horace, *Castra fefellit*. Od. 1. 11. 16.

³ The reading of two MSS. The majority have *quo*.

⁴ *Ut, cujus*. Ut interfecti reges forent *decus* ejusdem *familiae*, cujus familiae ejecti reges erant *decus*, 'that the glory of having slain the 'royal family should belong to the same race to which the glory of 'having expelled them belonged,' viz. to the Valerii, who had assisted in expelling the Tarquins.

‘quem suorum fugientem viderint, pro hoste habeant.’ Ita metu ancipiti versi a fugâ Romani in hostem, et restituta acies. Cohors dictatoris tum primùm proelium iniit. Integris corporibus animisque fessos adorti exsules caedunt. Ibi alia inter procures coërta pugna. Imperator Latinus, ubi cohortem exsulum a dictatore Romano prope circumventam vidit, ex subsidiariis manipulos aliquot in primam aciem secum rapit. Hos agmine venientes T. Herminius legatus conspicatus, interque eos insignem veste armisque Mamilium noscitans, tantò vi majore quàm paullò antè magister equitum cum hostium duce proelium iniit, ut et uno ictu transfixum per latus occiderit Mamilium, et ipse inter spoliandum corpus hostis veruto percussus, quum victor in castra esset relatus, inter primam curationem exspiraverit. Tum ad equites dictator advolat, obtestans ut fesso jam pedite descendant ex equis et pugnam capessant. Dicto parvare; desiliunt ex equis, provolant in primum, et pro antesignanis¹ parmas objiciunt. Recipit extemplo animum pedestris acies, postquam juventutis procures², aequato genere pugnae, secum partem periculi sustinentes vidit. Tum demum impulsì Latini, perculsaque inclinavit acies. Equiti admoti equi ut persequi hostem posset. Secuta et pedestris acies. Ibi nihil nec divinae nec humanae opis dictator praetermittens aedem Castori vovisse fertur, ac pronuntiâsse militi praemia ‘qui primus, qui secundus castra hostium intrasset.’ Tantusque ardor fuit, ut eodem impetu quo fuderant hostem Romani castra caperent. Hoc modo ad lacum Regillum pugnatum est³. Dictator et magister equitum triumphantes in urbem rediêre.

¹ The word *antesignani* seems to have been originally applied to a chosen body of soldiers, stationed in front of the principal standards for their special protection, and to be thence transferred to signify generally those who fought in front of the standards, as *subsignani* means those who were stationed behind them. *Pro antesignanis*, means ‘taking the place of the front line.’

² *Juventutis procures*. The young noblemen, the knights. See I. 43. ³ According to the account given by Dionysius (vi.) the battle took place three years later. Tarquin the Tyrant was not at the battle, it was his son Titus that encountered the Roman Dictator; Sextus also was present, and was killed, (see p. 112, note 1,) and the victory was won by the aid of Castor and Pollux, who conveyed the glad intelligence to Rome on the same night; and the day, the Ides of July was

XXI. Triennio deinde nec certa pax nec bellum
 v. c. 256. fuit. Consules Q. Cloelius et T. Lartius¹. Inde
 257. A. Sempronius et M. Minutius. His consulibus
 aedes Saturno dedicata; Saturnalia institutus festus
 v. c. dies. A. deinde Postumius et T. Virginius consules
 258. facti. 'Hoc demum anno ad Regillum lacum pug-
 natum' apud quosdam invenio; 'A. Postumium, quia collega
 'dubiae fidei fuerit, se consulatu abdicasse, dictatorem inde
 'factum.' Tanti errores implicant² temporum, aliter apud
 alios ordinatis magistratibus, ut nec qui consules secundum³
 quosdam, nec quid quoque anno actum sit, in tantâ vetus-
 tate non rerum modò sed etiam auctorum, digerere
 v. c. 259. possis. Ap. Claudius deinde et P. Servilius consules
 facti. Insignis hic annus est nuncio Tarquiniî mor-
 tis. Mortuus est Cumis quò se post fractas opes Latino-
 rum ad Aristodemum tyrannum contulerat. Eo nuncio
 erecti Patres, erecta plebes. Sed Patribus nimis luxuriosa
 ea fuit laetitia; plebi, cui ad eam diem summâ ope inservi-
 tum erat, injuriae a primoribus fieri coepere. Eodem anno
 Signia colonia, quam rex Tarquinius deduxerat, suppleto
 numero colonorum iterum reducta est⁴. Romae tribus una
 et viginti factae. Aedes Mercurii dedicata est Idibus Maiis.

XXII. Cum Volscorum gente Latino bello neque pax
 neque bellum fuerat. Nam et Volsci comparaverant auxilia
 quae mitterent Latinis, ni maturatum ab dictatore Romano
 esset; et maturavit Romanus, ne proelio uno cum Latino
 Volascoque contenderet. Hâc irâ consules in Volscum
 agrum legiones duxere. Volscos consilii poenam non me-
 tuentes nec opinata res perculit. Armorum immemores
 obsides dant trecentos principum a Corâ atque Pometiâ li-
 beros⁵. Ita sine certamine inde abductae legiones. Nec
 ita multò pòst Volscis levatis metu suum rediit ingenium;
 rursus occultum parant bellum, Hernicis in societatem ar-
 morum assumptis. Legatos quòque ad sollicitandum La-
 tium passim dimittunt. Sed recens ad Regillum lacum ac-
 cepta clades Latinos, irâ odioque ejus quicunque arma sua-

celebrated by a solemn procession of the Equites. See Macaulay's
 Lays of ancient Rome, 'battle of Regillus.' ¹ See p. 137,
 note 1. ² *Implicant*, supply *scriptorem*, entangle an historian.

³ *Secundum*, 'after.' See p. 44, note 3. ⁴ See I. 56. Only one
 MS. has *deducta est*, the rest have *reducta est*. ⁵ See p. 135, note 5

deret, ne ab legatis quidem violandis abstinuit¹. Comprehensos Volscos Romam duxere. Ibi traditi consulibus, indicatumque est 'Volscos Hernicosque parare bellum Romanis.' Relatâ re ad senatum, adeò fuit gratum Patribus, ut et captivorum sex millia Latinis remitterent, et de foedere, quod prope in perpetuum negatum fuerat, rem ad novos magistratus rejicerent. Enimvero tum Latini gaudere facto, pacis auctores in ingenti gloriâ esse. Coronam auream Jovi donum in Capitolium mittunt. Cum legatis donoque, qui captivorum remissi ad suos fuerant magna circumfusa multitudo venit². Pergunt domos eorum, apud quem quisque servierant³, gratias agunt, liberaliter habiti cultique in calamitate suâ; inde hospitia jungunt. Nunquam aliàs antè publicè privatimque Latinum nomen Romano imperio conjunctius fuit.

XXIII. Sed et bellum Volscum imminabat, et civitas secum ipsa discors intestino inter Patres plebemque flagrabat odio, maximè propter nexos⁴ ob aes alienum. Fremebant 'se foris pro libertate et imperio dimicantes, domi a civibus captos et oppressos esse; tutioremque in bello quàm in pace, inter hostes quàm inter cives, libertatem plebis esse.' Invidiamque eam suâ sponte gliscentem, insignis unius calamitas accendit. Magno natu quidam cum omnium malorum⁵ suorum insignibus se in forum projecit. Obsita erat squalore vestis, foedior corporis habitus pallore ac macie perempti. Ad hoc, promissa barba et capilli efferaverant speciem oris. Noscitabatur tamen in tantâ deformitate, et 'ordines duxisse'⁶ aiebant, aliaque militiae decora vulgò mise-

¹ *Sed recens*, &c. 'But the remembrance of their late defeat sustained at the lake Regillus, led them, from anger and hatred at any man who should advise hostilities, not to abstain from the violation of the ambassadors even.' See p. 107, 2. Attention to the usage there mentioned is particularly necessary in this passage. *Abstinuit* has the force of *effecit ut abstinerent*.

² Magna circumfusa multitudo captivorum, qui remissi fuerant ad suos, venit.

³ See p. 109, note 3.

⁴ *Nexos*. See Index.

⁵ The general, if not the universal reading of the MSS. is *majorum*, which is evidently a blunder. *Malorum insignia* are the badges that told of his miseries. Compare 'the trappings and the suits of woe.'

⁶ *Ordines duxisse*, 'that he had been a centurion.' *Ordo sexagenos milites duos, centurionem et vexillarium unum habebat*; viii. 8. Drakenborch thinks that *ordines* in the plural indicates that he had been

rantes eum jactabant. Ipse testes honestarum aliquot locis pugnarum cicatrices adverso pectore ostentabat. Sciscitantibus 'unde ille habitus? unde deformitas?' quum circumfusa turba esset prope in concionis modum, 'Sabino bello' ait 'se militantem, quia propter populationes agri non fructu modò caruerit sed villa incensa fuerit, direpta omnia, pecora abacta, tributum iniquo suo tempore¹ imperatum, aes alienum fecisse; id cumlatum usuris primò se agro paterno avitòque exuisse, deinde fortunis aliis; postremò velut tabem, pervenisse ad corpus. Ductum se ab creditore, non in servitium, sed in ergastulum et carnificinam esse.' Inde ostentare tergum foedum recentibus vestigiis² verberum. Ad haec visa auditaque clamor ingens oritur. Non jam foro se tumultus continet, sed passim totam urbem pervadit. Nexu vincti solutique³ se undique in publicum proripiunt, implorant Quiritium fidem. Nullo loco deest seditionis voluntarius comes. Multis passim agminibus per omnes vias cum clamore in forum curritur. Magno cum periculo suo, qui fortè Patrum in foro erant in eam turbam inciderunt. Nec temperatum manibus foret, ni propere consules, P. Servilius et Ap. Claudius ad comprimendam seditionem intervenissent. In eos multitudo versa ostentare vincula sua deformitatemque aliam. 'Haec se meritos' dicere, exprobanter suam quisque alius alibi militiam⁴. Postulare multò minaciter magis quàm suppliciter, 'ut senatum vocarent;' curiamque ipsi, futuri arbitri moderatoresque publici consilii, circumstant. Pauci admodum Patrum quos casus obtulerat contracti ad consules; ceteros metus non curiâ modò sed etiam foro arcebat. Nec agi quicquam per infrequentiam⁵ poterat senatûs. Tum verò 'eludi atque extrahi se' multitudo putare, 'et Patrum qui abes-

centurion more than once.

¹ *Iniquo suo tempore*, 'at a time when he was involved in these difficulties.' ² So in Greek, *ἰχνη μαρτύρων*.

³ *Nexu vincti solutique*. 'Those who were then in bondage to their creditors, and those who had been released from that bondage.' Others, with less probability, translate *soluti*, simply, 'those who were not in bondage.'

⁴ *Exprobanter*, &c. 'Taunting the consuls, each with the military service which he himself had performed, one man in one place, and another in another.'

⁵ *Per infrequentiam*, 'through want of a quorum.' Probably the quorum at this time was 100; afterwards it seems to have been considerably increased.

'sent, non casu, non metu, sed impediendae rei causâ abesse, et consules ipsos tergiversari, nec dubiè ludibrio esse misérias suas.' Jam prope erat ut ne consulum quidem majestas coërceret iras hominum. Quum incerti morando an veniendo plus periculi contraherent, tandem in senatum veniunt, frequentique tandem curiâ, non modò inter Patres sed ne inter consules quidem ipsos satis conveniebat¹. Appius vehementis ingenii vir, 'imperio consulari rem 'agendam' censebat, 'uno aut altero arrepto, quieturos 'alios.' Servilius lenibus remediis aptior, 'concitatos animos flecti quàm frangi' putabat 'quum tutius, tum facilius 'esse.'

XXIV. Inter haec major alius terror. Latini equites cum tumultuoso advolant nuncio, 'Volscos infesto exercitu 'ad urbem oppugnandam venire.' Quae audita, (adeò duas ex unâ civitate discordia fecerat,) longè aliter Patres ac plebem affecere. Exsultare gaudio plebes; 'ultores superbiae Patrum adesse' dicere 'Deos.' Alius alium confirmare, 'ne nomina darent; cum omnibus potius quàm solos 'perituros. Patres militarent, Patres arma caperent, ut 'penes eosdem pericula belli, penes quos praemia essent.' At verò curia moesta ac trepida ancipiti metu et ab cive et ab hoste, Servilium consulem, cui ingenium magis populare erat, orare 'ut tantis circumventam terroribus expediret 'republicam.' Tum consul, misso senatu, in concionem prodit. Ibi, 'curae esse Patribus' ostendit 'ut consulatur 'plebi. Ceterùm deliberationi de maximâ quidem illâ, sed 'tamen parte civitatis², metum pro universâ republicâ intervenisse. Nec posse, quum hostes prope ad portas essent, bello praevertisse quicquam; nec si sit laxamenti 'aliquid³, aut plebi honestum esse, nisi mercede priùs acceptâ, arma pro patriâ non cepisse, neque Patribus satis

¹ See p. 71, note 4. In this sentence the *ne* of *ne quidem*, denies the circumstance, *satis conveniebat*, common to both clauses, coming under the 1st canon, thus: *Not only* among the senators, but between the consuls themselves *even*, there was no agreement in opinion.

² *De maximâ*, &c. 'With regard to that, certainly a very great 'portion, but still only a portion of the state.'

³ *Nec*, &c. 'Nor even though there were any breathing time,' i. e. sufficient to allow the senate to consider the affairs of the Plebeians, before marching to the war.

‘decorum, per metum potius quàm postmodo voluntate, ‘afflictis civium suorum fortunis consuluisse.’ Concioni deinde edicto addidit fidem, quo edixit ‘Ne quis civem Romanum vinctum aut clausum teneret, quo minùs ei nominis ‘edendi apud consules potestas fieret. Ne quis militis, do- ‘nec in castris esset, bona possideret aut venderet, liberos ‘nepotesve ejus moraretur¹.’ Hoc proposito edicto, et qui aderant nexi profiteri extemplo nomina; et undique ex totâ urbe proripientium se ex privato, quum retinendi jus creditori non esset, concursus in forum ut sacramento dicerent² fieri. Magna ea manus fuit; neque aliorum magis in Volscis bello virtus atque opera enituit. Consul copias contra hostem educit; parvo dirimente intervallo castra ponit.

XXV. Proximâ inde nocte Volsci discordiâ Romanâ freti, si qua nocturna transitio proditiove fieri possit, tentant castra. Sensere vigiles, excitatus exercitus signo dato; concursus est ad arma. Ita frustra id inceptum Volscis fuit; reliquum noctis utrinque quieti datum. Postero die primâ luce Volsci, fossis repletis, vallum invadunt. Jamque ab omni parte munimenta vellebantur, quum consul quanquam cuncti undique, et nexi ante omnes ‘ut signum daret’ clamabant, experiendi animos militum causâ parumper moratus, postquam satis apparebat ingens ardor, dato tandem ad erumpendum signo, militem avidum certaminis emittit. Primo statim incursu pulsus hostes; fugientibus, quoad insequi pedes potuit, terga caesa: eques usque ad castra pavidus egit. Mox ipsa castra legionibus circumdatis, quum Volscos inde etiam pavor expulisset, capta direptaque. Postero die ad Suessam Pometiam³ quò confugerant hostes legionibus ductis, intra paucos dies oppidum capitur, captum praedae datum. Inde paullum recreatus egens miles. Consul cum maximâ gloriâ suâ victorem exercitum Romam reducit. Decedentem Romam Ecetranorum Volscorum legati, rebus suis timentes post Pometiam captam, adeunt. His ex senatusconsulto data pax, ager adeptus.

XXVI. Confestim et Sabini Romanos territavere; tumultus enim fuit veriùs quàm bellum⁶. Nocte in urbe

¹ *Moraretur.* See p. 96, note 5. ² *Dicere sacramento,* ‘to engage by a military oath to perform the duties of a soldier.’ *Sacramento,* in the ablative. ³ See p. 135, note 5. ⁴ *Tumultus,* a sudden foray; *bellum,* a regular war. The ordinary dis-

nunciatum est 'exercitum Sabinum praedabundum ad Anienem amnem pervenisse. Ibi passim diripi atque incendi villas.' Missus extemplo eò cum omnibus copiis equitum A. Postumius, qui dictator bello Latino fuerat: secutus consul Servilius cum delectâ peditum manu. Plerosque palantes eques circumvenit; nec adveniēti peditum agmini restitit Sabina legio. Fessi tum itinere tum populatione nocturnâ, magna pars in villis repleti cibo vinoque, vix fugae quod satis esset virium habuere. Nocte unâ audito perfectoque bello Sabino, postero die, in magnâ jam spe undique paratae pacis, legati Aurunci¹ senatum adeunt, 'ni decedatur Volsco agro,' bellum indicentes. Cum legatis simul exercitus Auruncorum domo profectus erat. Cujus fama haud procul jam ab Ariciâ visi tanto tumultu concivit Romanos, ut nec consuli ordine Patres, nec pacatum responsum arma inferentibus, arma ipsi capientes dare possent. Ariciam infesto agmine itur; nec procul inde cum Auruncis signa collata, proelioque uno debellatum est².

XXVII. Fusis Auruncis, victor tot intra paucos dies bellis Romanus promissa consulis fidemque senatûs expectabat; quum Appius, et insitâ superbîâ animo, et ut collegae vanam faceret fidem, quàm asperrimè poterat jus de creditis pecuniis dicere. Deinceps et qui antè nexi³ fuerant creditoribus tradebantur, et nectebantur alii. Quod ubi cui militi inciderat, collegam appellabat⁴, concursus ad Servilium fiebat, illius promissa jactabant, illi exprobrabant sua quisque belli merita cicatricesque acceptas. Postulabant ut aut referret ad senatum, aut ut auxilio esset consul civibus suis, imperator militibus. Movebant consulem haec, sed tergiversari res cogeat; adeò in alteram causam non collega solùm praeceps ierat⁵, sed omnis factio nobilium. Ita medium se

tinction between these two words is thus given by Cicero, Phil. viii. 1. Majores nostri tumultum Italicum, quod erat domesticus, Gallicum, quod erat Italiae finitimus, praeterea nullum tumultum nominabant.

¹ *Paratae*. *Partae* which is commonly given is unquestionably better, but is opposed to all the MSS. Drakenborch conjectures *patratae*. *Aurunci*, See p. 135, note 5.

² *Bellum finire*, to bring a war to a termination in any way; *componere*, by treaty; *conficere*, by the subjugation of one of the parties,—which is the meaning also of *debellare*.

³ See p. 142, note 3. ⁴ *Appellabat*, 'he appealed to.'

⁵ See p. 57, note 3. *Praecepta ierat*. The MSS. exhibit a great variety of readings, but this has commend-

gerendo nec plebis vitavit odium, nec apud Patres gratiam iniit. Patres mollem consulem et ambitiosum rati, plebes fallacem. Brevique apparuit aequasse eum Appii odium. Certamen consulibus inciderat, uter dedicaret Mercurii aedem¹. Senatus a se rem ad populum rejecit; utri eorum dedicatio jussu populi data esset, eum praeesse annonae, mercatorum collegium instituere, solennia pro pontifice jussit suscipere. Populus dedicationem aedis dat M. Laetorio, primi pili² centurioni; quod facile appareret, non tam ad honorem ejus cui curatio altior fastigio suo data esset³, factum, quam ad consulum ignominiam. Saevire inde utique consulum alter Patresque; sed plebi creverant animi, et longè alià quam primò instituerant vià grassabantur. Desperato enim consulum senatusque auxilio, quum in jus duci debitorem vidissent, undique convolabant. Neque decretum exaudiri consulis prae strepitu et clamore poterat; neque, quum decrèssset, quisquam obtemperabat. Vi agebatur, metusque omnis et periculum libertatis, quum in conspectu consulis singuli a pluribus violarentur, in creditores a debitoribus verterant⁴. Super haec timor incessit Sabini belli; delectuque decreto, nemo nomen dedit, furente Appio et insectante ambitionem collegae, 'qui populari si-
' lentio rempublicam proderet et ad id quòd de credità pe-
' cunià jus non dixisset adjiceret, ut ne delectum quidem ex
' senatùs consulto haberet. Non esse tamen desertam om-
' nino rempublicam neque projectum consulare imperium.
' Se unum et suae et Patrum majestatis vindicem fore.
Quum circumstaret quotidiana multitudo licentià accensa,

ed itself as the best to all the commentators but Rhenanus, who prefers *Adeo vi* . . . *praeceperat* in the sense of *anteceperat*. *Praeceperat* is the reading of the great majority of the MSS. ¹ See end of chap. 21, where Livy anticipates.

² *Primus pilus* was either the term applied to a man of a certain rank in the army, or, as here, the rank itself. 'The centurion of the first century of the first maniple of the *Triarii* was called *Centurio primi pili vel primi ordinis*, or *Primus Pilus*, *primipilus*, or *primopilus*, also *primus centurio*, *qui primum pilum ducebat*, *dux legionis*. He presided over all the other centurions, and had the charge of the eagle, or chief standard of the legion, whereby he obtained both profit and dignity, being ranked among the *equites*. He had a place in the council of war with the consul and tribunes.' Dr ADAM. ³ *Cui*, &c. *Cui* for *quippe ei*. 'Since a charge had been committed to him of greater dignity than was proportioned to his rank.' ⁴ *Verterant*, supply *se*. See p. 49, note 2.

arripi unum insignem ducem seditionum jussit. Ille, quum a lictoribus jam traheretur, provocavit, nec cessisset provocationi consul quia non dubium erat populi judicium, nisi aegrè victa pertinacia foret consilio magis et auctoritate principum quàm populi clamore. Adeò supererant animi ad sustinendam invidiam¹. Crescere inde malum in dies non clamoribus modò apertis, sed, quod multo perniciosius erat, secessione occultisque colloquiis. Tandem invisi plebi consules magistratu abeunt, Servilius neutris, Appius Patribus mirè gratus.

XXVIII. A. Virginii inde et T. Vetusii consulatione ineunt. Tum verò plebs² incerta quales habitura consules esset coetus nocturnos, pars Esquiliis, pars in Aventino facere, ne in foro subitis trepidaret consiliis et omnia temere ac fortuitò ageret. Eam rem consules rati, ut erat, perniciosam, ad Patres deferunt; sed delatam consulere³ ordine non licuit. Adeò tumultuosè excepta est clamoribus undique et indignatione Patrum, 'si quod imperio consulari exsequendum esset, invidiam ejus consules ad senatum rejicerent. Profectò si essent in republicà magistratus, nullum futurum fuisse Romae nisi publicum concilium. Nunc in mille curias concionesque (quum alia in Esquiliis, alia in Aventino fiant concilia) dispersam et dissipatam esse rempublicam. Unum, Hercule, virum, (id enim plus esse quàm consulem,) qualis Ap. Claudius fuerit, momento temporis dicssurum illos coetus fuisse.' Correpti consules quum, 'quid ergo se facere vellent, nihil enim segnius molliusve quàm Patribus placeat acturos,' percunctarentur, decernunt 'ut delectum quàm acerrimum habeant; otio lascivire plebem.' Dimisso senatu, consules in tribunal ascendunt; citant nominatim juniores⁴. Quum ad nomen nemo responderet, circumfusa multitudo in concionis modum negare 'ultrà decipi plebem posse. Nunquam unum militem habituros, ni praestaretur fides publica. Libertatem unicuique priùs

¹ *Adeo, &c.* 'So extreme was the haughtiness of spirit with which he (Appius) withstood the public odium.' ² Gronovius first changed *plebs* into *plebes*, which subsequent editors have retained without any other authority.

³ *Consulere*, governing two accusatives, *senatum*, and *rem*, both understood. ⁴ To the *juniores* was assigned the duty of serving in war abroad, i. 43.

‘ reddendam esse quàm arma danda, ut pro patriâ civibus-
 ‘ que non pro dominis pugnent.’ Consules ‘ quid mandatum
 ‘ esset a senatu’ videbant, sed eorum qui intra parietes curiae
 ferociter loquerentur neminem adesse, invidiae suae parti-
 cipem; et apparebat atrox cum plebe certamen. Priùs ita-
 que quàm ultima experirentur, senatum iterum consulere
 placuit. Tum verò ad sellas consulum propè¹ convolvere
 minimus quisque natu Patrum ‘ abdicare consulatum’ ju-
 bentes, ‘ et deponere imperium ad quod tuendum animus
 ‘ deesset.’

XXIX. Utrâque re satis expertâ², tum demum consu-
 les, ‘ Ne praedictum negetis, Patres conscripti, adest ingens
 ‘ seditio. Postulamus ut ii qui maximè ignaviam increpant
 ‘ adsint nobis habentibus delectum. Acerrimi cujusque ar-
 ‘ bitrio, quando ita placet, rem agemus.’ Redeunt in tri-
 bunal, citari nominatim unum ex iis, qui in conspectu
 erant, deditâ operâ jubent. Quum staret tacitus, et circa
 eum aliquot hominum, ne fortè violaretur, constitisset glo-
 bus, lictorem ad eum consules mittunt. Quo repulso, tum
 verò ‘ indignum facinus esse’ clamitantes qui Patrum con-
 sulibus aderant, devolant de tribunali ut lictori auxilio es-
 sent. Sed ab lictore nihil aliud quàm prehendere prohibito
 quum conversus in Patres impetus esset, consulum inter-
 cursu rixa sedata est³; in quâ tamen, sine lapide, sine telo,
 plus clamoris atque irarum quàm injuriae fuerat. Senatus

¹ *Prope* qualifies *ad sellas*. Another reading extensively adopted, is *propere*; but as Drakenborch remarks, ipso verbo illo (*convolvere*) sine addito *propere*, impetus et ardor indicatur.

² *Utrâque*, &c. ‘ The sentiments of both parties having been sufficiently tried.’ *Expertus*, passive, see p. 30, note 2.

³ *Nihil aliud quam prohibito*. Doering explains *nihil aliud* as equivalent to *tantummodo*. Dr Hunter, in an ingenious note on this passage, analyses the *rationale* of the expression. According to him, whatever may have been the origin of the perfect participle, its termination *itus*, describes an object as *that to which something has been done*. If we then for conveniency assume *passus*, the participle of *pator*, as the term most approximate in signification to *itus*, the sentence before us, when analysed and construed agreeably to this reasoning, will stand thus; ‘ Quum impetus conversus esset in patres ab lictore 170 ‘ (i. e.) *passo* nihil aliud, quam *prohib-* prae-hendere; i. e. from the ‘ lictor having suffered nothing else—having nothing else done to him, ‘ but the *hindering* to seize.’ The rioters did no violence or harm to the *lictor*. They only hindered him from seizing the refractory person, which he had been ordered to do.

tumultuosè vocatus tumultuosius consulitur, quaestionem postulantibus iis qui pulsati fuerant, decernente ferocissimo quoque non sententiis magis quàm clamore et strepitu. Tandem quum irae resedissent, exprobrantibus consulibus ‘nihil plus sanitatis in curiâ quàm in foro esse,’ ordine consuli coepit. Tres fuere sententiae. P. Virginus rem non vulgabat¹; ‘de iis tantum qui fidem secuti P. Servillii consulis, Volsco, Aurunco, Sabinoque militassent bello agendum’ censebat. T. Lartius, ‘Non id tempus esse ut merita tantummodo exsolverentur. Totam plebem aere alieno demersam esse, nec sisti posse² ni omnibus consularur. Quin si alia aliorum sit conditio, accendi magis discordiam quàm sedari.’ Ap. Claudius et naturâ immitis et efferatus hinc plebis odio, illinc Patrum laudibus, ‘Non mi-seriis,’ ait, ‘sed licentiâ tantum concitum turbarum et lascivire magis plebem quàm saevire. Id adeò malum ex provocatione natum, quippe minas esse consulum, non imperium³ ubi ad eos qui unâ peccaverint provocare liceat. Agendum,’ inquit, ‘dictatorem, a quo provocatio non est, creemus. Jam hic, quo nunc omnia ardent, conticescet furor. Pulset tum mihi⁴ lictorem qui sciet jus de tergo vitâ-que suâ penes unum illum esse cujus majestatem violavit.’

XXX. Multis, ut erat, horrida et atrox videbatur Appii sententia; rursus Virginii Lartiique exemplo haud salubres, utique Lartii putabant sententiam quae totam fidem tolleret⁵. Medium maximè et moderatum utroque consilium Virginii habebatur. Sed factione respectuque rerum privatarum⁶, quae semper offecere officientque publicis consiliis, Appius vicit, ac prope fuit ut dictator ille idem crearetur, quae res utique alienâset plebem periculosissimo tempore, quum Volsci Aequique et Sabini fortè unâ omnes in armis essent.

¹ *Non vulgabat*, non vulgarem faciebat; ‘did not extend his motion to all indiscriminately.’

² *Nec civitatem sisti posse*, ‘nor could the state be maintained in safety.’ Or *sisti* is used impersonally, with the same meaning.

³ *Quippe*, &c., ‘since threats, not power, were all that belonged to the consuls.’

⁴ See p. 6, note 1. ⁵ *Rursus*, &c. ‘On the other hand, they regarded as dangerous, from the precedents they furnished, the opinions of Virginus and Lartius, especially that of Lartius, (quae, quippe ea,) since it subverted all credit.’

⁶ The senators were the principal creditors, and therefore averse to any measure which tended to bring about a composition of the debts due them.

Sed curae fuit consulibus et senioribus Patrum, ut imperium suo ¹ vehemens, mansueto permitteretur ingenio. Manium Valerium dictatorem Volesi filium creant. Plebes etsi adversus se creatum dictatorem videbat, tamen quum provocationem fratris lege haberet, nihil ex eâ familiâ triste nec superbum timebat. Edictum deinde a dictatore propositum confirmavit animos, Servilii fere consulis edicto ² conveniens; sed et homini et potestati meliùs rati credi, omisso certamine, nomina dedere. Quantus nunquam antè exercitus, legiones decem effectae; ternae inde datae consulibus, quatuor dictator usus. Nec poterat jam bellum differri; Aequi Latinum agrum invaserant; oratores Latinorum a senatu petebant ut 'aut mitterent subsidium, aut se ipsos tuendorum finium causâ capere arma sinerent.' Tutius visum est defendi inermes Latinos quàm pati retractare arma. Vetusius consul missus est; is finis populationibus fuit. Cessere Aequi campis, locoque magis quàm armis freti, summis se jugis montium tutabantur. Alter consul in Volscos profectus, ne et ipse tereret tempus, vastandis maximè agris hostem ad conferenda propiùs castra dimicandumque acie excivit. Medio inter castra campo ante suum quisque vallum, infestis signis constitere. Multitudine aliquantùm Volsci superabant; itaque effusi et contemptim pugnam inière. Consul Romanus nec promovit aciem nec clamorem reddi passus 'defixis pilis stare suos' jussit, 'ubi ad manum venisset hostis, tum coörtos totâ vi gladiis rem gerere.' Volsci cursu et clamore fessi quum se velut stupentibus metu intulissent Romanis, postquam impressionem sensere ex adverso factam et ante oculos micare gladios, haud secus quàm si in insidias incidissent, turbati vertunt terga; et ne ad fugam quidem satis virium fuit, quia cursu in proelium ierant. Romani contra, quia principio pugnae quieti steterant, vigentes corporibus faciliè adepti fessos et castra impetu ceperunt, et castris exutum hostem Velitras persecuti, uno agmine victores cum victis in urbem irrupere. Plusque ibi sanguinis, promiscuâ omnium generum caede, quàm in ipsâ dimicatione factum. Paucis data venia, qui inermes in deditionem venerunt.

XXXI. Dum haec in Volscis geruntur, dictator Sabinos, ubi longè plurimum belli fuerat, fundit fugatque exiitque castris. Equitatu immisso mediam turbaverat hostium

¹ *Suo*, supply *ingenio*, 'in its own nature.'

² See chap. 24.

aciem, quâ, dum se cornua latius pandunt, parum aptè introrsum ordinibus aciem firmaverant¹; turbatos pedes invasit. Eodem impetu castra capta, debellatumque est². Post pugnam ad Regillum lacum non alia illis annis pugna clarior fuit. Dictator triumphans urbem invehitur. Super solitos honores locus in circo ipsi posterisque ad spectaculum datus, sella in eo loco curulis posita. Volscis devictis Veliternus ager ademptus; Velitras coloni ab urbe missi et colonia deducta. Cum Aequis post aliquanto pugnatum est, invito quidem consule, quia loco iniquo subeundum erat ad hostes; sed milites 'extrahi rem' criminantes, 'ut dictator, prius quàm ipsi redirent in urbem, magistratu abiret, irritaque, sicut antè consulis, promissa ejus caderent,' perpulere ut fortè temere³ in adversos montes agmen erigeret. Id malè commissum ignaviâ hostium in bonum vertit⁴, qui prius quàm ad conjectum teli veniretur, obstupefacti audaciâ Romanorum relictis castris, quae munitissimis tenebantur locis, in adversas⁵ valles desiluere; ubi satis praeda et victoria incruenta fuit. Ita trifariam re bello bene gestâ, de domesticarum rerum eventu nec Patribus nec plebi cura decesserat. Tantâ quum gratiâ tum arte praeparaverant foeneratores, quae non modò plebem sed ipsum etiam dictatorem frustrarentur. Namque Valerius, post

¹ *Qua*, &c. 'Where, whilst the wings are too much extended, they had not proportionately strengthened the line, with ranks inwards,' i. e. by deepening their ranks. Such seems to be the meaning of *introrsum*, from another passage, xxv. 21. In longitudinem porrecta acies. Clamantibus tribunis nihil *introrsus* roboris ac virium esse, et *quacumque* impetum fecisset hostis, perrupturos. The word *quacumque* is evidently inconsistent with Stroth's explanation, *mediam inter duo cornua aciem*.

² *Debellatumque est*. See p. 145, note 2.

³ *Forte*, 'by chance,' without any regard to rule; *temere*, 'rashly,' without any regard to prudence. *Erigit*. See p. 49, note 1.

⁴ *Vertit*, (see p. 49, note 2.) supply *se* with *id male commissum* for the nominative, and *ignaviâ* the ablative; or *ignavia* hostium vertit in bonum *id male commissum*.

⁵ In the preceding sentence the mountains possessed by the Aequi are called *adversi* with regard to the Romans; the valleys occupied by the Romans must therefore have been *adversae* with regard to the Aequi. Why then should the Aequi have abandoned their camp in terror, and yet descended in *adversas* valles? Gronovius, with the greatest probability, reads *aversas* valles, the valleys in their rear. *Ubi*, in the next clause, evidently refers to *castris*.

Vetusii consulis reditum, omnium actionum in senatu primam habuit pro victore populo, retulitque 'quid nexis fieri placeret?' Quae quum rejecta relatio esset¹, 'Non placeo,' inquit, 'concordiae auctor. Optabitis, me Dius Fidius², prope diem, ut mei similes Romana plebes patronos habeat. Quod ad me attinet, neque frustrabor ultrà cives meos neque ipse frustrà dictator ero. Discordiae intestinae, bellum externum fecere ut hoc magistratu egeret respublica. Pax foris parta est, domi impeditur. Privatus potius quàm dictator, seditioni interero.' Ita curiâ egressus dictaturâ se abdicavit. Apparuit causa plebi, 'suam vicem indignantem magistratu abisse'³. Itaque velut persolutâ fide, 'quoniam per eum non stetisset quin praestaretur,' decedentem domum cum favore ac laudibus prosecuti sunt.

XXXII. Timor inde Patres incessit ne, si dimissus exercitus foret, rursus coetus occulti conjurationesque fierent. Itaque 'quanquam per dictatorem delectus habitus esset, tamen quoniam in consulum verba jurâssent⁴, sacramento 'teneri militem' rati, per causam renovati ab Aequis belli 'educi ex urbe legiones' jussere. Quo facto maturata est seditio. Et 'primò agitatum' dicitur 'de consulum caede, ut solverentur sacramento; doctos deinde nullam scelere religionem exsolvi, Sicinio quodam auctore, injussu consulum in Sacrum montem secessisse,' (trans Anienem amnem

¹ *Referre*, 'to propose for consideration;' *rejicere relationem*, 'to reject the proposal for consideration;' *accipere relationem*, 'to grant the proposal.'

² *Me (juvet) Dius Fidius*, 'so help me the God of Truth.' According to some this deity was *Hercules*, *Διὸς filius*; according to others, *Fidius*, a god worshipped by the Sabines, and referred to by Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 213.

Quaerebam nonas Sanco Fidione referrem, &c.

³ *Apparuit*, &c. 'It was evident to the common people, that the cause of his having retired from office was his indignation at the treatment to which they were exposed.' *Quoniam*, &c. 'Since they had sworn to obey the consuls.' 'After the levy was completed, one soldier was chosen to repeat over the words of the military oath, and the rest swore after him. Every one as he passed along said, *Idem in me*. The form of the oath does not seem to have been always the same. The substance of it was, that they would obey their commander, and not desert their standards,' &c.

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est,) ‘tria ab urbe millia passuum.’ Ea frequentior fama est quàm cujus Piso auctor est, ‘in Aventinum secessionem factam esse.’ Ibi sine ullo duce, vallo fossâque communis castris, quieti, rem nullam nisi necessariam ad victum sumendo, per aliquot dies neque lacessiti neque lacessentes sese tenere. Pavor ingens in urbe, metuque mutuo suspensa erant omnia. Timere relicta ab suis plebes violentiam Patrum, timere Patres residem in urbe plebem incerti manere eam an abire mallent. ‘Quam diu autem tranquillam, quae secesserit, multitudinem fore? quid futurum deinde, si quod externum interim bellum existat? nullam profectò, nisi in concordia civium, spem reliquam ducere. Eam per aequa, per iniqua reconciliandam civitati esse.’ Placuit igitur oratorem ad plebem mitti Menenium Agrippam, facundum virum et, quòd inde oriundus erat ¹, plebicarum. Is intromissus in castra, ‘prisco illo dicendi et horrido modo nihil aliud quàm ² hoc narrâsse’ fertur; ‘Tempore quo in homine non, ut nunc, omnia in unum consentiebant, sed singulis membris suum cuique consilium, suus sermo fuerat, indignatas reliquas partes suâ curâ, suo labore ac ministerio ventri omnia quaeri, ventrem in medio quietum nihil aliud quàm datis voluptatibus frui; conspirâsse inde ne manus ad os cibum ferrent, nec os acciperet datum, nec dentes conficerent. Hâc irâ dum ventrem fame domare vellent, ipsa unâ membra totumque corpus ad extremam tabem venisse. Inde apparuisse ventris quòque haud segne ministerium esse, nec magis ali quàm alere eum, red dentem in omnes corporis partes hunc quo vivimus vigemusque ³, divisum pariter in venas maturum, confecto cibo,

¹ Quòd inde, &c. ‘Because his family had originally been plebeian.’ He himself was of consular dignity. See chap. 16.

² As a practical rule, *nihil aliud quam* may be considered equivalent to *tantummodo*. See p. 148, note 3. Dr Hunter argues, that an accurate resolution of the words would lead to *fertur-âsse nihil aliud quam narr- hoc*, ‘is said to have done nothing else than tell this.’ So in a clause immediately below, we should of course have, -i nihil aliud, quam fru- datis voluptatibus, ‘did nothing else than enjoy the pleasures furnished to it by others.’ The continental editors supply the different parts of *agere* in such cases, *egisse* nihil aliud quam hoc narrâsse fertur — nihil aliud *agere* quam datis voluptatibus frui.

³ The rule, so universal in its application, that speeches, sentiments and reports related indirectly, admit only of the infinitive in the lead-

'sanguinem.' Comparando hinc, quàm intestina corpora
'seditio similis esset irae plebis in Patres, flexisse mentes
'hominum ¹.'

XXXIII. Agi deinde de concordia coeptum ² concessum-
que in conditiones, 'ut plebi sui magistratus essent sacro-
'sancti ³, quibus auxilii latio adversus consules esset, neve
'cui Patrum capere eum magistratum liceret.' Ita tribuni
plebei creati duo, C. Licinius et L. Albinus. Hi tres col-
legas sibi creaverunt. In his 'Sicinius fuisse ⁴, seditionis
'auctorem,' de duobus, qui fuerint, minùs convenit. Sunt
qui 'duos tantùm in Sacro monte creatos tribunos esse' di-
cant, 'ibique sacratam legem latam ⁵.' Per secessio-

u. c.
261. nem plebis Sp. Cassius et Postumus Cominius consu-
latum iniêrunt. His consulibus cum Latinis populis
ictum foedus. Ad id feriendum consul alter Romae mansit;
alter ad Volscum bellum missus Antiates Volscos fundit
fugatque, compulsos in oppidum Longulam persecutus moe-

ing, and the subjunctive in the subsidiary clauses, is violated by the
indicative in these two words, *vivimus vigemusque*. When, however,
a sentiment applies as well to the time in which the author is writing,
as to that to which the reported speaker refers, he may occasionally
imagine himself speaking and vouching for the fact in his own person.
Hence, whilst we have *dum vellent* in the subjunctive, indicating that
this was an assertion not made by Livy, nor supported by him, but
by Menenius, the life and vigour derived from the blood are both
conceivable as a part of the address of Menenius, and yet as expressed
by Livy, as a fact vouched for by himself, and as applicable at all
times. This reasoning does not seem applicable to the anomalous
consentiebant, and *fuerat*, in the beginning of the apologue, unless we
suppose, which is likely enough, that Livy mingled the two forms,
from artful or undesigned negligence, otherwise, we should expect
consentirent, and *fuisse*; and this is the reading in the old edition of
Sigonius, others reading *consentiant*. ¹ Supply *fertur* from a previous
sentence. ² See p. 71, note 1. ³ The law by which the tribunes

were made inviolable was to the following effect: 'Let no one offer
'violence to the person of a tribune; neither kill him, nor procure
'him to be killed. Let the person who offends against this law be
'accursed; let his effects be made sacred to pious uses, and let every
'one pursue him to death.'

⁴ *Sicinius fuisse*, supply *convenit*.
⁵ Dionysius gives us the names of the five tribunes, L. Junius Bru-
tus, (who, according to him, was most active in the secession, and
the orator of the people in demanding the creation of tribunes,) C.
Sicinius Bellutus, C. and P. Licinius and Sp. Icilius Ruga. The
election took place in the Comitia Curiata on the 10th December.

nibus potitur. Inde Poluscam, item Volscorum cepit; tum magnâ vi adortus est Coriolos. Erat tum in castris inter primores juvenum C. Marcius, adolescens et consilio et manu promptus, cui cognomen postea Coriolano fuit. Quum subito exercitum Romanum Coriolos obsidentem, atque in oppidanos, quos intus clausos habebat, intentum sine ullo metu extrinsecus imminenti belli, Volscae legiones profectae ab Antio invasisent, eodemque tempore ex oppido erupissent hostes, fortè in statione Marcius fuit. Is cum delectâ militum manu non modò impetum erumpentium retudit, sed per patentem portam ferox irrupit, caedeque in proxima¹ urbis factâ, ignem temere arreptum imminentibus muro aedificiis iniecit. Clamor inde oppidanorum mixtus muliebri puerilique ploratu, ad terrorem, ut solet, primo ortu et Romanis auxit animum et turbavit Volscos, utpote captâ urbe cui ad ferendam opem venerant. Ita fusi Volsci Antiates, Corioli oppidum captum. Tantumque suâ laude obstitit famae consulis Marcius, ut nisi foedus cum Latinis columnâ aeneâ insculptum monumento esset ab Sp. Cassio uno, quia collega abfuerat, ictum, Postumum Cominium bellum gessisse cum Volscis memoriâ cessisset. Eodem anno Agrippa Menenius moritur, vir omni vitâ pariter Patribus ac plebi carus, post secessionem carior plebi factus. Huic interpreti arbitroque concordiae civium, legato Patrum ad plebem, reductor plebis Romanae in urbem sumptus funeri defuit. Extulit eum plebs sextantibus collatis in capita.

XXXIV. Consules deinde T. Geganus, P. Minu-
 U. C.
 262. cius facti. Eo anno quum et foris quieta omnia a bello essent et domi sanata discordia, aliud multo gravius malum civitatem invasit, caritas primùm annonae ex incultis per secessionem plebis agris, fames deinde qualis clausis solet. Ventumque ad interitum servitiorum² utique et plebis esset ni consules providissent, dimissis passim ad frumentum coëmendum, non in Etruriam modò dextris ab Ostiâ litoribus laevoque per Volscos mari usque ad Cumas, sed quaesitum³ in Siciliam quòque; adeò finitimorum odia longinquis coëgerant indigere auxiliis. Frumentum Cumis quum coëmptum esset, naves pro bonis

¹ Supply *loca*.² See p. 102, note 2.³ *Quaesitum*, the supine.

Tarquiniorum ab Aristodemo¹ tyranno, qui haeres erat, retentae sunt. In Volscis Pomptinoque ne emi quidem potuit; periculum quòque ab impetu hominum ipsis frumentatoribus fuit. Ex Tuscis frumentum Tiberi venit; eo sustentata est plebs. Incommodo bello in tam arctis com-
 meatibus vexati forent, ni Volscos jam moventes arma pestilentia ingens invasisset. Eâ clade conterritis hostium animis ut etiam ubi ea remisisset terrore aliquo tenerentur, et Velitris auxere numerum colonorum Romani, et Norbae in montes novam coloniam, quae arx in Pomptino esset, miserunt. M. Minucio deinde et A. Sempronio con-

u. c.

263.

sulibus, magna vis frumenti ex Siciliâ advecta, agitatumque in senatu quanti plebi daretur. Multi
 ‘venisse tempus premendae plebis’ putabant ‘recuperandi-
 ‘que jura, quae extorta secessionem ac vi Patribus essent.’
 In primis Marcius Coriolanus, hostis tribuniciae potestatis
 ‘Si annonam²,’ inquit, ‘veterem volunt, jus pristinum
 ‘reddant Patribus. Cur ego plebeios magistratus, cur
 ‘Sicinium potentem video sub jugum missus, tanquam a
 ‘latronibus redemptus? Egone has indignitates diutiùs
 ‘patiar quàm necesse est? Tarquinium regem qui non tu-
 ‘lerim, Sicinium feram? Secedat nunc, avocet plebem;
 ‘patet via in Sacrum montem aliosque colles; rapiant fru-
 ‘menta ex agris nostris, quemadmodum tertio anno rapuere.
 ‘Utantur annonâ, quam furore suo fecere. Audeo dicere
 ‘hoc malo domitos ipsos potiùs cultores agrorum fore,
 ‘quàm ut armati per secessionem coli prohibeant.’ Hand
 tam facile dictu est faciendumne fuerit, quàm potuisse ar-
 bitror fieri ut conditionibus laxandi annonam, et tribuni-
 ciam potestatem et omnia invitis jura imposita Patres de-
 merent sibi³.

¹ See chap. 21.

² *Annona*, either *corn*, as in the second sentence of the chapter, or the *price* of corn, as here, and in a sentence below. ³ *Haud*, &c. ‘It is not so easy to say, whether his advice should have been followed, as, in my opinion, it was a possible event for the senators, by agreeing to lower the price of corn, only on these terms, to free themselves, not only from the tribunicial power, but all the laws to which they had been unwillingly subjected.’ Livy’s meaning would be better brought out by taking the last part of this sentence first. ‘It was a possible event, in my opinion, for the senators, &c.’ this judgment is easily formed,

XXXV. Et senatui nimis atrox visa sententia est, et plebem ira prope armavit; 'Fame se jam, sicut hostes, peti, cibo victuque fraudari, peregrinum frumentum, quae sola alimenta ex insperato fortuna dederit, ab ore rapi, nisi C. Marcio vincti dedantur tribuni, nisi de tergo plebis Romanae satisfiat. Eum sibi carnificem novum exortum, qui aut mori aut servire jubeat.' In exeuntem e curiâ impetus factus esset, ni peropportunè tribuni diem dixissent¹; ibi ira est suppressa, se judicem quisque, se dominum vitae necisque inimici factum videbat. Contemptim primò Marcus audiebat minas tribunicias, 'auxilii non poenae jus datum illi potestati, plebisque non Patrum tribunos esse.' Sed adedò infensa erat coërta plebs, ut unius poenâ defungendum esset Patribus². Restiterunt tamen adversâ invidiâ usique sunt, quâ suis quisque, quâ³ totius ordinis viribus. Ac primò tentata res est si, dispositis clientibus⁴, absterrendo singulos a coitionibus conciliisque, disjicere rem possent. Universi deinde processere, (quicquid erat Patrum, reos diceret,) precibus plebem exposcentes, 'unum sibi civem, unum senatorem, si innocentem absolvere nollent, pro nocente donarent.' Ipse quum die dictâ⁵ non adesset, perseveratum in irâ est. Damnatus absens in Volscos exsulatum abiit minitans patriae, hostilesque jam tum spiritus gerens. Venientem Volsci benignè excepere, benigniusque in dies colebant, quo major ira in suos eminebat, crebraeque nunc querelae, nunc minae percipiebantur. Hospitio utebatur Attii Tulli; longè is tum princeps Volsci nominis erat, Romanisque semper infestus. Ita quum alterum vetus odium, alterum ira recens stimularet, consilia conferunt de Romano bello. Haud faciliè credebant 'plebem suam impelli posse, ut toties infelicitè tentata arma caperent. Multis saepe bellis, pestilentia postremò amis-

but then, on the whole grounds of the case, 'it is not so easy to say, 'whether his advice should have been followed.' ¹ *Dicere diem*, 'to fix a day for trial.' ² *Ut defungendum infensâ plebe esset*, &c. 'that the patricians were obliged to exhaust the wrath of the people by giving up one of their body for punishment.' ³ *Quâ—quâ*, 'both—and.' ⁴ *Clientibus*. See Index. ⁵ The whole affair is differently narrated, and at much greater length, by Dionysius, who states, that it was on this occasion that the Roman people first met in the *Comitia Tributa*.

‘ sâ juventute fractos spiritus esse ; arte agendum in exo-
 ‘ leto jam vetustate odio, ut recenti aliquâ irâ exacerbarentur
 ‘ animi.’

XXXVI. Ludi fortè ex instauratione magni Romae pa-
 rabantur¹. Instaurandi haec causa fuerat. Ludis manè
 servum quidam paterfamiliae, nondum commisso spectaculo,
 sub furcâ caesum medio egerat circo². Coepti inde ludi,
 velut ea res nihil ad religionem pertinuisset. Haud ita
 multò pòst, Ti. Atinio de plebe homini somnium fuit.
 Visus Jupiter dicere, ‘ Sibi ludis praesultatorem³ displi-
 ‘ cuisse ; nisi magnificè instaurarentur hi ludi, periculum
 ‘ urbi fore. Iret, ea consulibus nunciaret.’ Quamquam
 haud sanè liber erat religione animus, verecundia tamen
 majestatis magistratuum timorem vicit, ne in ora hominum
 pro ludibrio abiret⁴. Magno illi ea cunctatio stetit⁵ ; fi-
 lium namque intra paucos dies amisit. Cujus repentinae
 cladis ne causa dubia esset, aegro animi eadem illa in somnis
 obversata species visa est rogitare, ‘ Satin’ magnam spreti
 ‘ numinis haberet mercedem ? majorem instare, ni eat pro-
 ‘ pere ac nunciet consulibus.’ Jam praesentior res erat ;
 cunctantem tamen ac prolatantem ingens vis morbi adorta
 est debilitate subitâ. Tum enimverò Deorum ira admo-
 nuit. Fessus igitur malis praeteritis instantibusque, con-
 silio propinquorum adhibito quum visa atque audita et ob-
 versatum toties somno Jovem, minas irasque coelestes re-
 praesentatas⁶ casibus suis exposuisset, consensu inde haud

¹ *Ludi*, &c. ‘ It chanced that a repetition of the great games was
 ‘ preparing at Rome.’ ² *Sub*, &c. ‘ Had lashed his slave, and

‘ driven him, wearing the *furca*, through the middle of the circus.’
 See p. 109, note 1. The *furca* was a piece of wood, in the form of
 the letter A, to which, passing round their neck, the hands of slaves
 were fastened as a punishment.

³ *Ludis praesultatorem*, ‘ that
 ‘ the dancer who had exhibited previous to the games,’ i. e. the
 slave. From *pras* and *salio* come *praesul*, *praesultor* and *praesulta-*
tor.

⁴ *Verecundia*, &c. ‘ yet his religious terror was overcome
 ‘ by his respect for the dignity of the magistrates, lest he should be-
 ‘ come an object of public ridicule,’ viz. for narrating a dream to
 men of such dignity. ⁵ *Magno*, &c. ‘ His hesitation cost him dear.’

Stetit, as in our English colloquial expression, How much did that stand
 you ? ⁶ *Praesens*, being before, present ; hence, when applied
 to a god, ‘ propitious,’ (see p. 23, note 2 ;) to an event, as in the
 second sentence before, *praesentior*, ‘ coming nearer home,’ bringing

dubio omnium qui aderant, in forum ad consules lecticâ adfertur. Inde in curiam jussu consulum delatus eadem illa quum Patribus ingenti omnium admiratione enarrâset, ecce aliud miraculum; 'qui captus omnibus membris delatus in curiam esset, eum functum officio pedibus suis domum redisse' traditum memoriae est.

XXXVII. Ludi quàm amplissimi ut fierent senatus decrevit. Ad eos ludos, auctore Attio Tullo¹, vis magna Volscorum venit. Priùs quàm committerentur ludi Tullus, ut domi compositum cum Marcio fuerat, ad consules venit. Dicit 'esse, quae secretò agere de republicâ velit.' Arbitris remotis, 'Invitus,' inquit, 'quod sequius sit², de meis civibus loquor. Non tamen admissum quicquam ab iis criminatum venio, sed tantum ne admittant. Nimio plùs³ quàm velim nostrorum ingenia sunt mobilia. Multis id cladibus sensimus, quippe qui non nostro merito sed vestrà patientiâ incolumes simus. Magna hìc nunc Volscorum multitudo est; ludi sunt; spectaculo intenta civitas erit. Memini quid per eandem occasionem ab Sabinorum juventute in hâc urbe commissum sit. Horret animus, ne quid inconsultè ac temere fiat. Haec, nostrâ vestràque causâ, priùs dicenda vobis, consules, ratus sum. Quod ad me attinet, extemplo hinc domum abire in animo est, ne cujus facti dictive contagione praesens violer⁴.' Haec locutus abiit. Consules quum ad Patres rem dubiam sub auctore certo detulissent, auctor magis, ut fit, quàm res ad praecavendum vel ex supervacuo⁵ movit. Factoque senatusconsulto 'ut urbem excederent⁶ Volsci,' praecoines dimittuntur qui omnes eos proficisci ante noctem juberent. Ingens pavor primò discurrentes ad suas res tollendas in hospitia perculit⁷. Proficiscentibus deinde indignatio oborta, 'Se

greater conviction, requiring more instant attention; *praesento*, 'I bring before;' *repraesento*, 'I bring before again,' I bring home again, i. e. I realise. ¹ *Auctore Attio Tullo*, 'instigated by Attius Tullus.'

² *Quod sequius sit*, 'what may be to their discredit.'

³ See p. 9, note 2. ⁴ *Ne, &c.* 'lest, by being present, I be exposed to danger, from supposed participation in any word or deed.'

⁵ *Vel ex supervacuo*, 'even though such a precaution should be unnecessary.'

⁶ *Excederent with urbem* in the accusative. So *egressis urbem Albanis*, i. 29.

⁷ *Ingens pavor primo perculit (Volscos) discurrentes in hospitia ad suas res tollendas.*

‘ ut consceleratos contaminatosque ab ludis, festis diebus, coetu quodammodo hominum Deorumque abactos esse.’

XXXVIII. Quum prope continuato agmine irent, prae-
gressus Tullus ad caput Ferentinum¹, ut quisque veniret
primores eorum excipiens, quaerendo indignandoque et eos
ipsos sedulò audientes secunda² irae verba, et per eos mul-
titudinem aliam in subjectum viae campum deduxit. Ibi in
concionis modum orationem exorsus, ‘ Veteres populi Ro-
mani injurias³ cladesque gentis Volscorum, ut omnia,’ in-
quit, ‘ obliviscamini alia, hodiernam hanc contumeliam quo
tandem animo fertis, quâ per nostram ignominiam ludos
commisere? An non sensistis triumphatum hodie de vo-
bis esse? Vos omnibus, civibus, peregrinis, tot finitimis
populis, spectaculo abeuntes fuisse? Vestras conjuges, ves-
tros liberos traductos per ora hominum? Quid eos qui au-
divere vocem praeconis, quid, qui vos videre abeuntes,
quid eos qui huic ignominioso agmini fuere obvii existi-
mâsse putatis, nisi aliquod profectò nefas esse quo, si in-
tersimus spectaculo, violaturi simus ludos piaculumque me-
rituri, ideo nos ab sede piorum coetu concilioque abigi?
Quid deinde? Illud non succurrit vivere nos, quod ma-
turârimus proficisci? si hoc profectio, et non fuga est. Et
hanc urbem vos non hostium ducitis ubi, si unum diem
morati essetis, moriendum omnibus fuit? Bellum vobis in-
dictum est, magno eorum malo qui indixere, si viri estis.’
Ita et suâ sponte irarum pleni et incitati domos inde digressi
sunt; instigandoque suos quisque populos effecere ut omne
Volscum nomen deficeret.

XXXIX. Imperatores ad id bellum de omnium populorum
sententiâ lecti Attius Tullus et C. Marcius exsul Ro-
manus, in quo aliquanto plus spei⁴ repositum. Quam spem
nequaquam fefellit, ut facilè appareret ducibus validiorem
quàm exercitu rem Romanam esse. Circejos profectus
primùm colonos inde Romanos⁵ expulit, liberamque eam
urbem Volscis tradidit. Inde in Latinam viam transversis
tramitibus transgressus Satricum, Longulam, Poluscam, Co-

¹ See p. 94, note 2.

² See p. 44, note 3; in this passage, *verba secunda*, ‘ words following, favouring.’

³ As the passage stands, supply *ut obliviscamini*. Gronovius begins the address of Tullus at *Ut omnia*.

⁴ Supply *quam in Tullo*.

⁵ Settled there by Tarquin the Tyrant, I. 56.

riolos, novella haec Romanis oppida ademit ¹. Inde Lavinium recepit, tunc deinceps Corbionem, Vitelliam, Trebiam, Lavicos, Pedum cepit. Postremum ad urbem a Peto ducit; et, ad fossas Cluilias ² quinque ab urbe millia passuum castris positis, populatur inde agrum Romanum, custodibus inter populatores missis qui patriciorum agros intactos servarent, sive infensus plebi magis, sive ut discordia inde inter Patres plebemque oriretur. Quae profecto orta esset, adeo tribuni jam ferocem per se plebem criminando in primores civitatis instigabant; sed externus timor, maximum concordiae vinculum, quamvis suspectos infensosque inter se jungebat animos. Id modò non conveniebat quòd ³ senatus consulesque nusquam alibi spem quam in armis ponebant, plebes omnia quam bellum malebat. Sp. Nautius jam et Sex.

^{v. c.}
^{266.} Furius consules erant ⁴. Eos recensentes legiones, praesidia per muros aliaque in quibus stationes vigiliisque esse placuerat loca distribuentes, multitudo ingens pacem poscentium primum seditioso clamore conterruit; deinde vocare senatum, referre de legatis ad C. Marcium mittendis coëgit. Acceperunt relationem ⁵ Patres, postquam apparuit labare plebis animos; missique de pace ad Marcium oratores atrox responsum retulerunt; 'Si Volscis ager redderetur, posse agi de pace; si praedâ belli per otium frui velint, memorem se et civium injuriae et hospitum beneficii adniscurum ut appareat exsilio sibi irritatos, non fractos animos esse.' Iterum deinde iidem missi non recipiuntur in castra. 'Sacerdotes quòque suis insignibus velatos isse supplices ad castra hostium' traditum est; 'nilo ⁶ magis quam legatos flexisse animum.'

XL. Tum matronae ad Veturiam matrem Coriolani Volumniamque uxorem frequentes coeunt. Id publicum consilium an muliebris timor ⁷ fuerit, parum invenio. Pervicere

¹ *Novella*, &c. 'he took from the Romans those towns which they had so lately acquired.' See chap. 33. ² See I. 23. ³ *Id.*, &c. 'The only point of discordance was, that.' ⁴ Livy omits two consulships as given by Dionysius, that of Q. Sulpicius Camerinus, and Sp. Lartius Flavius, 264 v. c. during which the vitiated games were celebrated, and that of Caius Julius, and P. Pinarius Rufus, 265 v. c. during which the games were renewed, chap. 36. If Dionysius is correct, Lartius is ill-used by Livy, as this is the second time his name is omitted, see p. 132, note 3. ⁵ See p. 152, note 1. ⁶ Supply *et* or *sed*. ⁷ According to Dionysius, the

certè ut et Veturia, magno natu mulier, et Volumnia duos parvos ex Marcio ferens filios secum in castra hostium irent; et quam armis viri defendere urbem non possent, mulieres precibus lacrimisque defenderent. Ubi ad castra ventum est nunciatumque Coriolano ‘adesse ingens mulierum agmen,’ in primo (ut qui nec publicâ majestate in legatis, nec in sacerdotibus tantâ offusâ oculis animoque religione motus esset) multò obstinator adversus lacrimas muliebres erat. Dein familiarium quidam qui insignem moestitiâ inter ceteras cognoverat Veturiam inter nulum nepotesque stantem, ‘Nisi me frustrantur,’ inquit, ‘oculi, mater tibi conjuxque et liberi adsunt.’ Coriolanus, prope ut amens consternatus, ab sede suâ quum ferret matri obviae complexum, mulier in iram ex precibus versa, ‘Sine, prius quàm complexum accipio, sciam,’ inquit, ‘ad hostem an ad filium venerim, captiva materne in castris tuis sim. In hoc me longa vita, et infelix senecta traxit ut exulem te, deinde hostem viderem? Potuisti populari hanc terram quae te genuit atque aluit? Non tibi, quamvis infesto animo et minaci perveneras, ingredienti fines ira cecidit? non, quum in conspectu Roma fuit, succurrit, ‘intra illa moenia domus ac penates mei sunt, mater, conjux, liberique?’ Ergo ego nisi peperissem, Roma non oppugnaretur, nisi filium haberem, libera in liberâ patriâ mortua essem. Sed ego nihil jam pati nec tibi turpius quàm mihi miserius possum; nec, ut sim miserrima, diu futura sum. De his videris¹, quos, si pergis, aut immatura mors aut longa servitus manet².’ Uxor deinde ac liberi amplexi, fletusque ab omni turbâ mulierum ortus, et comploratio sui patriaeque fregere tandem virum. Complexus inde suos dimittit; ipse retrò ab urbe castra movit; abductis deinde legionibus ex agro Romano, ‘invidiâ rei oppressum peris-se’ tradunt; alii alio leto³. Apud Fabium longe antiquis-

expedient was suggested by Valeria, the sister of Poplicola. ¹ *Sed &c.* ‘But, as it is, I can suffer nothing which will not bring greater disgrace on you, than misery on me; nor, however wretched I may be, shall I endure my misery long.’ Let these be the objects of your care, (pointing to his children.) Observe the negatives *nihil, nec*, and the Latin idiom requiring two comparatives, *turpius, miserius*, when the English idiom admits only of one. ² *Maneo*, ‘I remain; I remain till some one comes up; I await.’ ³ *Ac-*

simum auctorem, 'usque ad senectutem vixisse eundem' invenio. Refert certè 'hanc saepe eum exactâ aetate usur-
'passe vocem, " Multo miserius seni exilium esse." Non
inviderunt laudes suas mulieribus viri Romani¹; adeò sine
obtrectatione gloriae alienae vivebatur². Monumento quò-
que quod esset, templum Fortunae muliebri aedificatum de-
dicatumque est. Redièrè deinde Volsci, adjunctis Aequis,
in agrum Romanum; sed Aequi Attium Tullum haud ul-
trà tulere ducem. Hinc ex certamine Volsci Aequine im-
peratorem conjuncto exercitui darent, seditio, deinde atrox
proelium ortum. Ibi fortuna populi Romani duos hostium
exercitus haud minùs pernicioso quàm pertinaci certamine
confecit. Consules T. Sicinius et C. Aquillius. Si-
cinius Volsci, Aquillio Hernici (nam ii quòque in ar-
mis erant) provincia³ evenit. Eo anno Hernici de-
victi; cum Volscis aequo Marte discessum est.

XLI. Sp. Cassius deinde et Proculus Virginius
consules facti. Cum Hernicis foedus ictum; agri
partes duae⁴ ademptae. Inde dimidium Latinis⁵,
dimidium plebi divisurus consul Cassius erat. Adjiciebat

cording to Dionysius and Plutarch, he was stoned to death by the
Volscians; according to Cicero, he killed himself. ¹ Non, &c.

'The men of Rome did not envy the women the praises *due to them*,
(*suas*.) ² According to Cujacius, the following sentence is

omitted: Tunc enim primum sancitum fuit, ut mulieribus de viâ
cederetur, ut inauribus aureis, ut purpureâ veste, ut aureis segmen-
tis, ut novo vittae discrimine uterentur. ³ *Provincia* is used

in three senses; it signifies a country already conquered, (hence, ac-
cording to Festus, its derivation, pro and vinco,) and governed by
a Roman magistrate; it signifies a country or district to be con-
quered; and, lastly, any public administration whatever. The first
was probably the original meaning, and in this sense Sicily was the
first province. Sicilia omnium *prima provincia* est appellata; Ci-
cero, Verr. II. 1. The second is the sense in which the word is
used here. ⁴ *Partes duae*, 'two-thirds.' So *partes tres*, 'three-

'fourths,' &c. *Dimidium*, in the next sentence, a half of the two-thirds,
one-third. ⁵ Dionysius, viii. 69. 'Τὰς πρὸς Ἑρνίκας ἐξήνικεν

'ἡμελογίας' αὐταὶ δ' ἦσαν ἀντίγραφοι τῶν πρὸς Λατίνους γινομένων. Amongst
'other clauses, therefore, of the treaty, was one which secured to the
'Hernicans their equal share of all lands conquered by the confede-
'rates; namely, one-third part. This is disfigured by the annalist,
'whom Livy copied, in a most extraordinary manner; he represent-
'ed the Hernicans as being deprived by the treaty of two-thirds of
'their own land.' Dr Arnold's Rome, vol. I p. 154.

huic muneri agri aliquantum, 'quem publicum possideri a 'privatis' criminabatur. Id multos quidem Patrum, ipsos possessores, periculo rerum suarum terrebat; sed et publica Patribus sollicitudo inerat, 'largitione consulem periculosas 'libertati opes struere.' Tum primùm lex agraria¹ promulgata est, nunquam deinde usque ad hanc memoriam sine maximis motibus rerum agitata. Consul alter largitioni resistebat, auctoribus Patribus nec omni plebe adversante, quae primò coeperat fastidire 'munus vulgatum a 'civibus isse in socios.' Saepe deinde et Virginium consulem in concionibus velut vaticinantem audiebat 'pestilens collegae munus esse; agros illos servitutem iis qui 'acceperint laturos; regno viam fieri. Quid ita enim assumi socios et nomen Latinum? Quid attinuisse Hernicis, 'paullo antè hostibus, capti agri partem tertiam reddi, nisi 'ut hae gentes pro Coriolano duce Cassium habeant?' Popularis jam² esse dissuasor et intercessor legis agrariae coeperat. Uterque deinde consul certatim plebi indulgere. Virginius dicere 'passurum se assignari agros, dum ne cui, 'nisi civi Romano, assignentur.' Cassius quia in agrariâ largitione ambitiosus in socios eoque civibus vilior erat, ut alio munere sibi reconciliaret civium animos, jubere 'pro 'Siculo frumento pecuniam acceptam retribui populo.' Id verò haud secus quàm praesentem mercedem regni aspernata plebes; adeò propter suspicionem insitam regni³, velut abundarent omnia, munera ejus in animis hominum respuebantur. Quem, ubi primùm magistratu abiit, damnatum necatumque constat. Sunt qui 'patrem auctorem 'ejus supplicii' ferant; 'eum, cognitâ domi causâ, verberâsse 'ac necâsse, peculiumque⁴ filii Cereri consecravisse; signum inde factum esse et inscriptum, EX CASSIA FAMILIA

¹ *Lex agraria.* See Index, *Agraria.* ² Livy, perhaps, draws the attention of the reader to the circumstances which made popular the consul who opposed the agrarian law, a popularity very different from the reception with which those who afterwards opposed it met. If so translate *jam*, 'in those times.' ³ *Mercēs regni*, 'a bribe offered for sovereign power;' *insita suspicio regni*, 'the 'innate feelings of suspicion with which the Romans regarded every 'probable aspiration after sovereign power.' ⁴ 'As the father, with the Romans, had the same right over his children which he had over his slaves, the property which he allowed them to acquire was, as in the case of slaves, called their *peculium*.'

‘DATUM.’ Invenio apud quosdam, idque propiùs fidem est, ‘a quaestoribus K. Fabio et L. Valerio diem dictam per-duellionis¹, damnatumque populi iudicio; dirutas publicè ‘aedes;’ ea est area ante Telluris aedem. Ceterùm
 v. c. sive illud domesticum sive publicum fuit iudicium,
 269. damnatur Ser. Cornelio, Q. Fabio consulibus.

XLII. Haud diuturna ira populi in Cassium fuit. Dulcedo agrariae legis ipsa per se, dempto auctore, subibat animos; accensaque ea cupiditas est malignitate Patrum, qui, devictis eo anno Volscis Aequisque, militem praedâ fraudavere. Quicquid captum ex hostibus est vendidit Fabius consul, ac redegit in publicum. Invisum erat Fabium nomen plebi propter novissimum consulem; tenere
 v. c. tamen Patres ut cum L. Aemilio K. Fabius consul
 270. crearetur. Eo infestior facta plebes seditione domesticâ bellum externum excivit; bello deinde civiles discordiae intermissae. Uno animo Patres ac plebes rebelantes Volscos et Aequos, duce Aemilio, prosperâ pugnâ vicere. Plus tamen hostium fuga quàm proelium absumpsit; adèò pertinaciter fusos insecuti sunt equites. Castoris aedes eodem anno Idibus Quinctilibus dedicata est; vota erat Latino bello, Postumio dictatore²; filius ejus, duumvir ad id ipsum creatus, dedicavit. Sollicitati et eo anno sunt dulcedine agrariae legis animi plebis. Tribuni plebis popularem potestatem lege populari celebrabant³. Patres satis superque gratuiti furoris in multitudine credentes esse, largitiones temeritatisque invitamenta horrebant. Acerrimi Patribus duces ad resistendum consules fuere. Ea igitur pars reipublicae vicit, nec in praesens modò, sed in venien-
 v. c. tem etiam annum M. Fabium Kaesonis fratrem, et
 271. magis invisum alterum plebi accusatione Sp. Cassii⁴ L. Valerium consules dedit. Certatum eo quòque anno cum tribunis est. Vana lex, vanique legis auctores jactando irritum munus facti⁵. Fabium inde nomen ingens

¹ See p. 46, note 4. ² See end of chap. 20. ³ *Celebrabant*, celebrem faciebant. ⁴ *Accusatione Sp. Cassii*, ‘from his (Valerius) ‘having been the accuser of Sp. Cassius.’ See the preceding chapter. ⁵ *Vana*, &c. ‘The law, and its proposers, (from their ‘boasting of a gift to the people which was utterly worthless,) were ‘made ridiculous in the emptiness of the project.’

post tres continuos consulatus ¹, unoque velut tenore omnes expertos tribuniciis certaminibus, habitum. Itaque, ut bene locatus, mansit in eâ familiâ aliquamdiu honos. Bellum inde Vejens initum; et Volsci rebellârunt. Sed ad bella externa prope supererant vires ², abutebanturque iis inter semet ipsos certando. Accessere ad aegras jam omnium mentes prodigia coelestia prope quotidianas in urbe agrisque ostentantia minas, motique irâ numinis causam nullam aliam vates caneabant publicâ privatimque, nunc extis nunc per aves consulti, quàm 'haud ritè sacra fieri' ³. Qui terrores tamen eò evasere ut Oppia, virgo Vestalis, damnata incesti poenas dederit.

XLIII. Q. Fabius inde et C. Julius consules facti.

U. C.
272. Eo anno non segnior discordia domi, et bellum foris atrocius fuit. Ab Aequis arma sumpta; Veientes agrum quòque Romanorum populates iniêrunt. Quorum bellorum crescente curâ, K. Fabius et Sp. Furius consules fiunt. Ortonam, Latinam urbem, Aequi oppugnabant; Veientes, pleni jam populationum ⁴, 'Romam ipsam se oppugnaturos' minabantur. Qui terrores quum compescere deberent, auxere insuper animos plebis, redibatque non suâ sponte plebi mos detrectandi militiam; sed ⁵ Sp. Licinius tribunus plebis 'venisse tempus' ratus 'per ultimam necessitatem legis agrariae Patribus injungendae,' suscepit rem militarem impediendam. Ceterum tota invidia tribuniciae potestatis versa in auctorem est; nec in eum consules acrius quàm ipsius ejus collegae coôrti sunt; auxilioque eorum delectum consules habent. Ad duo simul bella exercitus scribitur; ducendus Fabio in Aequos, in Veientes Furio datur. Et in Veientibus quidem nihil dignum memoriâ gestum est. Fabio aliquanto plus negotiî cum civibus quàm cum hostibus fuit. Unus ille vir ipse consul rempublicam sustinuit, quam exercitus odio con-

¹ Those of Quintus, Kaeso, and Marcus Fabius.

² Sed, &c.

'But their strength was almost more than enough for foreign wars.'

³ Motique, &c. 'and the priests announced that there was no other cause for the anger of the deity,' (causam numinis moti irâ,) 'whom they had consulted,' (consulti,) 'sometimes by inspecting entrails, at other times by omens drawn from birds, than that there was something defective in the performance of the sacred rites.' ⁴ Pleni jam populationum, 'now satiated with pillaging.' ⁵ Sed, referring to non sua sponte in the preceding clause.

sulis, quantum in se fuit, prodebat. Nam quum consul, præter ceteras imperatorias artes quas parando gerendoque bello edidit plurimas, ita instruxisset aciem ut, solo equitatu emissio, exercitum hostium funderet, insequi fusos pedes noluit. Nec illos, et si non adhortatio inuisi ducis, suum saltem flagitium et publicum in præsentia dedecus, postmodo periculum si animus hosti redisset, cogere potuit gradum accelerare, aut, si aliud nihil, instare instructos¹. Injussa signa referunt, moestique (crederes victos) execrantes nunc imperatorem, nunc navatam ab equite operam redeunt in castra. Nec huic tam pestilenti exemplo remedia ulla ab imperatore quaesita sunt; adeò excellentibus ingeniis citiùs defuerit² ars, quâ civem regant quàm quâ hostem superent. Consul Romam rediit non tam belli gloriâ auctâ quàm irritato exacerbatoque in se militum odio.

Obtinuere tamen Patres ut in Fabiâ gente consularis maneret. M. Fabium consulem creant, Fabio collega Cn. Manlius datur.

XLIV. Et hic annus tribunum auctorem legis agrariæ habuit; Ti. Pontificius fuit. Is eandem viam, velut processisset Sp. Licinio³, ingressus delectum paullisper impedii. Perturbatis iterum Patribus, Ap. Claudius 'Victam 'tribuniciam potestatem' dicere 'priore anno, in præsentia 're ipsâ, exemplo in perpetuum, quando inventum sit suis 'ipsam viribus dissolvi. Neque enim unquam defuturum

¹ This sentence, which is somewhat startling, from its very elliptical form, may be thus completed: Illos, et si non adhortatio inuisi ducis *potuisset*, suum saltem flagitium, et publicum in præsentia dedecus, postmodo periculum, si animus hoste redisset, cogere *certe potuisset* gradum accelerare, aut, si nihil aliud, instare instructos, nec (sed non) potuit. This is the only way to give the effect of the *et si*, even although, followed by the *saltem*, at least; but giving these words a different force, we may translate the sentence thus: 'Nor, 'to say nothing of the exhortations of their hated general, could 'even the infamy accruing to themselves—the immediate disgrace '—the subsequent danger arising to the state, if the enemy's courage 'should revive, induce them to quicken their pace, or even so much 'as to stand firm in their ranks.'

² *Defuerit*. A strong instance of the peculiar nature of the potential mood. Adeo ars *defuit*, 'to such a degree *was* the skill deficient;' Adeo ars *defuerit*, 'to such a degree *has it ever been possible* for the skill to be deficient.'

³ *Velut*, &c. 'As if it had been successful in the case of Spurius Licinius.' See c. 43.

‘ qui et ex collegâ victoriam sibi, et gratiam melioris partis
 ‘ bono publico velit quaesitam. Et plures, si pluribus opus
 ‘ sit, tribunos ad auxilium consulum paratos fore, et unum
 ‘ vel adversus omnes satis esse. Darent ¹ modò et consules
 ‘ et primores Patrum operam ut, si minùs omnes, aliquos
 ‘ tamen ex tribunis reipublicae ac senatui conciliarent.’ Prae-
 ceptis Appii moniti Patres, et universi comiter ac benignè
 tribunos appellare, et consulares, ut cuique privatim aliquid
 juris adversus singulos erat, partim gratiâ, partim auctoritate
 obtinere ut tribuniciae potestatis vires salubres vellent rei-
 publicae esse. Quatuorque tribunorum adversus unum mo-
 ratorem publici commodi auxilio delectum consules habent.
 Inde ad Vejens bellum profecti quò undique ex Etruriâ auxi-
 lia convenerant, non tam Vejentium gratiâ concitata quàm
 quòd in spem ventum erat discordiâ intestinâ dissolvi rem
 Romanam posse. Príncipesque in omnium Etruriae popu-
 lorum conciliis fremebant, ‘ Aeternas opes esse Romanas,
 ‘ nisi inter semet ipsi seditionibus saeviant. Id unum ve-
 ‘ nenum, eam labem civitatibus opulentis repertam, ut
 ‘ magna imperia mortalia essent. Diu sustentatum id ma-
 ‘ lum, partim Patrum consiliis, partim patientiâ plebis, jam
 ‘ ad extrema venisse. Duas civitates ex unâ factas; suos
 ‘ cuique parti magistratus, suas leges esse. Primùm in de-
 ‘ lectibus saevire solitos; eosdem in bello tamen paruisse
 ‘ ducibus. Qualicunque urbis statu, manente disciplinâ
 ‘ militari, sisti potuisse ²; jam non parendi magistratibus
 ‘ morem in castra quòque Romanum militem sequi. Prox-
 ‘ imo bello in ipsâ acie, in ipso certamine, consensu exer-
 ‘ citûs traditam ultro victoriam victis Aequis; signa de-
 ‘ serta, imperatorem in acie relictum, injussu in castra re-
 ‘ ditum ³. Profectò, si instetur, suo milite vinci Romam
 ‘ posse. Nihil aliud opus esse quàm indici ostendique bel-
 ‘ lum; cetera suâ sponte fata et Deos gesturos.’ Ea spes
 Etruscos armaverat, multis in vicem casibus victos victo-
 resque.

XLV. Consules quòque Romani nihil praeterea aliud quàm

¹ It may here be noticed, that in the reports of speeches, not in the words of the speakers, the subjunctive mood corresponds to the imperative, in reports when given in their own words; thus, *darent*, ‘let them give.’ ² *Urbem sisti potuisse*. See p. 149, note 2.

³ See the preceding chapter.

suas vires, sua arma, horrebant ; memoria pessimi proximo bello exempli terrebat ne rem committerent ed, ubi duae simul acies timendae essent. Itaque castris se tenebant, tam ancipiti periculo aversi ; ‘ diem tempusque forsitan ipsum lenitum iras, sanitatemque animis allaturum.’ Vejens hostis Etruscique eo magis praepropere ¹ agere ; lacescere ad pugnam, primò obequitando castris provocandoque, postremò, ut nihil movebant, quà ² consules ipsos, quà exercitum increpando ; ‘ Simulationem intestinae discordiae remedium timoris inventum ; et consules magis non confidere, quàm non ‘ credere suis militibus ³ ; novum seditionis genus, silentium

¹ *Praepropere*, ‘ with premature haste.’ ² *Quà—quà*. ‘ Sometimes—sometimes.’ ³ *Simulationem*, &c. To understand this passage, we must perceive clearly the position in which the parties are placed. The Roman consuls, dreading the disaffection of their troops, keep them close within their camp. The enemy eager for an engagement, try to draw them out to battle, and failing in this by other means, taunt the soldiers with cowardice, and the consuls with inventing false pretences. Livy gives here a specimen of these taunts. The first clause is clear enough, except in the word *remedium*. Ruperti, and the other commentators, explain it as meaning *ut ita timor occultetur*, ‘ as a cloak for the cowardice of the soldiery,’ an unprecedented use, surely, of the word. A recent commentator ingeniously suggests, that it may import ‘ a means of preventing the ‘ consequences of their cowardice,’ their intestine quarrels being a pretext to keep them within the camp, and preserve them from certain destruction. Taking *remedium* in its usual meaning, ‘ that ‘ which cures, that which removes the disease,’ it may mean, that the enemy alleged that the consuls concealed the cowardice of the army even from itself, with the express view of removing it, on the principle stated by Livy in the 64th chapter, *dum se putant vincere, vicere*. The next clause is one that has given rise to much difference of opinion. Nannius, Klockius, Drakenborch, Ernesti and Dusmenil understand *confido* to mean, ‘ I place confidence ‘ in the loyalty and obedience of,’ *credo*, ‘ I place confidence in ‘ the valour of.’ But this cannot be understood as a taunt, ‘ that the consuls rather distrusted the obedience than the valour of their soldiers,’ consistently with the first clause, which expressly states, that a distrust of their obedience was all a pretext. Hence Drakenborch, who saw this insuperable objection, considers the last clause as affected by *simulationem* ; ‘ that the pretext of internal dissension, and the pretext that the consuls rather distrusted, ‘ &c., was an invention.’ Duker, Ruperti, Doering and Facciolati understand the words in a sense directly the opposite. With these I am disposed to agree ; and, having regard to the difference of inter-

‘otiumque inter armatos.’ Ad haec in novitatem generis originisque quâ falsa, quâ vera jacere. Haec, quum sub ipso vallo portisque streperent, haud aegre consules pati. At imperitae multitudinis nunc indignatio, nunc pudor pectora versare et ab intestinis avertere malis; nolle inultos hostes, nolle successum, non ¹ Patribus, non consulibus; externa et domestica odia certare in animis. Tandem superant externa; adedò superbè insolenterque hostis eludebat. Frequentes in praetorium conveniunt, poscunt pugnam, postulant ut signum detur. Consules velut deliberabundi capita conferunt, diu colloquuntur. Pugnare cupiebant; sed retro revocanda ² et abdenda cupiditas erat, ut adversando remorandoque incitato semel militi adderent impetum. Redditur responsum ‘immaturam rem agi, nondum tempus pugnae ‘esse; castris se tenerent ³.’ Edicunt inde ‘ut abstineant ‘pugnâ; si quis injussu pugnaverit, ut in hostem animadversuros.’ Ita dimissis, quo minùs consules velle credunt, crescit ardor pugnandi. Accedunt insuper hostes ferociùs multo, ut statuisset non pugnare consules cognitum est. Quippe ‘impune se insultaturos ⁴; non credi militi arma; ‘rem ad ultimum seditionis erupturam finemque venisse Romano imperio.’ His freti occurrant portis, ingerunt probra, aegre abstinere quin castra oppugnent. Enimverò non ultra contumeliam pati Romanus posse; totis castris undique ad consules curritur. Non jam sensim, ut antè, per centurionum principes postulant; sed passim omnes clamoribus agunt. Matura res erat; tergiversantur tamen. Fabius deinde, ad crescentem tumultu jam metum seditionis collegâ concedente, quum silentium classico fecisset; ‘Ego istos, Cn. Manli, posse vincere scio; velle ne scirem ‘ipsi fecerunt. Itaque certum atque decretum est non ‘dare signum, nisi victores se redituros ex hac pugnâ jurent. Consulem Romanum miles semel in acie fefellit; ‘Deos nunquam fallit.’ Centurio erat M. Flavolejus, inter primores pugnae flagitator. ‘Victor,’ inquit, ‘M. Fabi,

pretation given to *remedium*, to translate the passage thus, ‘that to ‘cure their cowardice,’ by giving them self-confidence, ‘the consuls ‘had invented the pretext of intestine quarrels; and that, in reality, ‘they distrusted the courage more than the allegiance of their soldiers.’
¹ All the difficulties arising from this *non* are removed by resolving the previous *nolle* into *non velle*. ² See p. 61, note 2. ³ See p. 168, note 1. ⁴ Supply *rati*, which is found in some of the MSS.

‘revertar, ex acie.’ Si fallat, Jovem patrem Gradivumque Martem aliosque iratos invocat Deos. Idem deinceps omnis exercitus in se quisque jurat. Juratis datur signum, arma capiunt; eunt in pugnam irarum speique pleni. ‘Nunc’ jubent Etruscos ‘probra jacere, nunc armatis’ sibi quisque ‘linguâ promptum hostem offerri.’ Omnium illo die, quâ plebis, quâ Patrum, eximia virtus fuit. Fabium nomen, Fabia gens maximè enituit. Multis civilibus certaminibus infensos plebis animos illâ pugnâ sibi reconciliare statuunt. Instruitur acies; nec Vejens hostis Etruscaeque legiones detrectant.

XLVI. Prope certa spes erat ‘non magis secum pugnaturos, quàm pugnaverint cum Aequis’¹. Majus quòque ‘aliquod, in tam irritatis animis et occasione ancipiti’², haud ‘desperandum esse facinus.’ Res aliter longè evenit. Nam non alio antè bello infestior Romanus (adèd hinc contumeliis hostes, hinc consules morâ exacerbaverant) proelium iniit. Vix explicandi ordinis spatium Etruscis fuit quum, pilis inter primam trepidationem abjectis temere magis quàm emissis, pugna jam in manus, jam ad gladios, ubi Mars est atrocissimus, venerat. Inter primores genus Fabium insigne spectaculo exemploque civibus erat. Ex his Q. Fabium (tertio hic anno antè consul fuerat) principem in confertos Vejentes euntem, ferox viribus et armorum arte Tuscus, incautum inter multas versantem hostium manus gladio per pectus transfigit. Telo extracto, praeceps Fabius in vulnus abiit³. Sensit utraque acies unius viri casum, cedebatque inde Romanus; quum M. Fabius consul transiluit jacentis corpus, objectâque parvâ ‘Hoc jurâstis,’ inquit, ‘milites, fugientes vos in castra redituros? Adèd ignavissimos hostes magis timetis quàm Jovem Martemque per quos jurâstis? At ego injuratus aut victor revertar, aut prope te hîc, Q. Fabi, dimicans cadam.’ Consuli tum K. Fabius prioris anni consul, ‘Verbisne istis, frater, ut pugnent te impetraturum credis? Dii impetrabunt per quos juravere. Et nos, ut decet procures, ut Fabio nomine est dignum, pugnando potiùs quàm adhortando, accendamus

¹ See chap. 43.

² *Occasione ancipiti*, ‘in circumstances where the Roman army was doubly exposed to internal quarrels, and external violence.’

³ *Præceps*, &c. ‘Fabius expired, falling forward on his wounded breast.’

‘militum animos.’ Sic in primum infestis hastis provolant duo Fabii, totamque moverunt secum aciem.

XLVII. Proelio ex parte unâ restituto, nihilo segniùs in altero cornu Cn. Manlius consul pugnam ciebat, ubi prope similis fortuna est versata. Nam ut altero in cornu Q. Fabium, sic in hoc ipsum consulem Manlium jam velut fusos agentem hostes et impigre milites secuti sunt, et ut ille gravi vulnere ictus ex acie cessit, interfectum rati, gradum retulere; cessissentque loco, ni consul alter cum aliquot turmis equitum in eam partem citato equo advectus ‘vivere’ clamitans ‘collegam, se victorem fuso altero cornu adesse,’ rem inclinatam sustinuisset. Manlius quòque ad restituendam aciem se ipse coràm offert. Duorum consulum cognita ora accendunt militum animos; simul et vanior¹ jam erat hostium acies, dum abundante multitudine freti subtracta subsidia mittunt ad castra oppugnanda. In quae haud magno certamine impetu facto, dum praedae magis quàm pugnae memores terunt tempus, triarii² Romani qui primam irruptionem sustinere non potuerant, missis ad consules nunciis quo loco res essent, conglobati ad praetorium redeunt et suâ sponte ipsi proelium renovant; et Manlius consul revectus in castra, ad omnes portas milite opposito, hostibus viam clauserat. Ea desperatio Tuscis rabiem magis quàm audaciam accendit. Nam quum incursantes quâcunque exitum ostenderet spes, vano aliquoties impetu ïssent, globus juvenum unus in ipsum consulem insignem armis invadit. Prima excepta a circumstantibus tela; sustineri deinde vis nequit. Consul mortifero vulnere ictus cadit, fusique circà omnes. Tuscis crescit audacia; Romanos terror per tota castra trepidos agit; et ad extrema ventum foret, ni legati, raptò consulis corpore, patefecissent unâ portâ hostibus viam. Eâ erumpunt, consternatoque agmine abeuntes in victorem alterum incidunt consulem. Ibi iterum caesi fusique passim. Victoria egregia parta, tristis tamen duobus tam claris funeribus. Itaque consul, decernente senatu triumphum, ‘Si exercitus sine imperatore triumphare possit, pro eximîâ eo bello operâ facilè passurum’ respondit; ‘se, familiâ funestâ Q. Fabii fratris morte, republicâ ex parte orbâ

¹ *Vana acies*, ‘a line of battle, though presenting a formidable appearance, weak in reality.’ Some read *ravior*.

² *Triarii*, ‘veterans who formed the third line.’

‘consule altero amisso, publico privatoque deformem luctu
 ‘lauream non accepturum.’ Omni acto triumpho deposi-
 tus triumphus clarior fuit; adeò spreta in tempore¹ gloria
 interdum cumulator redit. Funera deinde duo deinceps
 collegæ fratrisque ducit. Idem in utroque laudator², quum
 concedendo illis suas laudes, ipse maximam partem earum
 ferret. Neque immemor ejus quod initio consulatûs imbi-
 berat, reconciliandi animos plebis, saucios milites curandos
 dividit Patribus. Fabiis plurimi dati; nec alibi majore
 curâ habitî. Inde populares jam esse Fabii; nec hoc³ ullâ,
 nisi salubri reipublicae, arte.

XLVIII. Igitur non Patrum magis quàm plebis
 v. c. studiis K. Fabius cum T. Virginio consul factus, neque
 275. bella neque delectus neque ullam aliam priorem cu-
 ram agere quàm ut, jam aliquâ ex parte inchoatâ concordiae
 spe, primo quoque tempore cum Patribus coalescerent animi
 plebis. Itaque principio anni censuit ‘priùs quàm quisquam
 ‘agrariae legis auctor tribunus exsisteret, occuparent Patres
 ‘ipsi suum munus facere; captivum agrum plebi quàm maxi-
 ‘mè aequaliter darent. Verum esse habere eos, quorum
 ‘sanguine ac sudore partus sit.’ Aspernati Patres sunt;
 questi quòque quidam ‘nimiâ gloriâ luxuriare et evanescere
 ‘vividum quondam illud Kaesonis ingenium⁴.’ Nullae de-
 inde urbanae factiones fuere. Vexabantur incursionibus
 Aequorum Latini. Eò cum exercitu Kaeso missus in ip-
 sorum Aequorum agrum depopulandum transit. Aequi se
 in oppida receperunt murisque se tenebant; eò nulla pugna
 memorabilis fuit. At a Vejente hoste clades accepta te-
 meritate alterius consulis; actumque de exercitu foret, ni
 K. Fabius in tempore subsidio venisset. Ex eo tempore
 neque pax neque bellum cum Vejentibus fuit; res proximè

¹ *In tempore*, ‘seasonably;’ so in Greek, *ἐν καιρῷ*. ² ‘At
 ‘the funeral of an illustrious person, the corpse was carried through
 ‘the forum, where the procession stopped, and a funeral oration
 ‘(laudatio) was delivered in praise of the deceased from the *Ros-*
 ‘tra by his son, or some near relation or friend, sometimes by a ma-
 ‘gistrate, according to the appointment of the senate. While the
 ‘funeral oration was delivering, the corpse was placed before the
 ‘*Rostra*.’ DR ADAM. ³ See p. 52, note 6. ⁴ *Nimiâ*,
 &c. ‘That through excess of glory, the mind of Kaeso, once so
 ‘distinguished for its vigour, was becoming rank and fading com-
 ‘pletely away.’

formam latrocinii venerat. Legionibus Romanis cedebant in urbem ; ubi abductas senserant legiones, agros incurabant, bellum quiete, quietem bello in vicem eludentes. Ita neque omitti tota res nec perfici poterat. Et alia bella aut praesentia instabant, ut ab Aequis Volscisque non diutius quàm recens dolor proximae cladis transiret quiescentibus ; aut mox moturos se apparebat Sabinos semper infestos, Etruriamque omnem. Sed Vejens hostis, assiduus magis quàm gravis, contumeliis saepius quàm periculo animos agitabat ; quòd nullo tempore negligi poterat, aut averti aliò sinebat. Tum Fabia gens senatum adiit. Consul pro gente loquitur ; ‘ Assiduo magis quàm magno praesidio, ‘ ut scitis, Patres conscripti, bellum Vejens eget. Vos alia ‘ bella curate ; Fabios hostes Vejentibus date. Auctores ‘ sumus¹ tutam ibi majestatem Romani nominis fore. Nos- ‘ trum id nobis velut familiare² bellum, privato sumptu ‘ gerere in animo est. Respublica et milite illic et pecuniâ ‘ vacet³.’ Gratiae ingentes actae. Consul e curiâ egressus, comitante Fabiorum agmine qui in vestibulo curiae senatus-consultum exspectantes steterant, domum rediit. Jussi armati postero die ad limen consulis adesse, domos inde discedunt.

XLIX. Manat totâ urbe rumor ; Fabios ad coelum laudibus ferunt ; ‘ familiam unam subisse civitatis onus ; Vejens ‘ bellum in privatam curam, in privata arma versum. Si ‘ sint duae roboris ejusdem in urbe gentes, deposcant, haec ‘ Volscos sibi, illa Aequos, populo Romano tranquillam pa- ‘ cem agente, omnes finitimos subigi populos posse.’ Fabii postero die arma capiunt ; quò jussi erant, conveniunt. Consul, paludatus⁴ egrediens, in vestibulo gentem omnem suam instructo agmine videt ; acceptus in medium, signa ferri jubet. Nunquam exercitus neque minor numero, neque clarior famâ et admiratione hominum, per urbem incessit. Sex et trecenti milites, omnes patricii, omnes unius

¹ *Auctores sumus*, ‘ we pledge ourselves.’ ² *Familiares*, ‘ the ‘ private property of our family alone.’ ³ *Respublica*, &c. ‘ Let ‘ the state be free from the burden of supplying both soldiers and ‘ money for that war.’ ⁴ *Paludatus*, ‘ wearing the *paludamen- ‘ tum*,’ or military cloak, peculiar to a Roman magistrate invested with military power as general, and with which he was not allowed to re-enter the city. It was also worn by his lictors and staff.

gentis, quorum neminem ducem sperneret egregius quibuslibet temporibus senatus, ibant unius familiae viribus Vejenti populo pestem minitantes. Sequebatur turba, propria alia cognatorum sodaliumque nihil medium, nec spem, nec curam, sed immensa omnia volventium animo; alia publica¹, sollicitudine excitata, favore et admiratione stupens; 'ire fortes, ire felices' jubent, 'inceptis eventus pares reddere'; 'consulatus inde ac triumphos, omnia praemia ab se, omnes honores sperare.' Praetereuntibus Capitolium arcemque et alia templa, quicquid Deorum oculis, quicquid animo occurrit precantur, 'ut illud agmen faustum atque felix mit-tant, sospites brevi in patriam ad parentes restituant.' Incassum missae preces. Infelici viâ² dextro Jano³ portae Carmentalis profecti, ad Cremeram flumen perveniunt; is opportunus visus locus communiendo praesidio. L.

Aemilius inde et C. Servilius consules facti. Et
 v. c. donec nihil aliud quàm in populationibus res fuit,
 276. non ad praesidium modò tutandum Fabii satis erant, sed totâ regione quâ Tuscus ager Romano adjacet, sua tuta omnia, infesta hostium vagantes per utrumque finem fecere. Intervallum deinde haud magnum populationibus fuit; dum et Vejentes, accito ex Etruriâ exercitu, praesidium Cremerae oppugnant, et Romanae legiones ab L. Aemilio consule adductae, cominus cum Etruscis dimicant acie; quanquam⁴ vix dirigendi aciem spatium Vejentibus fuit. Aded inter primam trepidationem, dum post signa ordines introeunt subsidiaque locant, invecta subito ab latere Romana equitum

¹ Some make *propria* and *publica* agree with *sollicitudine*. Others refer them, as they are here pointed, to *turba*. *Nihil medium, nec spem, nec curam*, 'nothing in moderation, neither hope, nor care.'

² *Infelici*, by anticipation, as its unluckiness was derived from the circumstance of the Fabii passing through it. In the account given by Ovid in the *Fasti*, ii. 195—243, of the destruction of the Fabii, allusion is thus made to this road; Carmentis portae dextro via proxima Jano est. Ire per hanc noli, quisquis es; omen habet.

³ *Janus*. Probably from the circumstance of the temple of Janus having double doors, (sunt geminae belli portae, VIRGIL,) *Janus* signifies in this and other passages simply a *postern*. The word in this sense is defined by Cicero, *De Naturâ Deorum*, ii. 27. Transitiones perviae Jani nominantur.

⁴ *Quanquam* introduces a clause qualifying *aciem*. 'Although it can hardly be called a line of battle, since, &c.'

ala non pugnae modò incipiendae sed consistendi ademit locum. Ita fusi retrò ad saxa Rubra, (ibi castra habebant,) pacem supplices petunt. Cujus impetratae, ab insitâ animis levitate, ante deductum Cremerâ Romanum praesidium poenituit.

L. Rursus cum Fabiis erat Vejenti populo, sine ullo majoris belli apparatu¹, certamen; nec erant incursiones modò in agros aut subiti impetus incursantium, sed aliquoties aequo campo collatisque signis certatum. Gensque una populi Romani saepe ex opulentissimâ, ut tum res erant, Etruscâ civitate victoriam tulit. Id primò acerbum indignumque Vejentibus visum. Inde consilium ex re natum insidiis ferocem hostem captandi; gaudere etiam multo successu Fabiis audaciam crescere. Itaque et pecora praedantibus aliquoties, velut casu incidissent, obviâ acta, et agrestium fugâ vasti relictî agri, et subsidia armatorum ad arendas populationes missa, saepiùs simulato quàm vero pavore, refugerunt. Jamque Fabii adèd contempserant hostem, ut sua invicta arma neque loco neque tempore ullo crederent sustineri posse. Haec spes provexit ut ad conspecta procul a Cremerâ magno campi intervallo pecora (quanquam rara hostium apparebant arma²) decurrerent; et quum improvidi effuso cursu insidias circa ipsum iter locatas superâssent³, palatique passim vaga, ut sit pavore injecto, raperent pecorâ, subitò ex insidiis consurgitur, et adversi et undique hostes erant. Primò clamor circumlatus exterruit, dein tela ab omni parte accidebant. Coëuntibusque Etruscis, jam continenti⁴ agmine armatorum septi, quo magis se hostis inferebat, cogeantur breviori spatio et ipsi orbem colligere. Quae res et paucitatem eorum insignem et multitudinem Etruscorum, multiplicatis in arcto ordinibus⁵, faciebat. Tum omissâ pugnâ quam in omnes

¹ See p 7, note 4. ² 'Although (they might have been deterred by the circumstance that) the arms of the enemy were clearly visible here and there among the cattle.' ³ *Supero*, in its general meaning, 'signifies to get over any obstacle, to pass.' Hence *superare insidias*, 'to pass an ambush;' *superare montem*, 'to cross a mountain;' *superare promontorium*, 'to double a cape.' ⁴ See p. 53, note 1.

⁵ The number of files in *length* would necessarily be lessened by being drawn round a smaller body of men; this must therefore refer to their number in *depth*, which would, of course, be increased.

partes parem intenderant, in unum locum se omnes inclinant. Eò nisi ¹ corporibus armisque rupere cuneo viam. Duxit via in editum leniter collem. Inde primò restitere; mox ut respirandi superior locus spatium dedit recipiendique a pavore tanto animum, pepulere etiam subeuntes; vincebatque ² auxilio loci paucitas, ni jugo circummissus Veiens in verticem collis evasisset; ita superior rursus hostis factus. Fabii caesi ad unum omnes, praesidiumque expugnatum. 'Trecentos sex perisse' satis convenit, 'unum prope puberem aetate relictum, stirpem genti Fabiae, duobusque rebus populi Romani saepe domi bellicae vel maximum futurum auxilium ³.'

LI. Quum haec accepta clades esset, jam C. Horatius et T. Menenius consules erant. Menenius adversus Tuscos victoriâ elatos confestim missus. Tum quòque malè pugnatum est et Janiculum hostes occupavere obsessaque urbs foret (super bellum annonâ ⁴ premente) transierant enim ⁵ Etrusci Tiberim, ni Horatius consul ex Volscis esset revocatus; adeòque id bellum ipsis institit moenibus ut primò pugnatum ad Spei ⁶ sit aequo Marte, iterum ad portam Collinam. Ibi quanquam parvo ⁷ momento superior Romana res fuit, meliorem tamen militem, recepto pristino animo, in futura proelia id certamen fecit. A. Virginius et Sp. Servilius consules fiunt. Post acceptam proximam pugnae cladem ⁸ Veientes abstinuere acie; populationes erant et velut ab arce Janiculi ⁹ passim in Romanum agrum impetus dabant; non usquam pecora tuta, non agrestes erant. Capti deinde eadem arte sunt, quâ ceperant Fabios. Secuti deditâ operâ passim ad illecebras

¹ *Nisi*, from *nitor*. ² *Vincebat*, 'were conquering,' and would have conquered. The common expression would be *vicisset*, from which, however, *vincebat* differs in this, that it expresses the actual commencement and continuance of the act of conquering, *vicisset* merely states the hypothetical result. ³ For the probability of this narrative see Index, *Fabia Gens*. ⁴ See p. 156, note 2. ⁵ *Enim* refers to *obsessaque urbs foret*. ⁶ See p. 61, note 4. ⁷ *Parvo* is the word emphatically qualified by *quanquam*. *Momento*. See p. 86, note 1. ⁸ Equivalent to *post acceptam proximae pugnae cladem*. See p. 7, note 4. Some MSS. actually read *proximae*, and *proximâ pugna* is a conjecture of Gronovius. ⁹ *Velut ab arce Janiculi*, 'from the Janiculum, as if from a citadel.'

propulsa pecora, praecipitavere in insidias¹; quo plures erant, major caedes fuit. Ex hâc clade atrox ira majoris cladis causa atque initium fuit. Trajecto enim nocte Tiberi, castra Servilii consulis adorti sunt oppugnare; inde fusi magnâ caede in Janiculum se aegrè recepere. Confestim consul et ipse transit Tiberim, castra sub Janiculo communit. Postero die luce ortâ, nonnihil et hesternâ felicitate pugnae² ferox, magis tamen quòd inopia frumenti quamvis in praecipitia, dum celeriora essent, agebat consilia, temerè adverso Janiculo ad castra hostium aciem erexit³, foediùsque inde pulsus quàm pridie pepulerat, interventu collegae ipse exercitusque ejus est servatus. Inter duas acies Etrusci, quum in vicem his atque illis terga darent⁴, occidione occisi. Ita oppressum temeritate felici Veiens bellum.

LII. Urbi cum pace laxior etiam annona rediit, et advecto ex Campaniâ frumento, et postquam timor sibi cuique futurae inopiae abiit, eo quod abditum fuerat prolato. Ex copiâ deinde otioque lascivire rursus animi, et pristina mala, postquam foris deerant, domi quaerere. Tribuni plebem agitare suo veneno, agrariâ lege; in resistentes incitare Patres, nec in universos modò sed in singulos. Q. Considius et T. Genucius, auctores agrariae legis, T. Menenio diem dicunt. Invidiae erat amissum Cremerae praesidium, quum haud procul inde stativa consul habuisset. Eum oppresserunt, quum et Patres haud minùs quàm pro Coriolano annisi essent, et patris Agrippae favor haud dum exolevisset. In mulctâ temperârunt tribuni⁵; quum capitis anquisissent,

¹ *Deditâ operâ*, referring to *propulsa*; *praecipitavere*, intransitive, or with the force of a middle verb, *se* understood. See p. 49, note 2.

² Equivalent to *hesternae felicitate pugnae*. See p. 7, note 4.

³ See p. 49, note 1.

⁴ The majority of commentators explain the expression, *darent terga*, in this passage, *exposed their rear whilst fighting*. As the more obvious remedy for the difficulty was, for the rear to wheel round on the second body of the Romans, and thus present two fronts, there seems to be no reason for giving the words any other than their common interpretation, *turned their backs in flight*.

⁵ There has been much critical discussion as to this passage. As it is here pointed, *quum* signifies *although*, and the leading fact is contained in *oppresserunt*; others making *eum oppresserunt* a distinct affirmation, connect *in mulctâ temperârunt* with *quum*, &c. giving this word the force of *when*. But the chief difficulty of the passage lies in the words, *in mulctâ temperârunt tribuni*. Stroth

duo millia aeris damnato mulctam dixerunt. Ea in caput vertit¹. Negant 'tulisse ignominiam aegritudinemque, inde 'morbo absumptum esse.' Alius deinde reus Sp. Servilius ut consulatu abiit C. Nautio et P. Valerio consulibus, initio statim anni, ab L. Caedicio et T. Statio tribunis die dictâ, non ut Menenius, precibus suis aut Patrum, sed cum multâ fiduciâ innocentiae gratiaeque tribunicios impetus tulit. Et huic proelium cum Tuscis ad Janiculum erat crimini². Sed fervidi animi vir ut in publico periculo antè, sic tum in suo, non tribunos modò sed plebem oratione feroci refutando exprobrandoque T. Menenii damnationem mortemque, ('cujus patris³ munere restituta quondam plebs eos ipsos quibus tum saeviret magis 'tratus, eas leges haberet,') periculum audaciâ discussit. Juvit et Virginius collega, testis productus, participando⁴ laudes; magis tamen Menenianum (adeò mutaverant animum) profuit judicium.

LIII. Certamina domi finita. Vejens bellum exortum, quibus⁵ Sabini arma conjunxerant. P. Valerius consul, accitis Latinorum Hernicorumque auxiliis, cum exercitu Vejios missus castra Sabina, quae pro moenibus sociorum locata erant, confestim aggreditur, tantamque trepidationem iniecit ut, dum dispersi alii aliâ⁶ manipulatim excurrunt ad arcen-

explains this as meaning, *the tribunes displayed their moderation, by changing the capital punishment to a fine*. As this explanation is forced, and totally unsupported by any thing similar, the obvious meaning being, *the tribunes were moderate in the fine they imposed*, and as this last announcement seems intolerable from its extreme abruptness, Doering suggests, in *ira*, *Ruperti simultatem temperârunt*, or *irae multum temperârunt*. If it were allowed me to offer any opinion, I should propose to destroy the *in*. There is the *invidia* of the people on the one side; on the other, the exertions of the senators, and the *favor patris Agrippae*, the one leading to capital punishment, the other to a total acquittal; the tribunes tempered both, *by a fine*. In this way, too, we might read in *mulctam*, compounded both feelings with a fine; as Cicero (Timaëus, c. 7.) uses the word, *Ea cum tria sumpsisset, unam in speciem temperavit*. ¹ *Ea in caput vertit*. 'The fine became, after all, a capital punishment.' ² See preceding chapter. ³ Menenius Agrippa. See chap. 32. ⁴ *Participo*, (*partes capio*), 'I receive a share, I participate.' Sometimes, as here, 'I cause another to receive a share, I communicate.' ⁵ The word *Vejens* is equivalent to *cum Vejentibus*; hence from forgetfulness, *quibus*, supply *Vejentibus*. ⁶ Supply *portâ*.

dam hostium vim, ea porta cui signa primùm intulerat caperetur. Intra vallum deinde caedes magis quàm proelium esse. Tumultus e castris et in urbem penetrat; tanquam Vejis captis, ita pavidī Vejentes ad arma currunt. Pars Sabinis eunt subsidio, pars Romanos toto impetu intentos in castra adoriuntur. Paullisper aversi turbatique sunt; deinde et ipsi utròque versis signis resistunt; et eques ab consule immissus Tuscos fundit fugatque, eàdemque horâ duo exercitus, duae potentissimae et maximae finitimae gentes superatae sunt. Dum haec ad Vejos geruntur, Volsci Aequeque in Latino agro posuerant castra populatique fines erant. Eos per se ipsi Latini, assumptis Herniciis, sine Romano aut duce aut auxilio castris exuerunt; ingenti praedâ, praeter suas recuperatas res, potiti sunt. Missus tamen ab Româ consul in Volscos C Nautius. Mos, credo, non placebat, sine Romano duce exercituque socios propriis viribus consiliisque bella gerere. Nullum genus calamitatis contumeliaeque non editum in Volscos est; nec tamen percelli potuere ut acie dimicarent.

LIV. L. Furius inde et C. Manlius consules. Manlio Vejentes provincia¹ evenit. Non tamen bellatum.

Induciae in annos quadraginta petentibus datae², frumento stipendioque imperato. Paci externae confestim continuatur³ discordia domi. Agrariae legis tribuniciiis stimulus plebs furebat; consules nihil Menenii damnatione, nihil periculo deterriti Servilii summâ vi resistunt. Abeuntes magistratu Cn. Genucius tribunus plebis arripuit⁴.

L. Aemilius et Opiter Virginus consulatum ineunt.

Vopiscum Julium pro Virginio in quibusdam annalibus consulem invenio⁵. Hoc anno (quoscunque consules

¹ See p. 163, note 3.

² *Induciae*. See p. 54, note 2, end.

Reference is made in the same note to Niebuhr's hypothesis of the 10 month year. This truce confirms that hypothesis. If the reader turn to iv. 17, he will find the Romans again at war with the Veientians, in the year 317, after an interval of only thirty-seven years, and no notice is taken of any violation of the truce. $40 \times 10 = 400$ months or $33\frac{1}{3}$ years of twelve months, so that on this hypothesis the truce expired in the course of 313, A. U. C.

³ See p. 53, note 1.

⁴ *Arripuit*, 'arraigned.' So Horace, Sat. II. 1. 69, *Primores populi arripuit*, *populumque tributim*.

⁵ Dionysius gives Vopiscus Julius, and the *Fasti Capitolini* have the fragmentary *Julus*.

habuit) rei ad populum Furius et Manlius circumeunt sordidati¹ non plebem magis quàm juniores Patrum. Suadent, monent 'honoribus et administratione reipublicae abstinere; consulares verò fasces, praetextam, curulemque sellam nihil aliud quàm pompam funeris putent; claris insignibus velut infulis velatos ad mortem destinari. Quòd si consulatùs tanta dulcedo sit, jam nunc ita in animum inducant consulatum captum et oppressum ab tribuniciâ potestate esse; consuli, velut apparitori tribunicio, omnia ad nutum imperiumque tribuni agenda esse. Si se commoverit, si respexerit Patres, si aliud quàm plebem esse in republicâ crediderit, exsiliu C. Marcii, Menenii damnationem et mortem sibi proponat ante oculos.' His accensi vocibus Patres consilia² inde, non publica, sed in privato seductaque a plurium conscientia habere. Ubi quum id modò constaret 'jure an injuriâ eripiendos esse reos,' atrocissima quaeque maximè placebat sententia; nec auctor quamvis audaci facinori deerat. Igitur judicii die, quum plebs in foro erecta exspectatione staret, mirari primò 'quòd non descenderet³ tribunus;' deinde, quum jam mora suspectior fieret, 'desertum a primoribus' credere, et 'desertam ac proditam causam publicam' queri. Tandem, qui obversati vestibulo tribuni fuerant nunciant 'domi mortuum esse inventum.' Quod ubi in totam concionem pertulit rumor, sicut acies funditur duce occiso, ita dilapsi passim alii aliò. Praecipuus pavor tribunos invaserat, quàm nihil auxilii sacratae leges⁴ haberent morte collegae monitos. Nec Patres satis moderatè ferre laetitiam, adeoque neminem noxae poenitebat ut etiam insontes fecisse videri vellent, palàmque ferretur 'malo domandam tribuniciam potestatem.'

LV. Sub hâc pessimi exempli victoriâ delectus edicitur; paventibusque tribunis, sine intercessione⁵ ullâ consules rem

¹ 'The criminal, laying aside his usual robe, (*toga alba*.) put on a 'sordid,' i. e. a ragged and old gown, (*sordidam et obsoletam*.) and in this garb went round and supplicated the citizens; whence *sordes* and *squalor* is put for guilt, and *sordidati* or *squalidi* for criminals.' Dr ADAM.

² Gronovius reads *concilia*. See p. 97, note 1.

³ The forum was in the lower part of the city, between the Capitoline and Palatine hills; hence *descendera*.

⁴ See p. 154, note 3.

⁵ *Intercedere* and *intercessio* are terms applied to that act, by which

peragunt. Tum verò irasci plebes tribunorum magis silentio quàm consulum imperio, et dicere 'actum esse de libertate suâ; rursus ad antiqua reditum; cum Genucio unâ mortuam ac sepultam tribuniciam potestatem. Aliud agendum, ac cogitandum quomodo resistatur Patribus; id autem unum consilium esse ut se ipsa plebs, quando aliud nihil auxilii habeat, defendat. Quatuor et viginti lictores apparere consulibus¹, et eos ipsos plebis homines; nihil contemptius, neque infirmius², si sint qui contemnant; sibi quemque ea magna atque horrenda facere.' His vocibus alii alios quum incitâssent, ad Voleronem Publilium de plebe hominem, quia 'quodd ordines duxisset'³ negaret 'se militem fieri debere,' lictor missus est a consulibus. Volero appellat tribunos. Quum auxilio nemo esset, consules spoliari hominem et virgas expediri⁴ jubent. 'Provoco,' inquit, 'ad populum,' Volero, 'quoniam tribuni civem Romanum in conspectu suo virgis caedi malunt quàm ipsi in lecto suo a vobis trucidari.' Quo ferociùs clamitabat, eo infestius circumscindere et spoliare lictor. Tum Volero et praevalens ipse et adjuvantibus advocatis repulso lictore, ubi indignantium pro se acerrimus erat clamor, eò se in turbam confertissimam recipit clamitans, 'Provoco, et fidem plebis imploro. Adeste cives! Adeste commilitones! Nihil est quodd expectetis tribunos, quibus ipsis vestro auxilio opus est.' Concitati homines veluti ad proelium se expediunt, apparebatque omne discrimen adesse, nihil cuiquam sanctum, non publici fore non privati juris. Huic tantae

one magistrate authoritatively interrupted another in the exercise of his power. ¹ *Quatuor*, &c. 'That twenty-four lictors attend the consuls.' From *apparere* comes *apparitor*, a general name for the public servants of the magistrates, i. 8. Dr Adam (page 100 of his Antiquities) seems to think that this passage is inconsistent with the 1st chapter of this book, (where Livy states, *Id modo cautum est, ne, si ambo FASCES haberent, duplicatus terror videretur*,) and remarks, 'this must be understood without the city.' There is in reality no inconsistency. 12 lictors preceded one of the consuls only, with the *fasces*; the other, with an *accensus* before him, was followed by 12 lictors without the *fasces*. There were thus in attendance 24 lictors, but only 12 *fasces*, as in the time of the kings. ² Supply *eo consulum praesidio esse*.

³ See p. 141, note 6. ⁴ *Spoliare hominem*, 'forcibly to strip a man of his garments.' *Virgas expedire*, 'to unfasten the *fasces*, and prepare the rods for lashing him.'

tempestati quum se consules obtulissent, faciliè experti sunt parum tutam majestatem sine viribus esse. Violatis lictoribus, fascibus fractis e foro in curiam compelluntur incerti quatenus Volero exerceat victoriam. Conticescente deinde tumultu, quum in senatum vocari jussissent, queruntur injurias suas, vim plebis, Voleronis audaciam. Multis ferociter dictis sententiis, vicere seniores, quibus 'irâ Patrum' adversus temeritatem plebis certari non placuit.

LVI. Voleroneam amplexa favore plebs proximis ^{u. c.} ^{282.} mitiis tribunum plebi creat in eum annum qui L. Pinarium, P. Furium consules habuit. Contraque omnium opinionem, qui 'eum vexandis prioris anni consulibus' permissurum¹ tribunatum credebant, post publicam causam privato dolore habito, ne verbo quidem violatis consulibus, rogationem² tulit ad populum, 'Ut plebei magistratus tributis comitiis fierent.' 'Haud parva res sub titulo primâ specie minimè atroci' ferebatur, 'sed quae patriciis omnem potestatem per clientium suffragia creandi quos vellent tribunos auferret³.' Huic actioni gratissimae plebi quum summâ vi resisterent Patres, nec, quae una vis ad resistendum erat, ut intercederet⁴ aliquis ex collegio auctoritate aut consulum aut principum adduci posset, res tamen, suo ipsa

¹ *Permissurum*, 'that he would give full reins to the tribunicial power,' a favourite metaphor among the Romans, both in prose and verse. Thus, Virgil, *Aen.* vi. l. Sic fatur lacrymans, classique immittit habenas.

² *Rogare*, originally 'to ask how each man voted;' *rogatio*, 'the act of so asking;' hence that which rendered it necessary to ask, a bill. ³ Crevier censures Livy for inconsistency, in stating here, that the proposed change in the mode of electing tribunes was *haud parva res*, and yet in the 60th chapter asserting that it was *res major victoriâ suscepti certaminis quam usu*. Hooke in his *Roman History* endeavours to obviate the charge, by supposing that Livy had in view two distinct effects of the change, in the two sentences. This obviously leaves the matter where it was. We must either, therefore, leave the imputation unanswered, or understand, as I have done, not that *ferebatur* means, 'A matter of no small importance was proposed,' (which is evidently the meaning attached to the word by Crevier,) but, 'the matter was said by the Patricians to be one of no small importance.' The Patricians were anxious to secure aristocratic tribunes, (see speech of Appius, chap. 44,) and their fears are expressed in this sentence; in the sentence in the 60th chapter, Livy expresses his own opinion.

⁴ See p. 181, note 5.

molimine gravis, certaminibus in annum extrahitur. Plebs Voleronem tribunum reficit¹. Patres ad ultimum dimicationis rati rem venturam Ap. Claudium, Appii filium, u. c. 283. jam inde² a paternis certaminibus invisum infestumque plebi, consulem faciunt. Collega ei T. Quinctius datur. Principio statim anni nihil prius quàm de lege agebatur. Sed ut inventor legis Volero, sic Laetorius collega ejus auctor³ quum recentior tum acrior erat. Ferocem faciebat belli gloria ingens, quòd aetatis ejus haud quisquam manu promptior erat. Is, quum Volero nihil praeterquam de lege loqueretur insectatione abstinens consulum, ipse in accusationem Appii familiaeque superbissimae ac crudelissimae in plebem Romanam exorsus, quum 'a Patribus non consulem, 'sed carnificem ad vexandam et lacerandam plebem creatum 'esse' contenderet, rudis in militari homine lingua non suppetebat libertati animoque. Itaque deficiente oratione, 'Quandoquidem non⁴ facìle loquor,' inquit, 'Quirites, quàm quod locutus sum praesto, crastino die adeste. Ego 'hic aut in conspectu vestro moriar aut perferam legem.' Occupant tribuni templum postero die; consules nobilitasque ad impediendam legem in concione consistunt. 'Sub- 'moveri' Laetorius jubet 'praeterquam qui suffragium in- 'eant.' Adolescentes nobiles stabant nihil cedentes viatori. Tum ex his prehendi quosdam Laetorius jubet. Consul Appius negare 'jus esse tribuno in quenquam nisi in ple- 'beium; non enim populi, sed plebis⁵ eum magistratum 'esse. Nec illum ipsum⁶ submovere pro imperio posse 'more majorum, quia ita dicatur, "Si vobis videtur, dis- "cedite, Quirites." Facìle et contemptum de jure disse- rendo perturbare Laetorium poterat. Ardens igitur irâ tribunus viatorem mittit ad consulem, consul lictorem ad tribunum, 'privatum esse' clamitans 'sine imperio sine 'magistratu'⁷; violatusque esset tribunus, ni et concio omnis atrox coërta pro tribuno in consulem esset, et concursus

¹ *Reficit*, 're-elect.'

² *Jam inde*. See p. 9, note 1, and chap. 27.

³ *Inventor legis*, 'the original proposer of a law;' *auctor*, 'a supporter,' whether the original proposer or not. *Ut, sic*. See p. 44, note 2.

⁴ *Supply tam*. ⁵ *Populus, plebs*. See Index, *plebs*.

⁶ *Nec illum ipsum*, supply *magistratum populi*;

but according to Niebuhr, supply *tribunum*. ⁷ Appius asserts, that being a magistrate of the plebeians only, Laetorius was *sine magistratu*, as far as regarded the *populus*.

hominum in forum ex totâ urbe concitatae multitudinis fieret. Sustinebat tamen Appius pertinaciâ tantam tempestatem; certatumque haud incruento proelio foret ni Quinctius consul alter, consularibus negotio dato ut collegam vi, si aliter non possent, de foro abducerent, ipse nunc plebem saevientem precibus lenisset, nunc orâset tribunos 'ut concilium dmitterent; darent¹ irae spatium. Non vim suam illis tempus adempturum, sed consilium viribus additurum; et Patres in populi, et consulem in Patrum fore potestate.'

LVII. Aegre sedata ab Quinctio plebs, multo aegrius consul alter a Patribus. Dimisso tandem concilio plebis, senatum consules habent. Ubi quum timor atque ira in vicem sententias variâssent, quo magis, spatio interposito, ab impetu ad consultandum advocabantur, eo plus abhorrebant a certatione animi; aded ut Quinctio gratias agerent, 'quod ejus operâ mitigata discordia esset.' Ab Appio petitur, 'Ut tantam consularem majestatem esse vellet, quanta² esse in concordi civitate posset. Dum tribuni consulesque ad se quisque omnia trahant³, nihil relictum esse virium in medio, distractam laceratamque rempublicam⁴, magis quorum in manu sit, quàm ut incolumis sit quaeri.' Appius contrâ testari Deos atque homines, 'republicam prodi per metum ac deserere; non consulem senatui, sed senatum consuli deesse; graviores accipi leges quàm in Sacro monte⁵ acceptae sint.' Victus tamen Patrum consensu quievit. Lex silentio perfertur.

LVIII. Tum primùm⁶ tributis comitiis creati tribuni

¹ See p. 168, note 1.
no greater than.

² *Tantum quanta*, 'as great as,' i. e. The greater part of the MSS. and all the early editions have this reading, which is also approved of by Ruperti and Stroth, and given by Doering. Drakenborch, not perceiving the force of the indirect form, reads *trahunt*, on the ground that *dum*, with the present time, always takes the indicative.

³ Some make *republicam* the accusative to *quaeri*.

⁴ See chap. 33.
⁵ That the creation of Comitia Tributa, in which the *plebs* voted by themselves without the *Patricii* and their clients who had the Comitia Curiata as their peculiar assembly, effected a change in the Roman constitution, gradually though thoroughly introducing a democratic element, which ultimately placed the *plebs* on a level with their former masters, the course of Roman history proves. Livy's account differs in many respects from that of Dionysius. The latter states

sunt; 'numero etiam additos tres, perinde ac duo antea fuerint,' Piso auctor est¹. Nominat quodque tribunos, C. Sicinium, L. Numitorium, M. Duilium, Sp. Icilium, L. Maecilius². Volscum Aequicumque inter seditionem Romanam est bellum coörtum. Vastaverant agros ut, si qua secessio plebis fieret, ad se receptum haberet; compositis deinde rebus, castra retro movere. Ap. Claudius in Volscos missus; Quinctio Aequi provincia evenit³. Eadem in militiâ saevitia Appii quæ domi esse, eo liberior quod sine tribuniciis vinculis erat. Odisse plebem plus quàm paterno odio; 'se victum ab eâ; se unico⁴ consule objecto adversus tribuniciam potestatem, perlatam legem esse, quam

the tribunes to have been originally elected in the *Comitia Curiata*, and in this Cicero agrees with him, *Pro Cornelio*. Though we have no express statement of Livy on the subject, he seems to be of the more probable opinion, adopted by Niebuhr and Arnold, that this took place in the *Centuriata*. It is impossible to conceive that in the *Curiata*, where the *Patricii* and their clients alone had a right of voting, such tribunes should have been elected as Volero and Laetorius. Dionysius asserts that this law likewise included the election of Aediles at the *Comitia Tributa*, and what is more important, the right to deliberate on all public matters. In this he is confirmed by Zonaras, and believed by Niebuhr and Arnold, who also think that at the secession to the Mons Sacer, it was stipulated that those patricians who violated the rights of the commons should be liable to trial at the *Comitia Tributa*, and analogically that plebeians were liable to be tried before the *Comitia Curiata*. For a different opinion, see Hooke's History of Rome, book ii. chap. 13. ¹ See chap. 33. Livy himself inclines to the opinion, that five tribunes were created at first.

² 'In this list we meet with neither Volero nor Laetorius. Volero, as having been already tribune for two years together, and having been less prominent in the final struggle, may naturally have been passed over; but Laetorius, like Sextius at a later period, would surely have been the first choice of the commons, when they came to exercise a power which they owed mainly to his exertions. Was it then that his own words had been prophetic; that he had in fact given up his life on the forum, on the day when he brought forward the law, that the blows of Appius' burghers were as deadly as those of Kaeso Quinctius, or of the murderers of Genucius, and that Laetorius was not only the founder of the greatness of his order, but its martyr also?' *Arnold's Rome*, vol. i. p. 179. ³ See p. 163, note 3.

⁴ See p. 37, note 1. In this passage the force of *unico* is, 'he being the only man in existence who was deemed fit, as consul, to be opposed.'

' minore conatu, nequaquam tantâ Patrum spe, priores im-
' pedierint consules.' Haec ira indignatioque ferocem ani-
mum ad vexandum saevo imperio exercitum stimulabat ;
nec ullâ vi domari poterat, tantum certamen animis imbi-
bant¹. Segniter, otiosè, negligenter, contumaciter omnia
agere. Nec pudor, nec metus coërcebat. Si citiùs agi vel-
let agmen, tardiùs sedulò incedere ; si adhortator operis
adesset, omnes suâ sponte motam remittere industriam.
Praesenti vultus demittere, tacitè praetereuntem exsecrari² ;
ut invictus ille odio plebeio animus interdum moveretur.
Omni nequicquam acerbitate promptâ, nihil jam cum mili-
tibus agere ; ' a centurionibus corruptum exercitum ' di-
cere ; ' tribunos plebei ' cavillans interdum et ' Volerones '
vocare.

LIX. Nihil eorum Volsci nesciebant, instabantque eo ma-
gis, sperantes ' idem certamen animorum adversus Appium
' habiturum exercitum Romanum, quod adversus Fabium
' consulem habuisset³. ' Ceterùm multo Appio quàm Fa-
bio violentior fuit ; non enim vincere tantùm noluit ut Fa-
bianus exercitus, sed vinci voluit. Productus in aciem turpi
fugâ petit castra⁴, nec antè restitit quàm signa inferentem
Volscum munimentis vidit foedamque extremi agminis cae-
dem. Tum expressa vis ad pugnandum, ut victor jam a
vallo submoveretur hostis, satis tamen appareret capi tan-
tùm castra militem Romanum noluisse. Alii gaudere suâ
clade atque ignominiâ ; quibus nihil infractus ferox Appii
animus quum insuper saevire vellet concionemque advoca-
ret, concurrunt ad eum legati tribunique monentes ' ne uti-
' que experiri vellet imperium, cujus vis omnis in consensu
' obedientium esset.' Negare vulgò milites ' se ad concio-

¹ As *poterat* and *imbiberant* evidently refer to *exercitus*, there is not only a change of subject, (see p. 11, note 4.) but a startling abruptness in the change of number. Many of the MSS. and the earlier editions have *imbiberat*, which Drakenborch approves of, or of *domare*. Perhaps *domari poterat* is used impersonally. ² Praesenti vultus demittere tacite, praetereuntem exsecrari ? ³ See chap. 43.

⁴ Scottish history presents a similar instance, in the voluntary flight of the army commanded by Oliver Sinclair, in the reign of James V, at the battle of Solway ; and Dr Arnold, *Rome*, vol. i. p. 169, refers ' to the experience of our own naval ' service in the last war, in one memorable instance, as melancholy ' as it was notorious.'

'nem ituros;' passimque exaudiri voces postulantium 'ut castra ex Volscis agro moveantur. Hostem victorem paullo ante prope in portis ac vallo fuisse; ingentisque mali non suspicionem modo sed apertam speciem observari ante oculos.' Victus tandem, (quandoquidem nihil praeter tempus noxae¹ lucrarentur,) remissa concione, iter in insequentem diem pronunciari quum jussisset, prima luce classico signum protectionis dedit. Quum maximè agmen e castris explicaretur, Volsci, ut eodem signo excitati, novissimos adoriuntur, a quibus perlatus ad primos tumultus eo pavore signaque et ordines turbavit, ut neque imperia exaudiri neque instrui acies possent. Nemo ullius nisi fugae memor. Ita effuso agmine per stragem corporum armorumque evasere, ut prius hostis desisteret sequi quam Romanus fugere. Tandem collectis ex dissipato cursu militibus, consul quum revocando nequicquam suos persecutus esset, in pacato agro castra posuit; advocatque concione, invectus haud falso in proditorem exercitum militaris disciplinae, desertorem signorum, 'ubi signa, ubi arma essent?' singulos rogitans, inermes milites, signo amisso signiferos², ad hoc centuriones duplicariosque³ qui reliquerant ordines virgis caesos securi percussit. Cetera multitudo sorte decimus⁴ quisque ad supplicium lecti.

LX. Contra ea, in Aëquis inter consulem ac militem co-

¹ *Noxa*, sometimes 'a fault,' sometimes, as here, 'the punishment due to a fault.' ² *Ubi*, &c. 'Asking each man individually, the standard-bearers who had lost their standards, where the standards were, the unarmed soldiers where their arms were.' There are two sets of questions, the first respecting the standards, the second respecting the arms, (*signa, arma*.) The two sets of men who were thus interrogated should naturally follow in the same order; but in this passage Livy reverses them, putting the soldiers first, and the standard-bearers second. This is by no means rare. Thus Livy, i. 35, *Regnavit Ancus annos quatuor et viginti, cuilibet superiorum regum belli pacisque et artibus et gloria par; artibus referring to pacis, and gloria to belli*. So Homer, in a passage quoted by Dr Hunter, with a somewhat different view, in his preface to Virgil:

*Ἐνθαδ' ἄμ' ὁμωγὴ τι καὶ ἰσχυρὴ πάλιν ἀνδρῶν
Ὀλλύντων τι καὶ ἑλλυμένων.* IL. Δ. 450.

Here *ἰσχυρὴ ἑλλύντων, ὁμωγὴ ἑλλυμένων*. ³ Varro defines *duplicarios* to mean those, quibus ob virtutem *duplicia* dabantur *cibaria*. They were, in this respect, on a level with the centurions. ⁴ This mode of punishing an army was called *decimatio*.

mitate ac beneficiis certatum est. Et naturâ Quinctius erat lenior, et saevitia infelix collegae quo is magis gauderet ingenio suo effecerat. Huic tantae concordiae ducis exercitûsque non ausi offerre se Aequi vagari populabundum hostem per agros passi; nec ullo antè bello latius inde actae praedae. Omnis militi data est; addebantur et laudes, quibus haud minùs quàm praemio gaudent militum animi. Tum duci, tum propter ducem Patribus quòque placatior exercitus rediit, 'sibi parentem, alteri exercitui dominum 'datum ab senatu' memorans. Variâ fortunâ belli, atroci discordiâ domi forisque annum exactum insignem maximè comitia tributa efficiunt; res major victoriâ suscepti certaminis, quàm usu¹. Plus enim dignitatis comitiis ipsis detractum est Patribus ex concilio submovendis, quàm virium aut plebi additum est aut demptum Patribus².

LXI. Turbulentior inde annus excepit, L. Valerio, ^{U. C.} T. Aemilio consulibus, cùm propter certamina ordinum ^{284.} de lege agrariâ, tum propter iudicium Ap. Claudii, cui acerrimo adversario legis causamque possessorum publici agri, tanquam tertio consuli, sustinenti, M. Duilius et C. Sicinius diem dixere³. Nunquam antè tam invisus plebi reus ad iudicium vocatus populi est, plenus suarum, plenus paternarum irarum⁴. Patres quòque non temere pro ullo aequè annisi sunt; 'propugnatorem senatûs majestatisque 'vindicem suae, ad omnes tribunicios plebeiosque oppositum 'tumultus, modum duntaxat in certamine egressum, iratae 'objici plebi.' Unus e Patribus, ipse Ap. Claudius et tribunos et plebem et suum iudicium pro nihilo habebat. Illum non minae plebis, non senatûs preces percellere unquam potuere, non modò ut vestem mutaret⁵ aut supplex prensaret homines, sed ne ut ex consuetâ quidem asperitate orationis (quum ad populum agenda causa esset) aliquid leniret atque submitteret. Idem habitus oris, eadem contumacia in vultu, idem in oratione spiritus erat; adeò ut magna pars plebis Appium non minùs reum timeret, quàm consulem timuerat. Semel causam dixit, quo semper agere

¹ See p. 185, note 5. ² Livy here evidently expresses his opinion, that, by the law of Volero, the patricians were excluded from the *Comitia Tributa*. ³ See p. 157, note 1. ⁴ *Plenus*, &c.

'Being fully laden with the people's hate against himself and against his father.'

⁵ See p. 181, note 1.

omnia solitus erat accusatorio spiritu ; adeoque constantiâ suâ et tribunos obstupescit et plebem, ut diem ipsi suâ voluntate prodicerent, trahi¹ deinde rem sinerent. Haud ita multum interim temporis fuit ; antè tamen quàm producta dies veniret, morbo moritur². Cujus quum laudationem³ tribuni plebis impedire conarentur, plebs fraudari solenni honore supremum diem tanti viri noluit, et laudationem tam æquis auribus mortui audivit, quam vivi accusationem audierat, et exsequias frequens celebravit.

LXII. Eodem anno Valerius consul cum exercitu in Aequos profectus, quum hostem ad proelium elicere non posset, castra oppugnare est adortus. Prohibuit foeda tempestas, cum grandine ac tonitribus coelo dejecta. Admirationem deinde auxit, signo receptui dato, adeò tranquilla serenitas reddita ; ut velut numine aliquo defensa castra oppugnare iterum religio fuerit⁴. Omnis ira belli ad populationem agri vertit. Alter consul Aemilius in Sabinis bellum gessit. Et ibi, quia hostis moenibus se tenebat, vastati agri sunt. Incendiis deinde non villarum modò sed etiam vicorum quibus frequenter habitabatur⁵ Sabini exciti, quum praedatoribus occurrissent ancipiti proelio digressi, postero die retulere castra in tutiora loca. Id satis consuli visum, cur pro victo relinqueret hostem integro inde decedens bello.

LXIII. Inter hæc bella, manente discordiâ domi,
 v. c. T. Numicius Priscus, A. Virginus consules facti.
 285.

Non ultrà videbatur latura plebes dilationem agrariae legis, ultimaque vis parabatur ; quum Volscos adesse fumo ex incendiis villarum fugâque agrestium cognitum est. Ea res maturam jam seditionem ac prope erumpentem repres-

¹ *Trahere rem*, the same as *ducere, extrahere*, 'to put off, to pro-
 'long, to protract.' Here Crevier, and after him other commentators,
 think that *rem trahi sinerent* means, permitted the matter to languish,
 as Appius died before the day of trial. The words, however, seem
 to imply, that after the prorogued day arrived, (*deinde*,) the people
 permitted the matter to be put off, not allowing the second interval
 to be as long as the first, *haud ita multum interim temporis fuit*.

² Dionysius makes no mention of any pleading on the part of Appius,
 and says that he destroyed himself before the day of trial. ³ See
 p. 173, note 2. ⁴ *Ut, &c.* 'So that it was considered sacrile-

'gious again to attack a camp which seemed to be defended by some
 'divine power.' ⁵ *Quibus, in quibus ; habitabatur*, impersonal.

sit. Consules coacti extemplo ab senatu ad bellum, eductâ ex urbe juventute, tranquilliorē ceteram plebem fecerunt. Et hostes quidem, nihil aliud quàm perfusis vano timore Romanis¹, citato agmine abeunt. Numicius Antium adversus Volscos, Virginius contra Aequos profectus. Ibi ex insidiis prope magnâ acceptâ clade, virtus militum rem prolapsam negligentîâ consulis restituit. Meliùs in Volscis imperatum est. Fusi primo proelio hostes fugâque in urbem Antium, ut tum res erant, opulentissimam acti; quam consul oppugnare non ausus Cenonem, aliud oppidum nequaquam tam opulentum, ab Antiatibus cepit. Dum Aequi Volscique Romanos exercitus tenent, Sabini usque ad portas urbis populates incessere; deinde ipsi paucis pòst diebus ab duobus exercitibus, utroque per iram consule ingresso in fines, plus cladium quàm intulerant acceperunt.

LXIV. Extremo anno pacis aliquid fuit, sed, ut semper aliàs, solitae certamine Patrum et plebis. Irata plebs interesse consularibus comitiis noluit; per Patres client^{v. c.} tesque Patrum consules creati, T. Quinctius, Q. Servilius. Similem annum priori consules habent, seditiosa initia, bello deinde externo tranquilla². Sabini Crustuminos campos citato agmine transgressi, quum caedes et incendia circum Anienem flumen fecissent, a portâ prope Collinâ moenibusque palsi ingentes tamen praedas hominum pecorumque egere. Quos Servilius consul infesto exercitu insecutus, ipsum quidem agmen adipisci aequis locis non potuit; populationem adeò effusè fecit ut nihil bello intactum relinqueret multiplicique captâ praedâ rediret. Et in Volscis respublica egregiè gesta quum ducis, tum militum operâ. Primùm aequo campo signis collatis pugnatum, ingenti caede utrinque, plurimo sanguine³. Et Romani, quia paucitas damno sentiendo propior erat, gradum retulissent, ni salubri

¹ See p. 148, note 3. Dr Hunter's analysis would be, Romanis -sis (passis) nihil aliud quam *perfu-* vano timore; 'the Romans having suffered nothing else than the being overwhelmed with a 'groundless panic,' i. e. 'the enemy accomplishing nothing more 'than overwhelming the Romans with a groundless panic.' The continental mode of supplement is, *agentes* nihil aliud, quam, &c.

² *Tranquilla* cannot refer to *initia*, which are said to have been *seditiosa*; resolve therefore *initia* into *inevntia tempora*. ³ *Ingenti caede*, according to Gronovius, refers to the slain; *plurimo sanguine*, to the wounded.

mendacio consul 'fugere hostes ab cornu altero' clamitans, concitâsset aciem. Impetu facto, dum se putant vincere, vicere¹. Consul metuens ne nimis instando renovaret certamen signum receptui dedit. Intercessere pauci dies, velut tacitis induciis utrinque quiete sumptâ; per quos ingens vis hominum ex omnibus Volscis Aequisque populis in castra venit haud dubitans, si senserint, Romanos nocte abituros. Itaque tertiâ fere vigiliâ ad castra oppugnanda veniunt. Quinctius sedato tumultu quem terror subitus exciverat, quum manere in tentoriis quietum militem jussisset, Hernicorum cohortem in stationem educit; cornicines tubicinesque in equos impositos 'canere ante vallum' jubet 'sollicitumque hostem ad lucem tenere.' Reliquum noctis adeo tranquilla omnia in castris fuere ut somni quodque Romanis copia esset. Volscos species armatorum peditum, quos et plures esse et Romanos putabant, fremitus hinnitusque equorum, qui et insueto sedente equite et insuper aures agitante sonitu saeviebant, intentos velut ad impetum hostium tenuit.

LXV. Ubi illuxit, Romanus integer satiatumque somno productus in aciem, fessum stando et vigiliis Volscum primo impetu perculit; quanquam cessere magis quam pulsati hostes sunt, quia ab tergo erant clivi in quos post principia integris ordinibus² tutus receptus fuit. Consul, ubi ad iniquum locum ventum est, sistit aciem. Miles aegre teneri, clamare et poscere 'ut percussis instare liceat.' Ferocius agunt equites; circumfusi duci vociferantur 'se ante signa ituros.' Dum cunctatur consul virtute militum fretus, loco parum fidens, conclamant 'se ituros;' clamoremque res est secuta. Fixis in terram pilis, quo leviores ardua evaderent, cursu subeunt. Volscus effusus ad primum impetum missilibus telis, saxa objacentia pedibus ingerit in subeuntes, turbatosque ictibus crebris urguet ex superiore loco. Sic prope oneratum est³ sinistrum Romanis cornu, ni referentibus jam gradum consul, increpando simul temeritatem simul ignaviam, pudore metum excussisset. Restitere primò obstinatis animis; deinde ut obtinentes locum vires ferebant⁴,

¹ Similarly, Virgil, *Possunt, quia posse videntur.* *Aen.* v. 231.

² *Post principia integris ordinibus,* 'the ranks which stood unbroken behind the first line.'

³ *Oneratum est.* *Palsum est oneribus,* 'driven back with the heavy stones.'

⁴ *Ut, &c.* According

audent ultro gradum inferre ; et clamore renovato, commovent aciem. Tum rursus, impetu capto¹, enituntur atque exsuperant iniquitatem loci. Jam prope erat ut in summum clivi jugum evaderent, quum terga hostes dedere ; effusoque cursu penè agmine uno fugientes sequentesque castris incidere. In eo pavore castra capiuntur. Qui Volscorum effugere potuerunt, Antium petunt. Antium et Romanus exercitus ductus ; paucos circumsessum dies deditur, nullâ oppugnantium novâ² vi, sed quòd jam inde ab infelici pugnâ castrisque amissis ceciderant animi.

to Ruperti, 'As far as their strength, keeping its ground, permitted 'them ;' according to Stroth, and better, 'When, by keeping their 'ground, they received fresh strength.' Drakenborch reads *in obtinentes*, but on scant authority. ¹ *Impetu capto*, 'having 'acquired fresh vigour,' or 'having made a bold onward movement.' ² *Novâ*, because the consul Numicius had not dared to attack it in the preceding year. See chap. 63.

LIBER TERTIUS.

EPITOME

I, &c. XIX. *SEDITIONES de agrariis legibus factae.* XVIII. *Capitolium ab exsulibus et servis occupatum, caesis iis receptum est.* III. *Census bis actus est.* Priore lustrò censa sunt civium capita centum quatuor millia ducenta quatuordecim, praeter orbos orbasque. XXIV. *Sequenti, centum septemdecim millia ducenta novemdecim.* XXVI. *Quum adversus Aequos res malè gesta esset, L. Quinctius Cincinnatus dictator factus, quum rure intentus rustico operi esset, ad id bellum gerendum arcessitus est.* XXVIII. *Is victos hostes sub jugum misit.* XXX. *Tribunorum plebis numerus ampliatus est, ut essent decem, trigesimo sexto anno a primis tribunis plebis.* XXXI. *Petitis per legatos et allatis Atticis legibus, ad constituendas eas proponen-*

dasque decemviri pro consulibus sine ullis aliis magistratibus creati, altero et trecentesimo anno quàm Roma condita erat; et ut a regibus ad consules, ita a consulibus ad decemviros translatum imperium. XXXIV. &c. Hi, decem tabulis legum positis, quum modestè se in eo honore gessissent et ob id in alterum quodque annum eundem esse magistratum placuisset, duabus tabulis ad decem adjectis, quum complura impotenter fecissent, magistratum noluerunt deponere et in tertium annum retinuerunt; XLIV, &c. Donec invito eorum imperio finem attulit libido Ap. Claudii. Qui, quum in amorem virginis incidisset, submisso qui eam in servitutem peteret, necessitatem patri ejus Virginio imposuit rapto ex tabernâ proximâ cultro ut filiam interimeret, quum aliter eam tueri non posset ne in potestatem stuprum illaturi veniret. L, &c. Hoc tam magnas luxuriae exemplo plebs incitata montem Aventinum occupavit, coëgitque decemviros abdicare se magistratu. Ex quibus Appius et unus collegarum, qui præcipuè poenam meruerant, in carcerem conjecti; ceteri in exilium acti. LX, &c. Res præterea contra Sabinos, et Volscos, et Aequos prosperè gestas continet; LXXI. Et parum honestum populi Romani judicium; qui judex inter Ardeates et Aricinos sumptus, agrum de quo ambigebatur sibi adjudicavit.

I. ANTIO capto, Ti. Aemilius et Q. Fabius consules fiunt. Hic erat Fabius Quintus, qui unus extinctae ad Cremeram genti superfuerat¹. Jam priore consulatu Aemilius dandi agri plebi fuerat auctor. Itaque secundo quodque consulatu ejus et agrarii² se in spem legis erexerant, et tribuni 'rem contra consules saepe tentatam, 'adjutore utique consule, obtineri posse' rati, suscipiunt; et consul manebat in sententiâ suâ. Possessores et magna pars Patrum, 'tribuniciiis se jactare actionibus principem 'civitatis et largiendo de alieno popularem fieri'³ querentes,

¹ See end of chap. 50.

² *Agrarii*, 'those who supported the agrarian law.' ³ *Tribuniciiis*, &c. 'that the head of the state was priding himself on supporting the proceedings of the tribunes,' or 'was ostentatiously busying himself in urging measures that were usually the favourite schemes of tribunes, and was making himself popular by profuse gifts of other men's property.'

totius invidiam rei a tribunis in consulem averterant. Atrox certamen aderat, ni Fabius consilio neutri parti acerbo rem expedisset; 'T. Quinctii ductu et auspicio agri capti priore anno aliquantum a Volacis esse; Antium, propinquam opportunam et maritimam urbem, coloniam deduci posse; ita sine querelis possessorum plebem in agros ituram, civitatem in concordia fore.' Haec sententia accepta est. Triumviros agro dando creat T. Quinctium, A. Virginium, P. Furium. Jussi nomina dare, qui agrum accipere vellent. Fecit statim (ut fit) fastidium copia; adeoque pauci nomina dedere, ut ad explendum numerum coloni Volsci¹ adderentur; cetera multitudo poscere Romae agrum malle quàm alibi accipere². Aequi a Q. Fabio (is ed cum exercitu venerat) pacem petière, irritamque eam ipsi subitâ incursione in agrum Latinum fecere.

II. Q. Servilius insequenti anno (is enim cum Sp. Postumio consul fuit) in Aequos missus, in Latino agro stativa habuit. Intra castra quies necessaria morbo implicitum exercitum tenuit. Extractum in tertium annum bellum est, Q. Fabio et T. Quinctio consulibus.

v. c. 289. Fabio extra ordinem³, quia is victor pacem Aequis dederat, ea provincia data. Qui haud dubiâ spe profectus famam nominis sui pacaturam Aequos, legatos in concilium gentis missos nunciare jussit; 'Q. Fabium consulem dicere, se ex Aequis pacem Romam tulisse, ab Româ Aequis bellum afferre eâdem dextrâ armatâ, quam pacatam illis antea dederat⁴. Quorum id perfidiâ et perjurio fiat, Deos nunc testes esse, mox fore ultores. Se tamen, utcunque sit, etiam nunc poenitere suâ sponte Aequos quàm pati hostilia malle. Si poeniteat, tutum receptum ad expertam clementiam fore; sin perjurio gaudeant, Diis magis iratis quàm hostibus gesturos bellum.' Haec dicta adeò nihil moverunt quemquam, ut legati prope violati sint exercitusque in Algidum adversus Romanos missus. Quae ubi Ro-

¹ See p. 50, note 1.

² *Cetera, &c.* 'The remainder, forming the majority, preferred clamouring at Rome for ground to receiving it elsewhere.'

³ Provinces were assigned usually by lot, (ii. 40, where provincia is first mentioned, provincia evenit,) and when, for any particular reason, they were given designedly, they were said *extra ordinem dari*. ⁴ *Dederat*. As the sentence is indirect, (see p. 106, note 1,) read *dederit*.

mam sunt nunciata, indignitas rei magis quàm periculum consulem alterum ab urbe excivit. Ita duo consulares exercitus ad hostem accessere acie instructâ, ut confestim dimicarent. Sed quum fortè haud multum diei superesset, unus ab statione hostium exclamat, 'ostentare hoc est, Romanam, non gerere bellum. In noctem imminentem aciem instruitis. Longiore luce ad id certamen quod instat nobis opus est. Crastino die oriente sole redite in aciem; erit copia pugnandi, ne timete.' His vocibus irritatus miles in diem posterum in castra reducitur, longam venire noctem ratus, quae¹ moram certamini faceret. Tum quidem corpora cibo somnoque curant. Ubi illuxit postero die, prior aliquanto constitit Romana acies; tandem et Aequi processere. Proelium fuit utrinque vehemens, quòd et Romanus irâ odioque pugnabat, et Aequos conscientia contracti culpâ periculi, et desperatio futurae sibi postea fidei ultima audere et experiri cogebat. Non tamen sustinuerunt aciem Romanam Aequi; pulsique quum in fines suos se recepissent nihilo inclinatioibus ad pacem animis, ferox multitudo increpare duces 'quòd in aciem, quâ pugnandi arte Romanus excellat, commissa res sit. Aequos populationibus incursionibusque meliores esse; et multas passim manus quàm magnam molem unius exercitus rectius bella gerere.'

III. Relicto itaque castris praesidio, egressi tanto cum tumultu invasere fines Romanos ut ad urbem quòque terrorem pertulerint. Nec opinata etiam res plus trepidationis fecit, quòd nihil minùs, quàm ne victus ac propè in castris obsessus hostis memor populationis esset, timeri poterat; agrestesque pavidum incidentes portis, 'populationem nec praedonum parvas manus, sed,' omnia vano augentes timore, 'exercitus et legiones adesse hostium et infesto agmine ruere ad urbem' clamabant. Ab his proximi audita incerta, eoque vaniora ferre ad alios; cursus clamorque vocantium ad arma haud multum a pavore captae urbis abesse. Fortè² ab Alcido Quinctius consul redierat Romam, (id remedium timori fuit,) tumultuque sedato, 'victos timeri' increpans 'hostes,' praesidia portis imposuit.

¹ Longam quae, i. e. Longam quippe ea, hence faceret.
See p. 11, note 5.

² Forte.

Vocato dein senatu, quum, ex auctoritate Patrum justitio¹ indicto, profectus ad tutandos fines esset, Q. Servilio praefecto urbis relicto, hostem in agris non invenit. Ab altero consule res gesta egregiè est; qui, quâ venturum hostem sciebat, gravem praedâ eoque impeditiore agmine incedentem aggressus, funestam ei populationem fecit. Pauci hostium evasere ex insidiis; praeda omnis recepta est. Sic finem justitio, quod quadriduum fuit, reditus Quinctii consulis in urbem fecit. Census deinde actus, et conditum ab Quinctio lustrum². Censa civium capita centum quatuor millia et ducenta quatuordecim dicuntur, praeter orbos orbisque³. In Aequis nihil deinde memorabile actum; in oppida sua se recepere, uri sua popularique passi. Consul quum aliquoties per omnem hostium agrum infesto agmine populabundus ïset, cum ingenti laude praedâque Romam rediit.

IV. Consules inde A. Postumius Albus, Sp. Furius Fusus. Furios Fusios scripsere quidam⁴; id
 290. admoneo, ne quis immutationem virorum ipsorum esse, quae nominum est, putet. Haud dubium erat quin cum Aequis alter consulum bellum gereret; itaque Aequi ab Ecetranis Volscis praesidium petière. Quo cupidè oblato, (adeò civitates hae perpetuo in Romanos odio certavere,) bellum summâ vi parabatur. Sentiunt Hernici, et praedicunt Romanis 'Ecetranum ad Aequos descisse.' Suspecta et colonia Antium fuit, 'quodd magna vis hominum inde, quum oppidum captum esset⁵, confugisset ad Aequos.' Isque miles per bellum Aequicum vel acerrimus fuit; com-

¹ *Justitium*, (Jus, sisto,) is thus described by Dr Adam. 'In a public mourning for any signal calamity, the death of a prince or the like, there was a total cessation from business (*JUSTITIUM*,) either spontaneously or by public appointment; when the courts of justice did not sit, the shops were shut,' &c. In the present instance, before the appointment of praetors, the absence of both the consuls, the administrators of the laws, necessarily suspended all legal procedure. ² See p. 81, note 6. ³ And the concluding purificatory sacrifice was duly solemnized. ⁴ It is easy to understand how orphans should have been omitted in the census, which had a particular reference to men at arms. ⁵ *Furios*, &c. 'Some for *Furii* have written *Fusii*.' The early Romans uniformly preferred *s* to *r*. So in the 8th chapter, *Vetusius* for *Veturius*. ⁶ See ii. 65.

pulsis deinde in oppida Aequis, ea multitudo dilapsa, quum Antium redisset, suâ sponte jam infidos colonos¹ Romanis abalienavit. Nec dum maturâ re, quum 'defectionem pa-rari' delatum ad senatum esset, datum negotium est consulibus ut principibus coloniae Romam excitis, quaerent 'quidnam rei esset?' Qui quum haud gravati venissent, introducti a consulibus ad senatum ita responderunt ad interrogata, ut magis suspecti quàm venerant dimitterentur. Bellum inde haud dubium haberi. Sp. Furius, consulum alter cui ea provincia evenerat, profectus in Aequos Hernicorum in agro populabundum hostem invenit; ignarusque multitudinis, quia nusquam universa conspecta fuerat, imparem copiis exercitum temere pugnae commisit. Primo concursu pulsus se in castra recepit; neque is finis periculi fuit. Namque et proximâ nocte et postero die tantâ vi castra sunt circumsessâ atque oppugnata, ut ne nuncius quidem inde mitti Romam posset. Hernici et malè pugnatum et consulem exercitumque obsideri nunciaverunt; tantumque terrorem incussere Patribus, ut (quae forma senatus consulti ultimae semper necessitatis habita est) Postumio alteri consulum negotium daretur, 'Videre ne quid res publica 'detrimenti caperet'². Ipsum consulem Romae manere ad conscribendos omnes qui arma ferre possent, optimum visum est, proconsule³ T. Quinctium subsidio castris cum sociali exercitu mitti. Ad eum explendum Latini, Hernicique et colonia Antium dare Quinctio subitarios milites (ita tum repentina auxilia appellabant) jussi.

V. Multi per eos dies motus multique impetus hinc atque illinc facti, quia, superante multitudine, hostes carpere⁴

¹ See chapter 1.

² This is the first notice of a decree, which armed the consul with almost dictatorial power, and which was frequently had recourse to in the exigencies of the state.

³ 'Anciently those were called *proconsuls*, to whom the command of consuls was prolonged, after their office was expired, or who were 'invested with *consular* authority, either from a subordinate rank, 'as Marcellus, after being praetor, and Gellius, or from a private 'station, as Scipio. This was occasioned by some public exigence, 'when the ordinary magistrates were not sufficient. The same was 'the case with *propraetors*. The first proconsul mentioned by Livy 'was T. Quinctius, A. U. 290. But he seems to have been appointed 'for the time. The first to whom the consular power was prolonged 'was Publilius.' Dr ADAM.

⁴ *Carpere*, in its general mean-

multifariam vires Romanas, ut non suffecturas ad omnia aggressi sunt. Simul castra oppugnabantur, simul pars exercitûs ad populandum agrum Romanum missa urbemque ipsam, si qua fortuna daret, tentandam. L. Valerius ad praesidium urbis relictus; consul Postumius ad arcendas populationes finium missus. Nihil remissum ab ullâ parte curae aut laboris. Vigiliae in urbe, stationes ante portas, praesidiaque in muris disposita, et quod necesse erat in tanto tumultu, justitium¹ per aliquot dies servatum. Interim in castris Furius consul, quum primò quietus obsidionem passus esset, in incautum hostem decumanâ portâ² erupit, et quum persequi posset, metu substitit ne qua ex parte alterâ in castra vis fieret. Furium legatum (frater idem consulis erat) longiùs extulit cursus; nec suos ille redeuntes, persequendi studio, neque hostium ab tergo incursum vidit. Ita exclusus, multis saepe frustra conatibus captis³ ut viam sibi ad castra faceret, acriter dimicans cecidit. Et consul nuncio circumventi fratris conversus ad pugnam, dum se temere magis quàm satis cautè in mediam dimicationem infert, vulnere accepto, aegre ab circumstantibus ereptus et suorum animos turbavit et ferociores hostes fecit. Qui caede legati et consulis vulnere accensi nullâ deinde vi sustineri potuere, quum⁴ compulsi in castra Romani rursus obsiderentur nec spe nec viribus pares; venissetque in periculum summa rerum, ni T. Quinctius peregrinis copiis cum Latino Hernicoque exercitu subvenisset. Is intentos in castra Romana Aequos legatique caput ferociter ostentantes ab tergo adortus, simul ad signum a se procul editum ex

ing, signifies 'to separate into small pieces;' hence *carpere exercitum*, 'to break up an army, and then destroy it in detail;' so *carpere multifariam vires Romanas*, 'to break up into numerous detached bodies the Roman strength, and then destroy them separately.'

¹ See p. 197, note 1.

² The *Decumana Porta* was opposite the *Porta Praetoria*, and in the rear of the camp; as x. 32. *Ab tergo castrorum decumanâ portâ impetus factus*. This was a favourite manoeuvre with the Romans. See Livy and Caesar *passim*.

³ *Conatibus captis*, *capere* used in the same way as the expression *impetu capto*; see p. 193, note 1.

⁴ Gronovius, with a number of the MSS. reads *quin*; (and immediately after Doering places the proposition *cum* before *peregrinis*, instead of before *Latino*;) either reading is good, understanding *quum* to signify 'after,' or *deinde*—*quum*, 'afterwards—when.'

castris eruptione factâ, magnam vim hostium circumvenit. Minor caedes, fuga effusior Aequorum in agro fuit Romano. In quos palatos, praedam agentes, Postumius aliquot locis, quibus opportuna imposuerat praesidia, impetum dedit. Ii vagi, dissipato agmine fugientes, in Quinctium victorem cum saucio consule revertentem incidere. Tum consularis exercitus egregiâ pugnâ consulis vulnus, legati et cohortium ultus est caedem. Magnae clades ultro citroque illis diebus et illatae et acceptae. Difficile ad fidem est in tam antiquâ re, quot pugnauerint ceciderintve exacto affirmare numero. Audet tamen Antias Valerius concipere summas; 'Roma- nos cecidisse in Hernico agro quinque millia ac trecentos; 'ex praedatoribus Aequorum,' qui populabundi in finibus Romanis vagabantur, 'ab A. Postumio consule duo millia 'et quadringentos caesos; ceteram multitudinem, praedam 'agentem, quae inciderit in Quinctium nequaquam pari de- 'functam esse caede¹; interfecta inde quatuor millia et,' exsequendo subtiliter numerum, 'ducentos,' ait, 'et trigin- 'ta.' Ut Romam reditum et justitium² remissum est, coe- lum visum est ardere plurimo igni³; portentaque alia aut obversata oculis aut vanas exterritis ostentavere species. His avertendis terroribus in triduum feriae indictae, per quas omnia delubra pacem Deum exposcentium virorum mulierumque turbâ implebantur. Cohortes inde Latinae Hernicaeque ab senatu, gratiis ob impigram militiam actis, remissae domos. Antiates, mille milites, quia serum auxilium post proelium venerant, prope cum ignominiâ dimissi.

VI. Comititia inde habita. Creati consules L. Ae-
 291. butius, P. Servilius Kalendis Sextilibus, ut tunc prin-
 cipium anni agebatur, consulatum ineunt⁴. Grave

¹ *Nequaquam*, &c. escaped after a slaughter by no means equal, i. e. much greater. ² See p. 197, note 1. ³ See *Prodigia* in Index.

⁴ 'In the beginning of the republic, the consuls entered on their office at different times; at first on the 23d or 24th February, the day on which Tarquin was said to have been expelled, which was held as a festival, and called *Regifugium*; afterwards on the first of August, (*Kal. Sext.*) which was at that time the beginning of the year, (i. e. of the consular, not of the civil year, which always began with January.) In the time of the *Decemviri*, on the 15th of May. About fifty years after, on the 15th December. Then on the first of July, which continued till near the end of the second Punic war, A. U. 530, when the day came to be the 15th of March. At last, A. U. 598 or 600, it was transferred to the first of

tempus et fortè ¹ annus pestilens erat urbi agrisque, nec hominibus magis quàm pecori ; et auxere vim morbi ², terrore populationis pecoribus agrestibusque in urbem acceptis. Ea colluvio mixtorum omnis generis animantium et odore insolito urbanos, et agrestem confertum in arcta tecta aestu ac vigiliis angebat, ministeriaque in vicem ac contagio ipsa vulgabant morbos ³. Vix instantes sustinentibus clades repentè legati Hernici nunciant, 'in agro suo Aequos Volscos-que conjunctis copiis castra posuisse ; inde exercitu ingenti fines suos depopulari.' Praeterquam quòd infrequens senatus indicio erat sociis afflictam civitatem pestilentia esse, moestum etiam responsum tulere ; 'ut per se ipsi Hernici cum Latinis res suas tutarentur ; urbem Romanam subitâ Deum irâ morbo populari ; si qua ejus mali quies veniat, ut anno antè, ut semper aliàs, sociis opem laturos.' Discessere socii, pro tristi nuncio tristiores domum referentes ; quippe quibus per se sustinendum bellum erat, quod vix Romanis fulti viribus sustinuissent. Non diutius se in Hernico hostis continuit ; pergit inde infestus in agros Romanos etiam sine belli injuriâ vastatos. Ubi quum obvi-

'January, which continued to be the day ever after.' DR ADAM.

¹ See p. 11, note 5, and p. 56, note 2. On the other hand, Dr Arnold, vol. i. p. 225. 'The middle of the fifth century before the Christian era was one of those periods in the history of mankind, which, from causes to us unknown, have been marked by the ravages of pestilence ; when a disease of unusual virulence has in a manner travelled up and down over the habitable world, during the space of twenty, thirty, or even seventy years ; returning often to the same place after a certain interval ; pausing sometimes in its fury, and appearing to sleep, but again breaking out on some point or other within its range, till, at the end of its appointed period, it disappears altogether. Rome was first visited by one of these pestilences, as has been already mentioned, in the year 282,' (according to Dionysius, ix.) 'where it caused a very great mortality ; it now returned again in 288, (Livy, iii. 2,) and crippled the operations of the Roman army against the Aequians.'

² Either *Romani auxere vim morbi*, or *morbi auxere suam vim*. ³ *Ea, &c.*

'The crowd and filth occasioned by the huddling together of all kinds of animals most painfully annoyed both the citizens, on account of the stench to which they had been unaccustomed, and the countrymen packed in confined apartments, on account of the heat and want of sleep, whilst the services required at each other's hands, and the mere contact, spread abroad diseases.'

nemo, ne inermis quidem fieret, perque omnia non praesidiis modò deserta sed etiam cultu agresti transirent, pervenire ad tertium lapidem Gabinâ viâ. Mortuus Aebutius erat Romanus consul; collega ejus Servilius exiguâ in spe trahebat animam. Affecti plerique principum, Patrum major pars, militaris ferè aetas omnis; ut non modò ad expeditiones quas in tanto tumultu res poscebat, sed vix ad quietas stationes viribus sufficerent. Munus vigiliarum senatores qui per aetatem ac valetudinem poterant per se ipsi obibant; circuitio ac cura¹ aedilium plebei erat. Ad eos summa rerum ac majestas consularis imperii venerat.

VII. Deserta omnia, sine capite, sine viribus, Dii praesides ac fortuna urbis tutata est, quae Volscis Aequisque praedonum potiùs mentem quàm hostium dedit. Adeò enim nulla spes non potiundi modò sed ne adeundi quidem Romana moenia animos eorum cepit, tectaque procul visa atque imminentes tumuli avertère mentes eorum ut, totis passim castris fremitu orto, 'quid in vasto ac deserto agro inter tabem pecorum hominumque desides sine praedâ tempus tererent, quum integra loca, Tusculanum agrum, opimum 'copiis petere possent?' signa repentè convellerent, transversisque itineribus per Lavicanos agros in Tusculanos colles transirent. Eò vis omnis tempestasque belli conversa est. Interim Hernici Latinique pudore etiam, non misericordiâ solùm moti, si nec obstitissent communibus hostibus infesto agmine Romanam urbem petentibus, nec opem ullam obsessis sociis ferrent, conjuncto exercitu Romam pergunt. Ubi quum hostes non invenissent, secuti famam ac vestigia, obvii fiunt descendentibus ab Tusculano in Albanam vallem. Ibi haudquaquam aequo proelio pugnatum est, fidesque sua sociis parum felix in praesentiâ fuit. Haud minor Romae fit morbo strages, quàm quanta ferro sociorum facta erat. Consul, qui unus supererat, moritur. Mortui et alii clari viri, M. Valerius, T. Virginus Rutilus, augures, Ser. Sulpicius, curio maximus². Et per ignota capita latè evagata

¹ *Circuitio vigiliarum ac cura.* 'The inspection of the watches 'by going the rounds, and the general management of the state.'

² Each of the thirty *Curiae*, instituted by Romulus, elected an officer called *Curio*, to preside over the sacred rites peculiar to each ward. The president of the *Curiones*, elected by the whole people in the *Comitia Curiata*, was called *Curio Maximus*.

est vis morbi; inopsque senatus auxilii humani, ad Deos populum ac vota vertit. Jussi cum conjugibus ac liberis supplicatum ire, pacemque exposcere Deum. Ad id quod ¹ sua quemque mala cogeant, auctoritate publicâ evocati omnia delubra implent. Stratae passim matres, crinibus templa verrentes, veniam irarum coelestium finemque pesti exposcunt.

VIII. Inde paullatim, seu pace Deum impetratâ seu graviore tempore anni jam circumacto ², defuncta morbis corpora salubriora esse incipere; versisque animis jam ad publicam curam, quum aliquot interregna ³ exissent, P. Valerius Publicola tertio die quàm interregnum inierat ^{u. c.} consules creat L. Lucretium Tricipitinum et T. Veturium Geminum; sive ille Vetusius ⁴ fuit. Ante diem tertium Idus Sextiles ⁵ consulatum ineunt, jam satis validâ civitate, ut non solum arcere bellum sed ultro etiam inferre posset. Igitur nunciantibus Hernicis 'in fines suos transcendisse hostes' impigrè promissum auxilium. Duo consulares exercitus scripti. Veturius missus in Volscos ad bellum ultro inferendum; Tricipitinus, populationibus arcendis sociorum agro oppositus, non ultrâ quàm in Hernicos procedit. Veturius primo proelio hostes fundit fugatque. Lucretium dum in Hernicis sedet, praedonum agmen fefellit ⁶ supra montes Praenestinos ductum inde demissum in campos. Vastavere agros Praenestinum Gabinumque; ex Gabino in Tusculanos flexere colles. Urbi quodque Romae ingens praebitus terror, magis in re subitâ quàm 'quod ad arcendam vim parum virium esset ⁷.' Q. Fabius praeerat urbi; is armatâ juventute dispositisque

¹ *Ad id quod*, 'in addition to the motive that.' ² According to Dionysius, the pestilence commenced in September, and lasted for a year.

³ Properly speaking, *interregnum* is applicable only to the interval between two *reigns*. It is used generally, however, to indicate all interim governments. See I. 17.

⁴ See p. 197, note 4. ⁵ Either for *ante diem tertium confectum*, (during the course of the third day,) *ante Idus*, or through some grammatical inaccuracy, the source of which we cannot trace, for the more obvious *die tertio ante*.

⁶ See p. 138, note 2. ⁷ *Esset* in the subjunctive after *quod*, with this force; than that *the Romans thought that there was*, &c.; *quod erat*, would indicate the belief of Livy only, not the consciousness of the people, and would be a much weaker expression.

praesidiis, tuta omnia ac tranquilla fecit. Itaque hostes, praedâ ex proximis locis raptâ, appropinquare urbi non ausi, quum circumacto agmine redirent, quanto longiùs ab urbe hostium abscederent, eo solutiore curâ, in Lucretium incidunt consulem jam ante exploratis itineribus suis¹ instructum et ad certamen intentum. Igitur praeparatis animis repentino pavore percussos adorti, aliquanto pauciores multitudinem ingentem fundunt fugantque; et compulsos in cavas valles, quum exitus haud in facili essent, circumveniunt. Ibi Volacum nomen prope deletum est. ‘Tredecim millia quadringentos septuaginta cecidisse in acie ac fugâ, mille ducentos quinquaginta vivos captos, signa viginti septem militaria relata,’ in quibusdam annalibus invenio; ubi etsi adjectum aliquid numero sit, magna certe caedes fuit. Victor consul ingenti praedâ potitus eadem in stativa rediit. Tum consules castra conjungunt; et Volsci Aequique affictas vires suas in unum contulere; tertia illa pugna eo anno fuit; eadem fortuna victoriam dedit. Fusis hostibus, etiam castra capta.

IX. Sic res Romana in antiquum statum rediit; secundaeque belli res extemplo urbanos motus excitaverunt². C. Terentillus Arsa tribunus plebis eo anno fuit. Is consulibus absentibus ratus locum tribuniciiis actionibus datum, per aliquot dies Patrum superbiam ad plebem criminatus, maximè in consulare imperium tanquam nimium nec tolerabile liberae civitati invehebatur, ‘nomine enim tantum minùs inviosum, re ipsâ prope atrocius quàm regium esse. Quippe duos pro uno domino acceptos, immoderatâ, infinitâ potestate; qui soluti atque effrenati ipsi, omnes metus legum omniaque supplicia verterent in plebem. Quae ne aeterna illis licentia sit, legem se promulgaturum, ut quinque

¹ This word *suis* has occasioned a difficulty truly surprising to the commentators. Some, quite inadmissibly, make it apply to the enemy, others interpret it as *cum suis*, ‘with his soldiers,’ and the rest, whilst they understand it correctly, wonder how it should be there at all. The *suis* is used emphatically, to contrast the careful conduct of the consul, who, by exploring *his* route, had been forewarned of the presence of the enemy, with the negligence of the Volscians, who were quite unprepared to meet with him. ² ‘Immediately on this first gleam of better times, the political grievances of the commons began again to excite attention and to claim redress.’ Dr Arnold, Rome, vol. i. p. 227.

“viri creentur legibus de imperio consulari scribendis.”
 ‘Quod populus in se jus dederit, eo consulem usurum; non
 ‘ipsum libidinem ac licentiam suam pro lege habituros.’
 Quâ promulgatâ lege, quum timerent Patres ne, absentibus
 consulibus, jugum acciperent, senatus a præsfecto urbis Q.
 Fabio vocatur; qui adeò atrociter in rogationem latoremque
 ipsum est invectus ut nihil, si ambo consules infesti circum-
 starent tribunum, relictum minarum atque terroris sit; ‘in-
 ‘sidiatum eum, et tempore capto adortum rempublicam. Si
 ‘quem similem ejus priore anno inter morbum bellumque
 ‘irati Dii tribunum dedissent, non potuisse sisti¹. Mortuis
 ‘duobus consulibus, jacente aegrâ civitate in colluvione om-
 ‘nium rerum, ad tollendum e republicâ consulare imperium
 ‘laturum leges fuisse, ducem Volscis Aequisque ad oppug-
 ‘nandam urbem futurum. Quid tandem? illi non licere,
 ‘si quid consules superbè in aliquem civium aut crudeliter
 ‘fecerint, diem dicere? accusare, his ipsis judiciis quorum
 ‘in aliquem saevitum sit? Non illud consulare imperium,
 ‘sed tribuniciam potestatem invisam intolerandamque fa-
 ‘cere; quam pacatam reconciliatamque Patribus de integro
 ‘in antiqua redigi mala. Neque illum se deprecari, quò
 ‘minùs pergat ut coeperit. Vos²,’ inquit Fabius, ‘ceteri
 ‘tribuni, oramus ut primum omnium cogitetis, potestatem
 ‘istam ad singulorum auxilium, non ad perniciem univer-
 ‘sorum comparatam esse; tribunos plebis vos creatos, non
 ‘hostes Patribus. Nobis miserum, invidiosum vobis est
 ‘desertam rempublicam invadi. Non jus vestrum, sed in-
 ‘vidiam minueritis. Agite cum collegâ ut rem integram
 ‘in adventum consulum differat. Ne Aequi quidem ac
 ‘Volsci, morbo absumptis priore anno consulibus, crudeli
 ‘superboque nobis bello institere³.’ Agunt cum Teren-
 tillo tribuni; dilatâque in speciem actione, re ipsâ sublatâ⁴,
 consules extemplo arcessiti.

¹ See p. 149, note 2.

² See p. 24, note 4.

³ Alluding to

the proceedings of the Aequi and Volsci, narrated in the 7th chapter.

⁴ Livy's account of the *Lex Terentilla* seems to be as follows. The consuls, as the administrators of justice, were actually, or were deemed to be, harsh, unjust and capricious to the commons. This latter body having acquired a standing by the *Lex Publilia*, (ii. 56, 58,) began to move, through the tribunes, for a code of laws, to be drawn up by five commissioners of their own number, and according

X. Lucretius cum ingenti praedâ, majore multò gloriâ rediit. Et auget gloriam adveniens expositâ omni in campo Martio praedâ, ut suum quisque per triduum cognitum abduceret. Reliqua vendita, quibus domini non exstitere. Debeatur omnium consensu consuli triumphus; sed dilata res est, tribuno de lege agente; id antiquius consuli fuit¹. Jactata per aliquot dies quum in senatu res, tum ad populum est. Cessit ad ultimum majestati consulis tribunus, et destitit. Tum imperatori exercituique honos suus redditus. Triumphavit de Volscis Aequisque; triumphantem secutae suae legiones. Alteri consuli datum, ut ovans² sine militibus urbem iniret. Anno deinde insequenti lex Terentilla³, ab toto relata collegio, novos aggressa consules est. Erant

to which the consuls are to administer justice to the commons. (See this chapter from *Quae ne aeterna sit, to habituros*.) This is most vehemently resisted by the Patricians, and is, through their influence with the other tribunes, seemingly postponed, (*dilatataque in speciem actione*;) but in reality altogether suppressed (*re ipsâ sublatâ*;) for although the discussion was renewed this very year, (ch. 10, *tribuno de lege agente*;) and for years thereafter, the measure itself was never carried, but a compromise (see c. 31,) was entered into, A. U. C. 300. Moreover, Livy seems by these expressions to hint that had Terentillus pressed his law in the existing state of Rome, he would have carried it, but that delay had all the effect of abandonment, as it gave time not only for the return of the consuls, one of whom was highly popular from his success in war, but for a regularly organized opposition.

¹ *Id*, &c. 'That (the settlement of the 'Terentillian law) was considered by the consul as of more immediate importance.' This taken in connection with the sentence *Cessit ad ultimum*, &c. must mean that the consul insisted that there should be no triumph pending the discussion of the bill, and that in deference to him the discussion ceased for that year. *Antiquius*. See p. 57, note 1.

² The principal points of difference between the *triumph* and *ovatio*, in addition to that alluded to by Livy in the words *sine militibus*, were, that in the former, the general rode in a chariot, crowned with laurel, and attended by the magistrates and senators in their robes of office; in the latter, he walked, or rode on horseback, crowned with myrtle, and unattended by the senators, except as private friends. The close of the triumphal procession was the sacrifice of bullocks; of an *ovatio*, that of sheep, whence, according to most authors, the name.

³ Amongst the Romans, the laws were called either by the name of the proposer, as *Lex Terentilla*, or the name of the object affected by the law, as *Lex Agraria*. So with us, Peel's Bill, The Catholic Emancipation Bill.

consules P. Volumnius, Ser. Sulpicius. Eo anno
 v. c. coelum ardere visum; terra ingenti concussa motu
 293. est. 'Bovem locutam,' cui rei priore anno fides non
 fuerat, creditum. Inter alia prodigia et carnem pluit¹;
 'quem imbrem ingens numerus avium intervolutando rapu-
 'isse' fertur; quod intercidit², 'sparsum ita jacuisse per
 'aliquot dies, ut nihil odor mutaret.' Libri per duumviros
 sacrorum aditi³; pericula a conventu alienigenarum prae-
 dicta, ne qui in loca summa urbis impetus caedesque inde
 fierent. Inter cetera monitum 'ut seditionibus abstinere-
 'tur.' 'Id factum ad impediendam legem' tribuni crimi-
 nabantur, ingensque aderat certamen. Ecce (ut idem in
 singulos annos orbis volveretur) Hernici nunciant 'Volscos
 'et Aequos, etsi accisae res sint⁴, reficere exercitus; Antii
 'summam rei positam; Ecetrae Antiates colonos palàm
 'concilia⁵ facere. Id caput, eas vires belli esse.' Ut haec
 dicta in senatu sunt, delectus edicitur; consules belli ad-
 ministrationem inter se dispartiri jussi, alteri ut Volsci,
 alteri ut Aequi provincia esset. Tribuni coràm in foro
 personare 'Fabulam compositam Volsci belli, Hernicos ad
 'partes paratos. Jam ne virtute quidem premi libertatem
 'populi Romani, sed arte eludi. Quia occidione prope oc-
 'cisos Volscos et Aequos movere suâ sponte arma posse
 'jam fides abierit, novos hostes quaeri; coloniam fidam,
 'propinquam, infamem fieri. Bellum innoxiiis Antiatibus
 'indici, geri cum plebe Romanâ; quam oneratam armis, ex
 'urbe praecipiti agmine acturi essent, exsilio et relegatione
 'civium ulciscentes tribunos. Sic, ne quid aliud actum pu-

¹ See p. 55, note 1.

² This word *intercidit*, as before *pluit*, (perhaps Livy wrote *pluisse*, *interciderit*.) requires us to suppose him asserting that the flesh-shower actually fell, insinuating that quantities escaped the beaks of the birds, and giving the other statements on other authority, *fertur*.

³ This is the first allusion made by Livy to the Sibylline books, (see p. 105, note 1,) the history of which is so well known. The care of these books, which were supposed to contain the fate of the Roman empire, was entrusted at first to two, afterwards to ten, and finally to fifteen men, one of whose duties it was to inspect them, whenever any great danger threatened the state.

⁴ *Accidere*, 'to cut close,' applied originally to cutting the wings of a bird; metaphorically, *etsi res accisae sint*, 'although their strength was almost entirely disabled.' ⁵ As meetings for the reception of ambassadors, *concilia*, see p. 97, note 1.

'tent, victam legem esse; nisi, dum in integro res sit, dum domi, dum togati¹ sint, caveant ne possessione urbis pelantur, ne jugum accipiant. Si animus sit, non defore auxilium. Consentire omnes tribunos; nullum terrorem externum, nullum periculum esse. Cavisse Deos priore anno ut tutò libertas defendi posset.' Haec tribuni.

XI. At ex parte alterâ consules in conspectu eorum, positiss sellis, delectum habebant. Eò decurrunt tribuni concionemque secum trahunt. Citati pauci, velut rei experiundae causâ; et statim vis coërta. Quemcunque lictor jussu consulis prehendisset, tribunus mitti jubebat. Neque suum cuique jus modum faciebat, sed virium spe et manu obtinendum erat quod intenderes². Quemadmodum se tribuni gessissent in prohibendo delectu, sic Patres in lege, quae per omnes comitiales dies ferebatur, impediendâ gerebant. Initium erat rixae quum discedere populum jussissent tribuni, quòd Patres se summoverti haud sinebant. Nec fere seniores rei intererant, quippe quae non consilio regenda, sed permissa temeritati audaciaeque esset. Multum et consules se abstinebant, ne cui in colluvione rerum majestatem suam contumeliae offerrent. Kaeso erat Quinctius, ferox juvenis quâ nobilitate gentis, quâ corporis magnitudine et viribus. Ad ea munera data a Diis, et ipse addiderat multa belli decora facundiamque in foro, ut nemo, non linguâ, non manu, promptior in civitate haberetur. Hic quum in medio Patrum agmine constitisset eminens inter alios, velut omnes dictaturas consulatusque gerens in voce ac viribus suis, unus impetus tribunicios popularesque procellas sustinebat. Hoc duce saepe pulsus foro tribuni, fusa ac fugata plebs est³. Qui obvis fuerat, mulca-

¹ *Togati*, 'wearing the garments of civil life.' *Toga*, opposed to *sagum*, the military cloak, or *arma*, as in the well-known, *cedant arma togae*.

² *Quod intenderes*, 'whatever might be your aim.' The Latin idiom corresponds with the English in using the second person to indicate that the nominative is general, and applicable to an indefinite class of objects.

³ 'Historians seem to have been only prevented, by regard to the memory of their forefathers, from acknowledging that conflicts with arms were at that time frequent, both in the city and the forum. Dio Cassius, who had no inclination whatever to gloss over the enormities of republican times, speaks unequivocally of the ferocity of this period. According to him, the Patricians shunned an open conflict, but they got rid of

tus nudatusque abibat; ut satis appareret, si sic agi liceret, victam legem esse. Tum prope jam percussis aliis tribunis, A. Virginius ex collegio unus Kaesoni capitis diem dicit¹. Atrox ingenium accenderat eo facto magis quam conterruerat; eo acrius obstare legi, agitare plebem, tribunos velut justo persequi bello. Accusator pati reum ruere invidiaeque flammam ac materiam criminibus suis suggerere²; legem interim, non tam ad spem perferendi, quam ad lacessendam Kaesonis temeritatem ferre. Ibi multa saepe ab juventute inconsultè dicta factaque, in unius Kaesonis suspectum incidunt ingenium; tamen legi resistebatur. Et A. Virginius identidem plebi; 'Ecquid sentitis jam vos, Quirites, Kaesonem simul civem et legem quam cupitis habere non posse? Quanquam quid ego legem loquor? Libertati obstat, omnes Tarquinius superbiâ exsuperat. Expectate dum consul aut dictator fiat, quem privatum viribus et audaciâ regnantem videtis.' Assentiebantur multi, 'pulsatos se' querentes, et tribunum ad rem peragendam ultro incitabant.

XII. Jam aderat iudicio dies, apparebatque vulgò homines 'in damnatione Kaesonis libertatem agi' credere. Tum demum coactus cum multâ indignitate prensabat singulos³. Sequebantur necessarii, principes civitatis. T. Quinctius Capitolinus, qui ter consul fuerat, quum multa referret sua familiaeque decora, affirmabat, 'Neque in Quinctiâ gente, neque in civitate Romanâ tantam indolem tam maturae virtutis unquam exstitisse. Suum primum militem fuisse se⁴, se saepe vidente pugnâsse in hostem.' Sp. Furius, 'missum ab Quinctio Capitolino sibi eum in dubiis suis rebus venisse subsidio⁵; neminem unum⁶ esse, cujus magis

'their most formidable opponents by assassination.' Niebuhr, vol. ii. ch. 2. ¹ *Kaesoni*, &c. 'fixes a day for the trial of Kaeso on a capital charge.' ² *Accusator*, &c. 'The accuser permitted the defendant to rush on in his lawless violence, and whilst he increased the flame of public odium, to supply fresh materials for his own accusations against him.' ³ See p. 181, note 1. ⁴ *Suum primum militem fuisse*.

Either, 'that Kaeso had served his first campaign under him,' or, more probably, 'that Kaeso had been the most distinguished soldier under him.' ⁵ Three years before; see chap. 5.

⁶ *Unus* is often used by Livy to strengthen the negation or affirmation, as *quisquam unus*, ii. 9; *nemo unus*, again chap. 14.

‘operâ putet rem restitutam.’ L. Lucretius consul anni prioris, recenti gloriâ nitens suas laudes participare¹ cum Kaesone, memorare pugnas, referre egregia facinora nunc in expeditionibus nunc in acie, suadere et monere ‘juvenem ‘egregium, instructum naturae fortunaeque omnibus bonis, ‘maximum momentum² rerum ejus civitatis in quamcunque venisset, suum quàm alienum mallent civem esse. ‘Quod offendant in eo, fervorem et audaciam, aetatem quotidie auferre; quod desideretur, consilium, id in dies crescere. Senescentibus vitiis, maturescente virtute, sinerent ‘tantum virum senem in civitate fieri.’ Pater inter hos L. Quinctius, cui Cincinnato³ cognomen erat, non iterando laudes, ne cumlaret invidiam, sed veniam errori atque adolescentiae petendo ‘sibi, qui non dicto, non facto quemquam offendisset, ut condonarent filium,’ orabat. Sed alii aversabantur preces, aut verecundiâ aut metu; alii, ‘se ‘suosque mulcatos’ querentes, atroci responso judicium suum praeferebant⁴.

XIII. Premebat reum, praeter vulgatam invidiam, crimen unum, quòd M. Volscius Fictor, qui ante aliquot annos tribunus plebis fuerat⁵, testis exstiterat ‘se, haud multò pòst ‘quàm pestilentia in urbe fuerat⁶, in juventutem⁷ grassantem in Suburâ incidisse; ibi rixam natam esse, fratremque suum majorem natu necdum ex morbo satis validum, ‘pugno ictum ab Kaesone cecidisse semianimem; inter ‘manus domum ablatum, mortuumque inde arbitrari; nec ‘sibi rem exsequi tam atrocem per consules superiorum

¹ *Participare*. See p. 179, note 4. ² *Momentum*. See p. 86, note 1. ³ See p. 7, note 3. ⁴ *Sed, &c.* ‘But some avoided

‘listening to his entreaties, either through respect or fear;’ (respect making them disinclined to throw themselves into a situation where they should be obliged to reject the wishes of one whom they valued highly,—fear, to expose themselves to the resentment of one so powerful); ‘others, complaining that they and their friends had ‘been roughly handled by him, indicated, by their surly answers, ‘their verdict at the approaching trial.’

⁵ According to Dionysius, Volscius was tribune this year. ⁶ *Fuisset?*

See p. 153, note 3.

⁷ ‘The young burghers (patricians) ‘were accustomed to have their brotherhoods or clubs, like the ‘young men of the aristocratical party in Athens.’ Dr Arnold’s *Rome*, vol. I. p. 230. In *juventutem*, ‘with a club of young aristocrats.’

‘annorum licuisse.’ Haec Volscio clamitante, adeò concitati homines sunt ut haud multum abfuerit quin impetu populi Kaeso interiret. Virginus arripi jubet hominem et in vincula duci; Patricii contrà vi resistunt. T. Quinctius clamitat ‘Cui rei capitalis dies dicta sit, et de quo futurum prope diem iudicium, eum indemnatum indictâ causâ non debere violari.’ ‘Tribunus supplicium’ negat ‘sumptuum se de indemnato; servaturum tamen in vinculis esse ad iudicii diem, ut qui hominem necaverit, de eo supplicii sumendi copia populo Romano fiat.’ Appellati tribuni medio decreto jus auxilii sui expediunt; ‘in vincula conjici’ vetant: ‘sisti reum pecuniamque, nisi sistatur, populo pro-mitti, placere’ pronunciant¹. Summam pecuniae quantam aequum esset promitti, veniebat in dubium; id ad senatum rejicitur. Reus, dum consulerentur Patres, retentus in publicó² est. ‘Vades dare’ placuit; unum vadem tribus millibus aeris obligârunt; quot darentur, permissum tribunis est. Decem finiêrunt; tot vadibus accusator vadatus est reum³. Hic primus vades publicos dedit. Dimissus e foro nocte proximâ in Tuscos in exsilium abiit. Iudicii die quum excusaretur ‘solum vertisse exsilii causâ,’ nihilo minùs Virginio comitia habente, collegae appellati dimisere concilium; pecunia a patre exacta crudeliter, ut divenditis omnibus bonis aliquamdiu trans Tiberim, veluti relegatus, devio quodam tugurio viveret⁴.

XIV. Hoc iudicium et promulgata lex exercuit civitatem; ab externis armis otium fuit. Quum velut victores tribuni, percussis Patribus Kaesonis exsilio, ‘prope perla-

¹ *Appellati*, &c. ‘The tribunes, when appealed to, free from all difficulties their right to assist the accused, by a decree between the two extremes; they order him not to be thrown into prison; they declare it to be their pleasure, that the defendant be made to appear at the trial, and a sum of money to be assured to the people, in case he do not appear.’ ² *Publico*, sc. foro. Below we have *dimissus e foro*.

³ According to Festus, *vas* comes from *vado*. Vades ideo dicti, quod qui eos dederit, *vadendi*, id est, discedendi, habet potestatem. *Vadari reum*, ‘to bind the defendant by bail;’ the converse action of the defendant was termed, *vades dare* or *vadimonium promittere*. ⁴ Niebuhr repels this charge of cruelty against the tribunes, on several grounds, and among others; ‘It was the securities therefore, and they certainly patricians, who without mercy prosecuted their loss against the father as a debt.’ Rome, vol. i, ch. 2.

' tam esse' crederent ' legem,' et quod ad seniores Patrum pertineret cessissent possessione reipublicae; juniores, id maximè quod Kaesonis sodalium fuit ¹, auxere iras in plebem, non minuerunt animos. Sed ibi plurimum profectum est, quòd modo quodam temperavere impetus suos. Quum primò post Kaesonis exsilium lex coepta ferri est ², instructi paratique cum ingenti clientium exercitu sic tribunos, ubi primùm submoventes praebuere causam, adorti sunt ut nemo unus inde praecipuum quicquam gloriae domum invidiaeve ferret, ' mille pro uno Kaesones exstitisse,' plebes quereretur. Mediis diebus, quibus tribuni de lege non agerent, nihil eisdem illis placidius aut quietius erat. Benignè salutare, alloqui plebis homines, domum invitare, adesse in foro, tribunos ipsos cetera pati sine interpellatione concilia habere; nunquam ulli, neque publicè, neque privatim, truces esse, nisi quum de lege agi coeptum esset.' Alibi popularis juvenus erat. Nec cetera modò tribuni tranquillò peregere, sed refecti ³ quòque in insequentem annum. Ne voce quidem incommodà, nedum ut ulla vis fieret, paulatim permulcendo tractandoque mansuefecerant plebem. His per totum annum artibus lex elusa est.

XV. Accipiunt civitatem placidiorem consules C. ^{U. C.} Claudius, Appii filius, et P. Valerius Publicola.

294. Nihil novi novus annus attulerat; legis ferendae aut accipiendae cura civitatem tenebat. Quantum juniores Patrum plebi se magis insinuabant, eo acriùs contrà tribuni tendebant ut plebi suspectos eos criminando facerent; ' Conjuratorem factam, Kaesonem Romae esse; interficiendorum tribunorum, trucidandae plebis consilia inita. Id ' negotii datum ab senioribus Patrum, ut juvenus tribuniciam potestatem e reipublicâ tolleret, formaque eadem civitatis esset quae ante Sacrum montem occupatum fuerat ⁴. Et ab Volscis et Aequis statum jam ac prope solenne in singulos annos bellum timebatur; propiusque aliud novum

¹ General collectives in Latin have pronominal neuters; of this there are two striking instances here, *et quod* (a general collective,) *pertineret* (potential, ' happened to belong,') *ad seniores Patrum* is equivalent to *seniores Patrum*; and *id maxime* is equivalent to *juniores, ii maxime qui Kaesonis sodales fuerunt*. *Sodalium*, ' belonging to the same club,' see p. 210, note 7. ² See p. 71, note 1. ³ See p. 184, note 1. ⁴ *Fuisset*? See p. 153, note 3.

malum, nec opinatò exortum. Exsules servique, ad quatuor millia hominum et quingenti, duce Ap. Herdonio Sabino, nocte Capitolium atque arcem occupavere. Confestim in arce facta caedes eorum qui conjurare et simul capere arma noluerant; alii inter tumultum praecipites pavore in forum devolant. Alternae voces, 'Ad arma!' et 'Hostes in urbe sunt!' audiebantur. Consules et armare plebem, et inermem pati timebant; incerti quod malum repentinum, externum an intestinum¹, ab odio plebis an ab servili fraude urbem invasisset, sedabant tumultus, sedando interdum movebant; nec enim poterat pavida et consternata multitudo regi imperio. Dant tamen arma, non vulgò; tantùm ut, incerto hoste, praesidium satis fidum ad omnia esset. Solliciti reliquum noctis, incertique qui homines, quantus numerus hostium esset, in stationibus disponendis ad opportuna omnis urbis loca egere. Lux deinde aperuit bellum ducemque belli. Servos ad libertatem Ap. Herdonius ex Capitolio vocabat, 'Se miserrimi cujusque suscepisse causam, ut exsules injuriâ pulsos in patriam reduceret et servitiis grave jugum demeret; id malle populo Romano auctore fieri. Si ibi spes non sit, se Volscos et Aequos et omnia extrema tentaturum et concitaturum.'

XVI. Dilucere res magis Patribus atque consulibus. Praeter ea tamen quae denunciabantur, ne Vejentium, neu Sabinorum id consilium esset timere; et quum tantum in urbe hostium esset, mox Sabinæ Etruscaeque legiones ex composito adessent; tum aeterni hostes Volsci et Aequi non ad populandos, ut antè, fines, sed ad urbem ut ex parte captam venirent. Multi et varii timores. Inter ceteros eminebat terror servilis, ne suus cuique domi hostis esset; cui nec credere, nec non credendo, ne infestior fieret, fidem abrogare satis erat tutum. Vixque concordia sisti videbatur posse. Tantùm, superantibus aliis ac emergentibus malis, nemo tribunos aut plebem timebat; mansuetum id malum, et per aliorum quietem malorum semper exoriens, tumque esse peregrino terrore sopitum videbatur. At id prope unum maximè inclinatis rebus incubuit².

¹ See p. 124, note 3.

² Cui, &c. 'Whom it was neither safe to trust, nor by distrust to deprive entirely of confidence, lest this should rouse his hatred to activity. And it seemed that the state could scarcely be secured, even by harmonious efforts. Only'

Tantus enim tribunos furor tenuit ut 'non bellum, sed
'vanam imaginem belli, ad avertendos ab legis curâ plebis
'animos, Capitolium insedissee' contenderent; 'patriciorum
'hospites clientesque, si perlatâ lege frustra tumultuatos
'esse se sentiant, majore quàm venerint silentio abituros.'
Concilium inde legi perferendae habere, avvocato populo ab
armis. Senatum interim consules habent, alio se majore
ab tribunis metu ostendente quàm quem nocturnus hostis
intulerat.

XVII. Postquam 'arma poni et discedere homines ab
stationibus' nunciatum est, P. Valerius, collegâ senatum
retinente, se ex curiâ proripit, inde in templum ad tribu-
nos venit; 'quid hoc rei est,' inquit, 'tribuni? Ap. Her-
'donii ductu et auspicio rempublicam eversuri estis? Tam
'felix vobis corrumpendis fuit, qui servitia¹ vestra non
'commovit auctor? Quum hostes supra caput sint, discedi
'ab armis legesque ferri placet?' Inde ad multitudinem
oratione versâ; 'si vos urbis, Quirites, si vestri nulla cura
'tangit, at vos veremini Deos vestros, ab hostibus captos.
'Jupiter optimus maximus, Juno regina, et Minerva², alii
'Dii Deaeque obsidentur. Castra servorum publicos ves-
'tros Penates tenent. Haec vobis forma sanæ civitatis vi-
'detur? Tantum hostium non solùm intra muros est, sed in
'arce supra forum curiamque; comitia interim in foro sunt;

(i. e. the only circumstance which gave them any assurance of safety
was the hope of this harmony, inasmuch as) 'nobody feared the tri-
'bunes or plebeians while other calamities were becoming buoyant,'
(*supero*, neut. I rise above the surface, *emergeo*, I rise high above it,) 'and rising up against the republic. That calamity seemed' (in si-
milar circumstances to become) 'pacified and always swelling to fury
'only during the quiet interval of other calamities, and at that time
'to have been lulled into inaction by the terrors of a foreign foe.
'But' (in reality and contrary to expectation) 'it,' (i. e. the factious-
ness of the commons and their tribunes,) 'almost by its single force,
'pressed most heavily upon the sinking state.' In this somewhat
intricate passage Crevier destroys *non credendo*, as an unnecessary
gloss; (for *sisti*, see p. 149, note 2.) Many commentators join
tantum to *superantibus*, in the sense of 'so much.' Doering points
the sentence as we have done, connecting *tantum* (giving it the force
of *adeo*) with *timebat*; the same critic on MSS. authority destroys
que after *tum*, and notices the unusual *ac* before a vowel *emergenti-
bus*.

¹ See p. 102, note 2.

² In the capitol there were
temples erected to these three divinities. See p. 101, note 1.

‘senatus in curiâ est, velut quum otium superat, senator
 ‘sententiam dicit; alii Quirites suffragium ineunt. Non
 ‘quicquid Patrum plebisque est, consules, tribunos, Deos¹,
 ‘hominesque omnes armatos opem ferre, in Capitolium
 ‘currere, liberare ac pacare augustissimam illam domum
 ‘Jovis optimi maximi decuit²? Romule pater, tu mentem
 ‘tuam, quâ quondam arcem ab his iisdem Sabinis auro cap-
 ‘tam recepisti³, da stirpi tuæ; jube hanc ingredi viam,
 ‘quam tu dux, quam tuus ingressus exercitus est. Primus,
 ‘en, ego consul, quantum mortalis Deum possum, te ac
 ‘tua vestigia sequar.’ Ultimam orationis fuit, ‘Se arma
 ‘capere, vocare omnes Quirites ad arma. Si quis impediât,
 ‘jam se consularis imperii⁴, jam tribuniciae potestatis sa-
 ‘cratarumque legum oblitum, quisquis ille sit, ubicunque
 ‘sit, in Capitolio, in foro, pro hoste habiturum. Juberent⁵
 ‘tribuni, quoniam in Ap. Herdonium vetarent, in P. Va-
 ‘lerium consulem sumi arma. Ausurum se in tribunis,
 ‘quod princeps familiae suae⁶ ausus in regibus esset.’
 Vim ultimam apparebat futuram, spectaculoque seditionem
 Romanam hostibus fore; nec lex tamen ferri, nec ire in
 Capitolium consul potuit. Nox certamina coepta oppres-
 sit; tribuni cessere nocti, timentes consulum arma. Amo-
 tis de seditionis auctoribus, Patres circumire plebem, in-
 ferre quoque in circulos sermones temporis aptos serere;
 adiuvantibus ‘Ut viderent, in quod discrimen rempublicam
 ‘adducerent; non inter Patres ac plebem certamen esse,

¹ Gronovius, in order to preserve the anti-climax, (*gradatio a summo ad infimum* are his words,) reads *cives*. But there is no anti-climax, but a rhetorical series in pairs—*Patres, plebs; consules, tribuni; Dii, homines*; and the gods are appropriately introduced as called to arm for their sovereign Jove.

² See p. 59, end of note 5, the construction of *decet* being similar to that of *oportet*.

³ See I. 11, 12. ⁴ *Consularis* is the emphatic word, contrasted mentally in its limits with the unlimited authority of a dictator.

⁵ By one of those transitions so common to Livy and all historical writers, the tense is changed from the historical to the grammatical past. The reader will find no difficulty in understanding this seeming inconsistency, if he remember, that in all cases a historian using the present for the purpose of adding to the effect of his narration, is speaking, in reality, of past time, and consequently may, with perfect propriety, pass from the one to the other. See p. 87, note 4, also p. 16, note 1, and p. 43, note 4.

⁶ His father, P. Valerius Publicola.

‘ sed simul Patres plebemque, arcem urbis, templa Deorum, Penates publicos privatosque hostibus dedi.’ Dum hæc in foro sedandæ discordiæ causâ aguntur, consules interim, ne Sabini, ne Vejens hostis moveretur, circa portas murosque discesserant.

XVIII. Eâdem nocte et Tusculum de arce captâ Capitolioque occupato, et alio turbatae urbis statu nuncii veniunt. L. Mamilius Tusculi tum dictator erat. Is, confestim convocato senatu atque introductis nunciis, magno opere censet, ‘ Ne expectent dum ab Româ legati auxilium petentes veniant; periculum ipsum discrimenque, ac sociales Deos, fidemque foederum id poscere; demerendi beneficio tam potentem, tam propinquam civitatem, nunquam parem occasionem daturus Deos.’ Placet ferri auxilium; juvenus conscribitur, arma dantur. Romam primâ luce venientes procul speciem hostium praebuere; Aequi aut Volsci venire visi sunt. Deinde, ubi vanus terror abiit, accepti in urbem agmine in forum descendunt; ibi jam P. Valerius, relicto ad portarum praesidia collegâ, instruebat aciem. Auctoritas viri moverat affirmantis, ‘ Capitolio recuperato et urbe pacatâ, si edoceri se *sissent*¹ quae frans a tribunis occulta in lege ferretur, memorem se majorum suorum, memorem cognominis, quod populus *colendi*² velut hereditaria cura sibi a majoribus tradita est, concilium plebis non impediturum.’ Hunc ducem secuti, nequicquam reclamantibus tribunis, in clivum Capitolium erigunt aciem³; adjungitur et Tusculana legio. Certare socii civesque, utri recuperatae arcis suum decus facerent; dux uterque suos adhortatur. Trepidare tum hostes, nec ulli satis rei, praeterquam loco fidere; trepidantibus inferunt signa Romani sociique. Jam in vestibulum perruperant templi, quum P. Valerius inter primores pugnam ciens interficitur. P. Volumnius consularis vidit cadentem; is, dato negotio suis ut corpus obtegerent, ipse in locum vicemque consulis provolat. Prae ardore impetuque tantæ rei sensus non pervenit ad militem; prius vicit quam

¹ *Sissent*; for *sivissent*. *Se* is used here, as applied to the *people*, in a clause immediately after, as applied to *Valerius*. Instances similar to this are by no means rare. See p. 121, note 1. Here *se* (*sinentes*) edoceri; affirmantis *se affirmantem* memorem. ² The cognomen, being *Publicola*. See II. chap. 8. ³ See p. 49, note 1.

se pugnare sine duce sentiret. Multi exsulum caede suâ foedavere templum, multi vivi capti; Herdonius interfec-tus. Ita Capitolium recuperatum. De captivis, ut quisque liber aut servus esset, suae fortunae a quoque sumptum sup-plicium est ¹. Tusculanis gratiae actae; Capitolium purga-tum atque lustratum. In consulis domum plebes quadran-tes, ut funere ampliore efferretur, jactâsse fertur ².

XIX. Pace partâ, instare tum tribuni Patribus ‘ut P. Valerii fidem exsolverent;’ instare Claudio, ‘ut collegae ‘Deos manes fraude liberaret, agi de lege sineret.’ Consul, ‘antequam collegam sibi subrogâset’ negare ‘passurum agi ‘de lege.’ Hae tenuere ³ contentiones usque ad comitia consulis subrogandi. Decembri mense ⁴, summo Patrum

¹ For the general notion conveyed by such phrases as *sumere sup-plicium ab aliquo*, see p. 39, note 2. The meaning of the clause *suae*, &c. is, ‘each man suffered condign punishment in the form suited to his ‘condition;’ the force of *esset* is potential,—‘chanced to be.’ Diony-sius tells us that the free men were beheaded, and the slaves crucified. ² 43 years before, his father was buried at the public expense; II. 16. Plutarch mentions that his family obtained a burial place in the city as a gift from the state. ‘Perhaps, too, these disastrous ‘trials were further aggravated by another evil, which the Roman ‘people were unwilling openly to avow. When matters came to such ‘a pass that the commons occupied the Capitol in arms,’ (accord-ing to Dionysius, ix,) ‘as was the case immediately before the pass-ing of the Publilian law, where we read of dissensions so violent ‘that the consuls of three successive years were impeached by the ‘tribunes, and a tribune was on the other hand murdered by the aris-tocracy; when, again, at a somewhat later period, we read of the ‘disputes about the Terentillian law, and hear of the banishment of ‘Kaeso Quinctius for his violence towards the commons on that oc-casion, we may expect that the whole truth has not been revealed ‘to us, and that the factions of Rome, like those of Greece, were ‘attended by the banishment of a considerable number of the van-quished party, so that Roman exiles were often to be found in the ‘neighbouring city, as eager to return as the Tarquinii had been for-merly, and as little scrupulous as they of effecting that return through ‘foreign aid. That this was actually the case is shewn by the sur-prise of the Capitol, in the year 294, when a body of men, consist-ing, as it is expressly said, of exiles’ (by inference from Livy, c. 15, but expressly stated by Dionysius,) ‘and slaves, and headed by Ap-pius Herdonius, a Sabine, made themselves masters of the citadel ‘of Rome.’ Dr Arnold’s Rome, vol. i. p. 188. ³ See

p. 117, note 3.

⁴ The ordinary time for the con-

studio, L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, pater Kaesonis consul creatur, qui magistratum statim occiperet. Perculsa erat plebes, consulem habitura iratum, potentem favore Patrum, virtute suâ, tribus liberis, quorum nemo Kaesoni cedebat magnitudine animi; consilium et modum adhibendo, ubi res posceret, priores erant. Is ut magistratum iniit, assiduis concionibus pro tribunali, non in plebe coërcendâ quàm senatu castigando vehementior fuit; 'cujus ordinis languore
'perpetui jam tribuni plebis, non ut in republicâ populi
'Romani, sed ut in perditâ domo, linguâ criminibusque
'regnarent. Cum Kaesone filio suo virtutem, constantiam,
'omnia juventutis belli domique decora pulsa ex urbe Romanâ et fugata esse. Loquaces, seditiosos, semina discordiarum, iterum ac tertium tribunos pessimis artibus regiâ licentiâ vivere. A.,' inquit, 'ille Virginius¹, quia in
'Capitolio non fuit, minus supplicii quàm Ap. Herdonius
'mervit? Plus Hercule aliquanto², qui vere rem aestimare
'velit. Herdonius, si nihil aliud, hostem se fatendo prope
'denunciavit³ ut arma caperetis; hic, negando bella esse,
'arma vobis ademit nudosque servis vestris et exsulibus
'objecit. Et vos (C. Claudii pace et P. Valerii mortui
'loquar) prius in clivum Capitolinum signa intulistis quàm
'hos hostes de foro tolleretis? Pudet Deorum hominum
'que. Quum hostes in arce, in Capitolio essent, exsulum
'et servorum dux, profanatis omnibus, in cellâ Jovis optimi
'maximi habitaret, Tusculi antè quàm Romae sumpta
'sunt arma. In dubio fuit, utrùm L. Mamilius Tusculanus
'dux, an P. Valerius et C. Clandius consules Romanam
'arcem liberarent; et qui antè Latinos, ne pro se quidem
'ipsis, quum in finibus hostem haberent, attingere arma passi
'sumus, nunc, nisi Latini suâ sponte arma sumpsissent,
'capti et deleti eramus⁴. Hoc est, tribuni, auxilium plebi

suls to assume office was on the 1st of August. (See p. 200, note 4.) So that the consul *subrogatus* 'elected in place of (sub,) 'the deceased' only held office for eight months instead of twelve.

¹ The tribune, who had fixed a day for the trial of Kaeso. See chap. 11. ² Supply *respondebit aliquis*. ³ See

p. 148, note 3, and p. 153, note 2, and try and resolve this sentence on Dr Hunter's principle. ⁴ *Nunc, &c.* 'We

'had now been captured and destroyed, if the Latins had not 'taken up arms of their own accord.' It will be observed, that both the Latin and the English idioms employ the indicative, (capti

‘ferre, inermem eam hosti trucidandam objicere? Scilicet, si
 ‘quis vobis humillimus homo de vestrâ plebe (quam partem,
 ‘velut abruptam a cetero populo, vestram patriam peculia-
 ‘remque rempublicam fecistis) si quis ex his domum suam
 ‘obsessam a familiâ armatâ nunciaret, ferendum auxilium
 ‘putaretis¹; Jupiter Optimus Maximus, exsulum atque
 ‘servorum septus armis, nullâ humanâ ope dignus erat? Et
 ‘hi postulant ut sacrosancti habeantur, quibus ipsi Dii ne-
 ‘que sacri neque sancti sunt? At enim², divinis humanis-
 ‘que obruti sceleribus, legem vos hoc anno perlaturus dic-
 ‘titatis! Tum hercule illo die quo ego consul sum creatus,
 ‘malè gesta respublica est, pejùs multo quàm quum P. Va-
 ‘lerius consul periit, si tuleritis. Jam primum omnium,’

et deleti eramus, we had been taken and destroyed,) with a force equivalent to the subjunctive, (capti et deleti essemus, we should have been taken and destroyed.) In all such passages (as already hinted, p. 177, note 2,) the indicative contains the idea involved in the subjunctive, with the additional force which a positive assertion has over a hypothetical one. ¹ I have placed a semicolon, instead of a period, after *putaretis*, as influenced by the interrogation, ‘would you deem, &c. and was Jupiter not worthy?’ This seems more indicative of the indignant spirit of the address.

² In such expressions *at* or *sed* is used to imply any objection to what has been previously hinted at or stated, and the objection is ushered in by *enim*. Thus Virgil, writing of the Cretan labyrinth, *inextricabilis error*; but correcting himself, he says, *Megnum reginæ sed enim miseratus amorem*, where *sed* implies an objection to the epithet *inextricabilis*, and *enim* introduces the proof that it was not wholly *inextricabilis*, as in the case of Ariadne. To perceive the force of the words here requires a nice perception of the allusion to the words *sacer* and *sacrus* involved in the three consecutive sentences. *Sacer* is sacred from its own divine character or its connection with the gods, *sacrus*, inviolable often from mere human institution. The tribunes were *sacrosancti*, their inviolability (*sancti*) being secured by the offender of it being devoted (*sacri*) to the infernal deities, and liable to be slain with impunity; yet, says Appian, indignantly, the tribunes claiming this sacred inviolability would not allow it to the gods themselves; inferring the absurdity of such a claim on their part. But (*at*) he proceeds, ‘it is evident, notwithstanding, that you do make this absurd claim; for, (*enim*), although unworthy of divine or human protection, as being overwhelmed with outrages against gods and men, you persist in affirming,’ &c. It is, I presume, from missing the force of this, that the commentators have placed a mark of interrogation (which I have changed) after *dictitatis*.

inquit, 'Quirites, in Volscos et Aequos mihi atque collegas legiones ducere in animo est. Nescio quo fato, magis bellantes quàm pacati propitios habemus¹ Deos. Quantum periculum ab illis populis fuerit si Capitolium ab exsulibus obsessum scissent, suspicari de praeterito quàm re ipsâ experiri est melius.'

XX. Moverat plebem oratio consulis; erecti Patres restitutam credebant rempublicam; consul alter, comes animosior quàm auctor, suscepisse collegam priorem actionem tam gravis rei facile passus, in peragendis consularis officii partem ad se vindicabat². Tum tribuni, eludentes³ velut vana dicta, persequi quaerendo 'quonam modo exercitum educturi consules essent, quos delectum habere nemo passurus esset?' 'Nobis verò,' inquit Quinctius, 'nihil delectu opus est, quum quo tempore P. Valerius ad recipiendum Capitolium arma plebi dedit⁴, omnes in verba juraverint "conventuros se jussu consulis, nec injussu abituros⁵." Edicimus itaque, "omnes qui in verba jurastis, crastinâ die armati ad lacum Regillum adsitis." Cavillari tum tribuni et populum exsolvere religione velle; 'privatum eo tempore Quinctium fuisse, quum sacramento adacti sint.' Sed nondum haec, quae nunc tenet saeculum, negligentia deûm venerat; nec interpretando sibi quisque iurandum et leges aptas faciebat, sed suos potiùs mori ad ea accommodabat. Igitur tribuni, ut impediendae si nulla spes erat, de proferendo exercitu⁶ agere; eo magis, quòd

¹ Quo, as an indefinite, would require the subjunctive; but in such expressions as that in the text, it has no influence on the verb. The leading assertion is contained in the verb following *nescio*, not in *nescio* itself. Thus the sentence here is not, 'I do not know by what fate it is that we 'have,' but, 'we have, I do not know by what fate.' ² According to Gronovius, 'In the discharge of the general duties of a consul, claimed a share to himself.' According to others, and more probably as a contrast to *priorem*, 'In carrying through the measures of his colleague against the tribunes claimed to himself a share in the exercise of the consular duties.' Sigonius suggests, in *peragendis consiliis, consularis officii partem*. ³ See p. 67, note 2. ⁴ See chap. 18. ⁵ See p. 152, note 4. ⁶ *Proferre exercitum*, explained by Doëring, as here meaning, to lead the army forward past the lake Regillus; by Ruperti, to put off the departure of the army. Gronovius conjectures *perterrendo*, Perizonius, *exercitus exitu*, and Duker, *de proferenda cum exercitu*. Of the explanations, Ruperti's seems to be preferable; of the conjectures, Duker's.

‘et augures jussos adesse ad Regillum lacum’ fama exierat, ‘locumque inaugurari ubi auspicatò cum populo agi posset; ‘ut quicquid Romae vi tribuniciâ rogatum esset, id comitiis ‘ibi abrogaretur. Omnes id jussuros, quod consules vel- ‘lent; neque enim provocationem esse longiùs ab urbe ‘mille passuum; et tribunos, si eò adveniant, in aliâ turbâ ‘Quiritium subjectos fore consulari imperio.’ Terrebant haec; sed ille maximus terror animos agitabat, quod saepiùs Quinctius dictitabat ‘Se consulum comitia non habitu- ‘rum. Non ita civitatem aegram esse, ut consuetis reme- ‘diis sisti possit. Dictatore opus esse reipublicae ut, qui ‘se moverit ad sollicitandum statum civitatis, sentiat sine ‘provocatione dictaturam esse.’

XXI. Senatus in Capitolio erat; eò tribuni cum pertur-
bata plebe veniunt. Multitudo clamore ingenti nunc con-
sulum, nunc Patrum fidem implorant. Nec antè moverunt
de sententia consulem quam tribuni ‘se in auctoritate Pa-
‘trum futuros esse’¹ polliciti sunt. Tunc referente con-
sule de tribunorum et plebis postulatis, senatùs consulta
fiunt; ‘Neque tribuni legem eo anno ferrent, neque con-
‘sules ab urbe exercitum educerent. In reliquum magistra-
‘tus continuari² et eosdem tribunos refici, judicare senatum
‘contra rempublicam esse.’ Consules fuere in Patrum potes-
tate³; tribuni, reclamantibus consulibus, refecti. Patres
quòdlibet ne quid cederent plebi, et ipsi L. Quinctium consulem
reficiebant⁴. Nulla toto anno vehementior actio consulis
fuit. ‘Mirer,’ inquit, ‘si vana vestra, Patres conscripti,
‘auctoritas ad plebem est? Vos elevatis⁵ eam. Quippe,
‘quæ plebs senatusconsultum in continuandis magistratibus
‘solvit, ipsi quòque solutum vultis, ne temeritati multitu-
‘dinis cedatis; tanquam id sit plus posse in civitate, plus
‘levitatis ac licentiae habere. Levius enim vaniusque pro-
‘fectò est, sua decreta et consulta tollere quàm aliorum.
‘Imitamini⁶, Patres conscripti, turbam inconsultam, et
‘qui exemplo aliis esse debetis, aliorum exemplo peccetis

¹ *Se, &c.* ‘that they would submit to the decision of the senators.’

² See p. 53, note 1. ³ *Consules, &c.* ‘The consuls submitted to
‘the authoritative will of the senate.’ ⁴ *Reficiebant,* ‘were re-
‘electing.’

⁵ *Elevare,* levem facere. ⁶ *Imitamini* is an
ironical imperative, similarly followed by *peccetis*. ‘Imitate if you
‘will,’ &c. ‘provided I at least do not imitate,’ &c.

‘potiùs quàm alii vestro rectè faciant; dum ego neimiter
 ‘tribunos, nec me contra senatus consultum consulem re-
 ‘nunciari patiar. Te verò, C. Claudii, adhortor ut et ipse
 ‘populum Romanum hâc licentiâ arceas; et de me hoc tibi
 ‘persuadeas, me ita accepturum, ut non honorem meum a
 ‘te impeditum, sed gloriam spreti honoris auctam, invidiam-
 ‘que quae ex continuato eo impenderet levatam putem.’
 Communiter inde edicunt, ‘Ne quis L. Quinctium consu-
 ‘lem faceret. Si quis fecisset, se id suffragium non obser-
 ‘vatu-ros.’

XXII. Consules creati Q. Fabius Vibulanus tertium et
 L. Cornelius Maluginensis. Census actus eo anno; lustrum,
 propter Capitolium captum, consulem occisum, condi reli-
 giosum fuit¹. Q. Fabio, L. Cornelio consulibus,
 v. c. principio anni statim res turbulentæ; instigabant ple-
 295. bem tribuni; bellum ingens a Volscis et Aequis. La-
 tiniatque Hernici nunciabant, ‘jam Antii Volscorum legiones
 ‘esse;’ et ipsam coloniam ingens metus erat defecturam;
 aegreque impetratum a tribunis, ut bellum praeverti sinerent.
 Consules inde partiti provincias. Fabio, ut Antium legio-
 nes duceret, datum; Cornelio, ut Romæ praesidio esset,
 ne qua pars hostium, qui Aequis mos erat, ad populandum
 veniret. Hernici et Latini jussi milites dare ex foedere;
 duaeque partes² sociorum in exercitu, tertia civium³ fuit.
 Postquam ad diem praestitutum venerunt socii, consul extra
 portam Capenam castra locat. Inde, lustrato exercitu, An-
 tium profectus, haud procul oppido stativisque hostium con-
 sedit. Ubi quum Volsci, ‘quia nondum ab Aequis venisset
 ‘exercitus,’ dimicare non ausi, quemadmodum quieti vallo
 se tutarentur pararent, postero die Fabius non permixtam
 unam sociorum civiumque, sed trium populorum tres sepa-
 ratim acies circa vallum hostium instruxit; ipse erat medius
 cum legionibus Romanis. Inde ‘signum observare’ jussit,
 ‘ut pariter et socii rem inciperent referrentque pedem, si
 ‘receptui cecinisset.’ Equites item suae cuique parti post
 principia collocat³. Ita trifariam adortus castra, circumve-

¹ For *condere lustrum*, see p. 81, note 6, and p. 197, note 2; for *religiosum*, p. 119, note 2. ² See p. 163, note 4. ³ *Equites*, &c. Collocat item post principia equites parti suae cuique. ‘He stations the cavalry also of each nation behind the front ranks of their own infantry.’ Gronovius reads *sua*, referring to *principia*; Sa-

nit ; et quum undique instaret, non sustinentes impetum Volscos vallo deturbat. Transgressus inde munitiones, pavidam turbam inclinatamque in partem unam castris expellit. Inde effusè fugientes eques, cui superare vallum haud facile fuerat, quum ad id spectator pugnae adstitisset, libero campo adeptus, parte victoriae fruitur territos caedendo. Magna et in castris et extra munimenta caedes fugientium fuit ; sed praeda major, quia vix arma secum efferre hostis potuit ; deletusque exercitus foret, ni fugientes silvae texissent.

XXIII. Dum ad Antium haec geruntur, interim Aequi, robore juventutis praemisso, arcem Tusculanam improvise nocte capiunt ; reliquo exercitu haud procul moenibus Tusculi considunt, ut distenderent hostium copias. Haec celementer Romam, ab Roma in castra Antium perlata, movent Romanos haud secus quam si Capitolium captum nunciaretur ; adeò et recens erat Tusculanorum meritum, et similitudo ipsa periculi reposcere datum auxilium videbatur. Fabius omissis omnibus praedam ex castris raptim Antium convehit ; ibi modico praesidio relicto, citatum agmen Tusculum rapit. Nihil praeter arma et quod cocti ad manum fuit cibi ferre militi licuit ; commeatum ab Roma consul Cornelius subvertit. Aliquot menses Tusculi bellatum ; parte exercitus consul castra Aequorum oppugnabat ; partem Tusculanis dederat ad arcem recuperandam. Vi nunquam eò subiri potuit ; fames postremo inde detraxit hostem¹. Quò postquam ventum ad extremum est, inermes nudique omnes sub jugum² ab Tusculanis missi. Hos ignominiosè fugâ domum se recipientes Romanus consul in Algido consecutus ad unum omnes occidit. Victor ad Columen (id loco nomen est) exercitu relicto castra locat. Et alter consul, postquam moenibus jam Romanis, pulso hoste, periculum esse desierat, et ipse ab Roma profectus. Ita bifariam consules ingressi hostium fines ingenti certamine hinc Volscos, hinc Aequos populantur. ‘ Eodem anno descisse Antiates,’ apud plerosque auctores invenio. L. Cornelium consulem

bellicus, quemque. ¹ Vi, &c. ‘ An entrance to the citadel could ‘ never have been effected by force ; hunger at last dislodged the ‘ enemy from it.’

² Jugum, the yoke, is thus described by Livy in the 28th chapter ; Tribus hastis jugum fit, humi fixis duabus, superque eas transversâ unâ deligatâ.

id bellum gessisse oppidumque cepisse, certum affirmare, quia nulla apud vetustiores scriptores ejus rei mentio est, non ausim.

XXIV. Hoc bello perfecto, tribunicium domi bellum Patres territat. Clamant ' fraude fieri, quòd foris teneatur ex-
'ercitus; frustrationem eam legis tollendae esse; se nihilo
' minus rem susceptam peracturos.' Obtinuit tamen P. Lucretius, praefectus urbis, ut actiones tribuniciae in adventum consulum differrentur. Erat et nova exorta causa motus. A. Cornelius et Q. Servilius quaestores M. Volscio, ' quod
' falsus haud dubie testis in Kaesonem extitisset,' diem dixerant. Multis enim emanabat indiciis, ' neque fratrem Vol-
'scii, ex quo semel fuerit aeger, unquam non modo visum in
' publico, sed ne assurrexisse quidem ex morbo, multorum-
' que tabe mensium mortuum, nec his temporibus, in quae
' testis crimen conjecisset, Kaesonem Romae visum;' affirmantibus qui unà meruerant, ' secum eum tum frequentem
' ad signa sine ullo comaeu fuisse;' ni ita esset, multi privatim ferebant Volscio iudices¹. Quum ad iudicium ire non auderet, omnes eae res in unum congruentes haud magis dubiam damnationem Volscii, quàm Kaesonis Volscio teste fuerat, faciebant. In morâ tribuni erant, qui ' comitia quae-
'stores habere de reo, nisi priùs habita de lege essent, pas-
'suos negabant. Ita extracta utraque res in consulatū ad-
ventum est; qui ubi triumphantes victore eam exercitu urbem inierunt, quia silentium de lege erat, perculsos magna pars credebant tribunos. At illi (etenim extremum anni jam erat) quantum affectantes tribunatum, in comitiarum disceptationem ab lege certamen averterant; et quum consules nihilo minùs adversus continuationem tribunatus, quàm si lex minuendae suae majestatis causâ promulgata

¹ *Affirmantibus, &c.* ' Whilst those who had served along with him averred, that during the time in question Kaeso had been regularly at his post along with them, without any period of absence. ' Many individuals in private stations proposed to Volscius judges, ' to decide if it were not so,' (ni, si non.) *Privatim* is here opposed to *Quaestores* in the former part of the chapter. In a private suit it was customary for the plaintiff to propose certain persons, (*ferre iudices,*) for the purpose of deciding the disputed point, (*ni ita esset.*) Sometimes the plaintiff desired the defendant to name the judges, (*ut iudices diceret.*) For the accusation against Kaeso, see chapter 13.

ferretur tetendissent, victoria certaminis penes tribunos fuit. Eodem anno Aequis pax est petentibus data. Census, res priore anno inchoata, perficitur¹; idque lustrum ab origine urbis decimum conditum. Fuerunt censa civium capita centum septemdecim millia trecenta novemdecim². Consulum magna domi bellicae eo anno gloria fuit; quod et foris pacem peperere, et domi etsi non concors, minus tamen quàm aliàs infesta civitas fuit.

XXV. L. Minucius inde et C. Nautius consules facti
 v. c. duas residuas anni prioris causas exceperunt. Eodem
 296. modo consules legem, tribuni iudicium de Volscio impediabant; sed in quaestoribus novis major vis, major auctoritas erat. Cum M. Valerio, Valerii filio, Volesi nepote, quaestor erat T. Quinctius Capitolinus, qui ter Consul fuerat. Is, 'quoniam neque Quinctiae familiae Kaeso, neque reipublicae ' maximus juvenum restitui posset³, falsum testem qui dicendae causae innoxio potestatem ademisset, justo ac pio bello' persequabatur. Quum Virginii maxime et tribuni⁴ de lege agerent, duum mensium spatium consulibus datum est ad inspiciendam legem; ut, quum edocuisset populum quid fraudis occultae ferretur, sinerent deinde suffragium inire. Hoc intervalli datum res tranquillas in urbe fecit. Nec diuturnam quietem Aequi dederunt; qui, rupto foedere quod ictum erat priore anno cum Romanis, imperium ad Gracchum Cloelium deferunt; is tum longè princeps in Aequis erat. Graccho dace in Lavicanum agrum, inde in Tusculanum hostili populatione veniunt, plenique praedae in Aligido castra locant. In ea castra Q. Fabius, P. Volumnius, A. Postumius, legati ab Roma venerunt, questum injurias et ex foedere res repetitum. Eos Aequorum imperator, 'quae mandata habeant ab senatu Romano, ad quercum' jubet 'dicere; se alia interim acturum.' Quercus ingens arbor praetorio imminabat, cujus umbrâ opaca sedes erat. Tum ex legatis unus abiens, 'et haec,' inquit, 'sacrata

¹ See ch. 22. ² According to Gronovius, *centum triginta duo millia quadringenta novem*. ³ Cicero expressly states that Kaeso was recalled. As we nowhere else find any mention of this circumstance, we must imagine, with Father Catrou, that in Livy's opinion he had died.

⁴ *Virginii maxime et tribuni* must mean, 'the 'tribunes, and especially Virginii,' as he was one of those who continued so long in office. See chapter 11.

‘quercus, et quicquid deorum est audiant foedus a vobis ruptum; nostrisque et nunc querelis adsint¹, et mox armis, quum deorum hominumque simul violata jura exsequemur.’ Romam ut rediere legati, senatus jussit alterum consulem contra Gracchum in Algidum exercitum ducere; alteri populationem finium Aequorum provinciam dedit. Tribuni suo more impedire delectum. Et forsitan ad ultimum impedissent; sed novus subito additus terror est.

XXVI. Vis Sabinorum ingens prope ad moenia urbis infestâ populatione venit. Foedati agri, terror injectus urbi est. Tum plebs benignè arma cepit. Reclamantibus frustra tribunis, magni duo exercitus scripti. Alterum Nautius contra Sabinos duxit; castrisque ad Eretum positis, per expeditiones parvas, plerumque nocturnis incursionibus tantam vastitatem in Sabino agro reddidit, ut comparati ad eam, prope intacti bello fines Romani viderentur. Minucio neque fortuna nec vis animi eadem in gerendo negotio fuit. Nam quum haud procul ab hoste castra posuisset, nullâ magnopere clade acceptâ, castris se pavidus tenebat². Quod ubi senserant hostes, crevit ex metu alieno, ut fit, audacia; et nocte adorti castra, postquam parum vis aperta profecerat, munitiones postero die circumdant. Quae priusquàm undique vallo objecto clauderent exitus, quinque equites inter stationes hostium emissi, Romam pertulere ‘consulem exercitumque obsideri.’ Nihil nec tam inopinatum, nec tam insperatum³ accidere potuit. Itaque tantus pavor, tanta trepidatio fuit, quanta si urbem, non castra, hostes obsiderent. Nautium consulem arcessunt. In quo quum parum praesidii videretur dictatoremque dici placeret qui rem perculsam restitueret, L. Quinctius Cincinnatus consensu omnium dicitur. Operae pretium est audire, qui⁴ omnia prae divitiis humana spernunt, neque honori magno locum neque virtuti putant esse, nisi ubi effuse affluant opes. Spes unica imperii populi Romani, L. Quinctius trans Tiberim, contra eum ipsum locum ubi nunc navalia sunt, quatuor jugerum

¹ See p. 23, note 2. ² Dionysius (x.) represents the Romans as led into a rocky plain encompassed by mountains, and there blocked up.

³ *Nihil nec.* A double negative, without its usual force of affirmation. *Inesperatum*, is often ‘unexpected.’ *Sperare*, used as the Greek *ἡπίζω*, simply, ‘to expect.’

⁴ *Operae, &c.* ‘Those (iis) would do well to listen to the following account, who, &c.’

colebat agrum quae 'prata Quinctia' vocantur. Ibi ab legatis, seu fossam fodiens palae innisus, seu quum araret, operi certè, id quod constat, agresti intentus, salute datâ in vicem redditâque, rogatus 'ut quod bene verteret ipsi reique publicae, togatus mandata senatûs audiret,' admiratus rogatansque, 'satin' salva essent omnia, togam propere e tugurio proferre uxorem Raciliam jubet. Quâ simul, absterso pulvere ac sudore, velatus processit, dictatorem eum legati gratulantes consalutant, in urbem vocant, 'qui terror sit in exercitu' exponunt. Navis Quinctio publice parata fuit, transvectumque tres obviam egressi filii excipiant, inde alii propinqui atque amici, tum Patrum major pars. Eâ frequentiâ stipatus, antecedentibus lictoribus, deductus est domum. Et plebis concursus ingens fuit; sed ea nequaquam tam laeta Quinctium vidit, et imperii nimium¹, et virum in ipsos imperio vehementiorem rata. Et illâ quidem nocte nihil praeterquàm vigilatum est in urbe².

XXVII. Postero die dictator, quum ante lucem in forum venisset, magistrum equitum dicit L. Tarquitium, patriciae gentis, sed qui, quum stipendia pedibus propter paupertatem fecisset, bello tamen primus longè Romanae juventutis habitus esset³. Cum magistro equitum in concionem venit, justitium edicit, claudi tabernas totâ urbe jubet, vetat quemquam privatae quicquam rei agere. Tum 'quicumque aetate militari essent, armati, cum cibariis in dies quinque coctis vallisque duodenis, ante solis occasum Martio in campo adessent; quibus aetas ad militandum gravior esset, vicino militi, dum is arma pararet vallumque peteret, ci-baria coquere' jussit. Sic juvenus discurrit ad vallum petendum. Sumpsere, unde cuique proximum fuit; pro-

¹ *Imperii nimium*. The most obvious meaning of these words is, (*nimium* masc.) 'excessive in the exercise of power;' but as that sentiment occurs in the next clause, and *virum* is contrasted with *ipso imperio*, they more probably denote (*nimium*, neut.) 'that excessive power was committed to him.'

² *Nihil -atum est praeter quam vigil-*. See p. 153, note 2.

³ Why the subjunctive? Is it a part of the reason assigned by Cincinnatus for his choice, or is *qui* equivalent to *talem, ut is*, or is *habitus esset* potential, 'had deserved to be esteemed?' The sentence is, in any view, illogical; *sed* refers to *patriciae gentis*, but the subsidiary clause, *quum*, contains the objection, not the principal clause. *Juventus* refers to the *Equites*.

hibitus nemo est ; impigreque omnes ad edictum dictatoris praesto fuere. Inde composito agmine, non itineri magis apti¹ quam proelio, si res ita tulisset, legiones ipse dictator, magister equitum suos equites ducit. In utroque agmine, quas tempus ipsum poscebat adhortationes erant ; ‘ adde-
rent gradum, maturato opus esse, ut nocte ad hostem per-
venire possent. Consulem exercitumque Romanum obsi-
deri. Tertium diem jam clausos esse ; quid quaeque nox
aut dies ferat, incertum esse ; puncto saepe temporis
‘ maximarum rerum momenta² verti.’ ‘ Accelera, signi-
fer,’ ‘ sequere, miles,’ inter se quoque gratificantes duci-
bus clamabant. Mediâ nocte in Algidum perveniunt, et
ut sentire se jam prope hostes esse, signa constituunt.

XXVIII. Ibi dictator, quantum nocte prospici poterat, equo circumvectus contemplatusque qui tractus castrorum, quaeque forma esset, tribunis militum imperavit ‘ ut sarcinae in unum conjici jubeant, militem cum armis valloque
‘ redire in ordines suos.’ Facta, quae imperavit. Tum, quo fuerant ordine in via, exercitum omnem longo agmine circumdat hostium castris, et ‘ ubi signum datum sit, clamorem omnes tollere’ jubet, ‘ clamore sublato, ante se
‘ quemque ducere fossam et jacere vallum.’ Editio imperio, signum secutum est. Jussa miles exsequitur, clamor hostes circumsonat ; superat inde castra hostium, et in castra consulis venit ; alibi pavorem, alibi gaudium ingens facit. Romani ‘ civilem esse clamorem, atque auxilium adesse’ inter se gratulantes, ultro ex stationibus ac vigiliis territant hostem. Consul differendum negat ; ‘ Illo clamore non ad-
ventum modo significari, sed rem ab suis coeptam ; mi-
rumque esse, ni jam exteriore parte castra hostium oppug-
nentur. Itaque arma suos capere et se subsequi,’ jubet. Nocte initum proelium est a legionibus ; dictatori clamore significant, ‘ ab ea quoque parte rem in discrimine esse.’ Jam se ad prohibenda circumdari opera Aequi parabant, quum ab interiore hoste proelio coepto, ne per media sua castra fieret eruptio, a munientibus ad pugnantes introrsum

¹ *Apti* in the plural, referring to *dictator* and *magister* ; *ducit* in the singular, agreeing, by a common construction, with the latter of the two nouns, to both of which it refers.

² See p. 86, note 1.

versi vacuum noctem operi dedere¹; pugnatumque cum consule ad lucem est. Luce primâ jam circumvallati ab dictatore erant, et vix adversus unum exercitum pugnam sustinebant. Tum a Quinctiano exercitu, qui confestim a perfecto opere ad arma rediit, invaditur vallum. Hic instabat nova pugna; illa nihil remiserat prior². Tum ancipiti malo urgente, a proelio ad preces versi, hinc dictatorem, hinc consulem orare, 'ne in occidione victoriam ponerent, ut inermes se inde abire sinerent.' Ab consule ad dictatorem ire jussis ignominiam infensus addidit. 'Gracchum Cloelium ducem principesque alios vinctos ad se adduci' jubet, 'oppido Corbione decedi; sanguinis se Aequorum non egere; licere abire; sed, ut exprimatur tandem confessio, subactam domitamque esse gentem,' sub jugum 'abitueros.' Tribus hastis jugum fit, humi fixis duabus, superque eas transversâ unâ deligatâ. Sub hoc jugo dictator Aequos misit.

XXIX. Castris hostium receptis³ plenis omnium rerum, (nudos enim emiserat,) praedam omnem suo tantum militi dedit. Consularem exercitum ipsumque consulem increpans, 'carebis,' inquit, 'praedae parte, miles, ex eo hoste cui prope praedae fuisti. Et tu, L. Minuci, donec consularem animum incipias habere, legatus his legionibus praeeris.' Ita se Minucius abdicat consulatu jussusque ad exercitum manet. Sed adeo tum imperio meliori animus mansuete obediens erat, ut beneficii magis quam ignominiae hic exercitus memor et coronam auream dictatori libram pondo⁴ decreverit, et proficiscentem eum patronum salutaverit. Romae a Q. Fabio, praefecto urbis, senatus habitus triumphantem Quinctium, quo veniebat agmine, urbem ingredi jussit. Ducti ante currum hostium duces; militaria signa praelata; secutus exercitus, praedâ onustus. Epulae instructae dicuntur fuisse ante omnium domos; epulantesque cum carmine triumphali et solennibus jocis, comissantium modo, currum secuti sunt. Eo die L. Mamilio Tus-

¹ *Vacuum*, &c. 'enabled the dictator's party to work uninterruptedly all night.'

² *Hic*, on the side where the dictator's army was posted; *illa prior pugna*, 'the former battle with the consul.'

³ See p. 118, note 1. ⁴ *Coronam habentem libram pondo* (pondere.)

culano¹, approbantibus cunctis, civitas data est. Confestim se dictator magistratu abdicasset, ni comitia M. Volscii, falsi testis, tenuissent²; ea ne impedirent tribuni dictatoris obstitit metus. Volscius damnatus Lanuvium in exsilium abiit. Quinctius sexto decimo die dictaturâ, in sex menses acceptâ, se abdicavit. Per eos dies consul Nautius ad Eretum cum Sabinis egregie pugnat; ad vastatos agros ea quoque clades accessit Sabinis. Minucio Fabius Quintus successor in Algidum missus. Extremo anno agitatum de lege ab tribunis est; sed quia duo exercitus aberant, ne quid ferretur ad populum Patres tenuere. Plebes vicit ut quintum eosdem tribunos crearent. 'Lupos visos in Capitolio' ferunt 'a canibus fugatos; ob id prodigium lustratum Capitolium esse.' Haec eo anno gesta.

XXX. Sequuntur consules Q. Minucius, C. Horatius Pulvillus. Cujus initio anni, quum foris otium esset, domi seditiones iidem tribuni, eadem lex faciebat; ulteriusque ventum foret (adeo exarserant animis) ni velut deditâ operâ 'nocturno impetu Aequorum Corbione' amissum praesidium nunciatum esset. Senatum consules vocant. Jubentur subitarium scribere exercitum, atque in Algidum ducere. Inde, posito legis certamine, nova de delectu contentio orta; vincebaturque consulare imperium tribunicio auxilio, quum alius additur terror, 'Sabinum exercitum praedatum descendisse in agros Romanos, inde ad urbem venire.' Is metus perculit³, ut scribi militem tribuni sinerent; non sine pactione tamen, 'ut quoniam ipsi quinquennium elusi essent, parvumque id plebi praesidium foret, decem deinde tribuni plebis crearentur.' Expressit hoc necessitas Patribus. Id modo exceperet, 'ne postea

¹ For the services of Mamilius, see beginning of chapter 18.

² Here, *teneret*, 'to hold in office, to withhold from resigning';—a few sentences below, 'to hold a purpose, to gain a point.' This reading, which is that of all the best MSS., has been changed by Gronovius to *perpulit* on these grounds; *Percelli* est everti, subverti, affligi; *perpelli* est adigi, permoveri ad aliquid. *Percellere ut facias* juxta est ineptum ac si dicas, *affligere ut facias, prosternere ut facias*. *Perculit*, after all, seems to be the better reading, because it expresses more strongly the consternation of the tribunes. The sentence is not, ut *facerent*, but ut *sinerent*, with which *perculit* may be joined with perfect propriety, especially if you give *ut* the force of 'so that.'

‘eosdem tribunos juberent.’ Tribunicia comitia (ne id quoque post bellum, ut cetera, vanum esset) extemplo habita. Tricesimo sexto¹ anno a primis tribunis plebis, decem creati sunt, bini ex singulis classibus²; itaque³ cautum est ut postea crearentur. Delectu deinde habito, Minucius contra Sabinos profectus non invenit hostem. Horatius, quum jam Aequi, Corbione interfecto praesidio, Ortonam etiam cepissent, in Algido pugnat; multos mortales occidit; fugat hostem non ex Algido modo, sed a Corbione Ortonaque. Corbionem etiam diruit propter proditum praesidium.

XXXI. Deinde M. Valerius, Sp. Virginius consules facti. Domi forisque otium fuit. Annonâ propter aquarum intemperiem⁴ laboratum est. De Aventino publicando⁵ lata lex est. Tribuni plebis iidem refecti sequente anno, T. Romilio, C. Veturio consulibus, legem omnibus concionibus suis celebrabant; ‘Pudere se numeri sui nequicquam aucti, si ea res aequae suo biennio jaceret ac toto superiore lustro jacuisset.’ Quum maxime haec agerent, trepidi nuncii ab Tusculo veniunt, ‘Aequos in agro Tusculano esse.’ Fecit pudorem recens ejus populi meritum morandi auxilii; ambo consules cum exercitu missi hostem in suâ sede in Algido inveniunt. Ibi pugnatum; supra septem millia hostium caesa; alii

¹ There is such a discrepancy as to the chronology of these early times, both in the ancient writers and among the commentators, that I find it impossible even to state their opinions in a note, especially to the exclusion of matter more important to a young reader. The dates on the margin are those of Glarean.

² Excluding the lowest class, on account of its insignificance.

³ *Itaque, et ita.*
⁴ *Intemperies*, ‘a want of due tempering,’ as excessive heat or cold when applied to the atmosphere, excessive moisture or drought when applied to rain. Here probably ‘excessive rains.’
⁵ *Publicare* generally signifies ‘to confiscate, to make public property what ‘has been private.’ Niebuhr, evidently referring to this use of the word, censures Livy’s account of the law, as neither probable nor intelligible. But the word must be understood in another, and probably, a technical sense, as explained by Dr Arnold, a law ‘for allotting the whole of the Aventine hill to the commons for ever, ‘to be their exclusive quarter and stronghold.’ The proceedings with regard to the law, which was deemed of great importance to the commons, as is evident from the last sentence of the 32d chapter, (where we have the name of the proposer, C. Icilius,) are fully narrated by Dionysius in his tenth book. See Index, *Aventinus*.

fugati; praeda parta ingens. Eam propter inopiam aerarii consules vendiderunt; invidiae tamen res ad exercitum fuit, eademque tribunis materiam criminandi ad plebem consules praebuit¹. Itaque ergo, ut magistratu
 u. c. abiêre, Sp. Tarpeio, A. Aterio consulibus, dies dicta
 300. est Romilio ab C. Claudio Cicerone, tribuno plebis, Veturio ab L. Alieno, aedile plebis. Uterque magnâ Patrum indignatione damnatus, Romilius decem millibus aeris, Veturius quindecim. Nec haec priorum calamitas consulum segniores novos fecerat consules; 'Et se damnari posse' aiebant, 'et plebem et tribunos legem ferre non posse.' Tum abjectâ lege quae promulgata consenuerat², tribuni leniùs agere cum Patribus; 'Finem tandem certaminum facerent. Si plebeiae leges displicerent, at illi communiter legum latores et ex plebe et ex Patribus, qui utrisque utilia ferrent quaeque aequandae libertatis essent, sinerent creari.' Rem non aspernabantur Patres; 'datum leges neminem nisi ex Patribus' aiebant. Quum de legibus conveniret, de latore tantùm discreparet, missi legati Athenas Sp. Postumius Albus, A. Manlius, P. Sulpicius Camerinus; jussique inclytas leges Solonis describere, et aliarum Graeciae civitatum instituta, mores juraque noscere³.

¹ Livy has been severely censured for omitting, in this account of the consulship of Romilius and Veturius, to narrate a revival of the disputes concerning the Agrarian law,—violence offered to the consuls,—fines imposed on three young Patricians for interrupting the Comitia,—an animated address of an old soldier Siccus Dentatus,—the extraordinary success of this veteran against the Aequi, in an attack treacherously assigned to him by the consul for the purpose of destroying him. These supposed faults of omission are easily accounted for by Hook's supposition that Livy did not believe the statements. In two points Livy is at express variance with Dionysius. The latter states that Siccus destroyed the booty found in the camp captured by him, to prevent the consuls from obtaining the honour of a triumph, and that, being elected tribune of the people, he was the accuser of Romilius. ² *Quae promulgata consenuerat*, 'which, after having been publicly announced, had been permitted to languish.' See p. 205, note 4. ³ 'Deputies were sent to the Greek cities of Italy, and to Athens, to collect such laws as were esteemed the wisest, and to bring them home for the use of the Decemviri. The general truth of this account is confirmed by the list of the deputies, but the embassy to Athens is doubtful. . . . The story in itself would not be in-

XXXII. Ab externis bellis quietus annus fuit ;
 u. c. 301. quietior insequens, P. Curiatio et Sex. Quinctilio consulibus, perpetuo silentio tribunorum, quod primò legatorum qui Athenas ierant, legumque peregrinarum expectatio prae-buit, dein duo simul mala ingentia exorta, fames pestilentiaeque foeda homini, foeda pecori. Vastati agri sunt ; urbs assiduis exhausta funeribus ; multae et clarae lugubres domus. Flamen Quirinalis, Ser. Cornelius mortuus ; augur, C. Horatius Pulvillus ; in cuius locum C. Veturius eo cupidius, quia damnatus a plebe erat, augures legere ; mortuus consul Quinctilius, quatuor tribuni plebis.

Multiplici clade foedatus annus ; ab hoste otium fuit.
 u. c. 302. Inde consules C. Menenius, P. Sestius Capitolinus ; neque eo anno quicquam belli externi fuit ; domi motus orti. Jam redierant legati cum Atticis legibus ; eo intentius instabant tribuni, ut tandem scribendarum legum initium fieret. Placet creari decemviros sine provocatione, et ne quis eo anno alius magistratus esset. Admischerentur plebeii, controversia aliquamdiu fuit. Postremò concessum Patribus, modò ne lex Icilia de Aventino ¹ aliaeque sacratae leges abrogarentur.

XXXIII. Anno trecentesimo altero ² quàm condita Roma erat, iterum mutatur forma civitatis, ab consulibus ad decemviros, quemadmodum ab regibus antè ad consules venerat, translato imperio. Minus insignis, quia non diuturna mutatio fuit ; laeta enim principia magistratûs ejus nimis luxuriavere. Eo citius lapsa res est, repetitumque duobus
 u. c. 303. uti mandaretur consulum nomen imperiumque. Decemviri creati Ap. Claudius, T. Genucius, P. Sestius,

¹ 'credible, for Athens not very long after had some connection with 'Tyrrenia.' Niebuhr's Rome, vol. ii. ch. 2. ² See p. 231, note 5.

² Without discussing the question of dates, we may state shortly, that Sigonius understands *trecentesimo altero* to mean the 301st, Dr Arnold the 302d entering, and Glarean the 302d completed, the Decemviri entering on office in the 303d year, the two last entertaining the same opinion as to the word *altero*, which, according to Dr Arnold may imply one in such expressions as *alter ab undecimo*, where the inclusive method of reckoning is used, but always implies two where it is used absolutely, following here *trecentesimo primo*, and preceding *trecentesimo tertio*. The meaning of *alter* as an ordinal is a favourite subject of critical disquisition, but we have no room to discuss it properly.

L. Veturius, C. Julius, A. Manlius, Ser. Sulpicius, P. Curvius, T. Romilius, Sp. Postumius. Claudio et Genucio, quia designati consules in eum annum fuerant, pro honore honos redditus, et Sestio alteri consulum prioris anni, quod eam rem collegâ invito ad Patres retulerat. His proximi habiti legati tres qui Athenas ierant, simul ut pro legatione tam longinquâ praemio esset honos, simul 'peritos legum' peregrinarum ad condenda nova jura usui fore' credebant. Supplere ceteri numerum; 'graves quodque aetate electos' novissimis suffragiis' ferunt, 'quo minùs ferociter aliorum' scitis adversarentur¹. Regimen totius magistratûs penes Appium erat favore plebis; adeoque novum sibi ingenium induerat, ut plebicola repentè omnisque aurae popularis captator evaderet, pro truci saevoque insectatore plebis. Decimo die jus populo singuli reddebant; eo die penes praefectum juris fasces duodecim erant²; collegis novem singuli accensi apparebant. Et in unicâ concordia inter ipsos (qui consensus privatis interdum inutilis esset) summa adversus alios aequitas erat. Moderationis eorum argumentum exemplo unius rei notasse satis erit. Quum sine provocatione creati essent, defosso cadavere domi apud P. Sestium, patriciae gentis virum, invento prolatoque in concionem, in re juxtâ manifestâ atque atroci, C. Julius decemvir diem Sestio dixit, et accusator ad populum exstisit, ejus rei iudex legitimus erat, decessitque jure suo, ut demptum de vi magistratûs populi libertati adjiceret.

XXXIV. Quum promptum hoc jus velut ex oraculo incorruptum pariter ab his summi infimique ferrent³, tum legibus condendis opera dabatur; ingentique hominum expectatione propositis decem tabulis, populum ad concionem advocaverunt; et, 'quod bonum, faustum, felixque reipublicae⁴, ipsis, liberisque eorum esset, ire et legere leges

¹ *Graves quodque, &c.* 'It is stated besides, that (four) men, advanced in life, were elected by the last votes, in order that they might be less vehement in opposition to the enactments of the others.'

² *Decimo die, &c.* 'Every tenth day each decemvir administered justice to the people; during that day as supreme judge he had the twelve fasces.'

³ *Quum, &c.* 'Whilst the highest and the lowest were alike receiving at the hands of the decemvirs this administration of justice, as incorruptible as the voice of an oracle.'

⁴ See p. 31, note 3.

'propositas' jussere; 'se, quantum decem hominum ingeniis provideri potuerit, omnibus summis infimisque jura aequâsse. Plus pollere multorum ingenia consiliaque. Versarent in animis secum unamquamque rem, agitent deinde sermonibus, atque in medium quid in quâque re plus minusve esset conferrent. Eas leges habiturum populum Romanum, quas consensus omnium non jussisse latas¹ magis, quàm tulisse, videri posset.' Quum ad rumores hominum de unoquoque legum capite edito satis correctae viderentur, centuriatis comitiis decem tabularum leges perlatae sunt; qui nunc quodque, in hoc immenso aliarum super alias acervatarum legum cumulo, fons omnis publici privatique est juris². Vulgatur deinde rumor, 'duas deesse tabulas; quibus adjectis, absolvi posse velut corpus omnis Romani juris.' Ea exspectatio, quum dies comitiarum appropinquaret, desiderium decemviros iterum creandi fecit. Jam plebs, praeterquam quod consulum nomen haud secus quàm regum perosa erat, ne tribuniciū quidem auxilium, cedentibus in vicem appellatione decemviris³, quaerebat.

XXXV. Postquam verò comitia decemviris creandis in trinum nundinum indicta sunt⁴, tanta exarsit ambitio, ut primores quodque civitatis (metu credo ne tanti possessio

¹ *Ferre legem* here signifies 'to propose a law for enactment,' applied to the mover of the law; *jubere*, 'to enact a law,' applied to the people.

² Crassus, in Cicero's Dialogue *De Oratore*, is introduced as saying concerning these laws, *Bibliothecas omnium philosophorum, unus mihi videtur tabularum fœbellus superare*: and Tacitus calls them, *Finis aequi juris*.

³ *Cedentibus*, &c. 'The decemviri making concessions in their turn, by (giving them) the right of appeal' to their colleagues. Most of the critics thinking that *cedentibus* influences *appellatione*, ('departing from the right of appeal,') read *appellationi*. This, by our translation, seems unnecessary. One manuscript has *appellationem*.

⁴ 'The country people came to Rome every ninth day, whence these days were called *NUNDINAE*, *quasi NOVEN-DINAE*, having seven intermediate days for working. The time between the promulgation and passing of a law was called *TRINUM NUNDINUM*, or *TRINUNDINUM*.' Dr ADAM. It here signifies the time between the proclamation and the holding of the decemviral comitia, occupying at least a space of seventeen days, as the day of proclamation and that of the election were included, and the second market day counted twice.

imperii, vacuo ab se relicto loco, haud satis dignis pateret) prensarent homines, honorem summâ ope a se impugnatum ab eâ plebe cum quâ contenderant suppliciter petentes. Demissa jam in discrimen dignitas, eâ aetate iisque honoribus actis, stimulabat Ap. Claudium¹. Nescires² utrûm inter decemviros, an inter candidatos numerares. Propior interdum petendo quàm gerendo magistratui erat; criminari optimates, extollere candidatorum levissimum quemque humillimumque. Ipse medius inter tribunicios Duilios Iciliosque in foro volitare, per illos se plebi venditare; donec collegae quodque, qui unicè illi dediti fuerant ad id tempus, coniecere in eum oculos, mirantes quid sibi vellet. Apparere nihil sinceri esse; 'Profectò haud gratuitam in tantâ superbiâ comitatem fore; nimium in ordinem se ipsum cogere³ et vulgari cum privatis, non tam prope-rantis abire magistratu quàm viam ad continuandum magistratum quaerentis esse.' Propalam obviàm ire cupiditati parum ausi, obsecundando mollire impetum aggrediuntur. Comitiorum illi habendorum, 'quando minimus natus sit,' munus consensu injungunt. Ars haec erat, ne semet ipse creare posset, 'quod praeter tribunos plebis (et id ipsum pessimo exemplo) nemo unquam fecisset.' Ille enimvero, 'quod bene vertat⁴, habiturum se comitia' professus, impedimentum pro occasione arripuit; dejectisque honore per coitionem duobus Quinctiis, Capitolino et Cincinnato, et patruo suo C. Claudio, constantissimo viro in optimatium causâ, et aliis ejusdem fastigii civibus, nequaquam splendore vitae pares decemviros creat, se in primis, quod haud secus factum improbabant boni quàm nemo facere ausurum crediderat. Creati cum eo M. Cornelius Maluginensis, M. Sergius, L. Minucius, Q. Fabius Vibulanus, Q. Poetelius, T. Antonius Merenda, K. Duilius, Sp. Oppius Cornicen⁵, M. Rabuleius.

¹ *Demissa*, &c. 'The dignified office of decemvir having now become a matter of contention, urged on Ap. Claudius, of such an age,' alluding to his youth, 'and after having held such high offices,' (as of themselves sufficiently to urge him on to seek the continuance of his power.)

² See p. 208, note 2.

³ *Cogere in ordinem*, a military phrase, 'to drive straggling soldiers on their march to the ranks,' and, as here, 'to reduce to the rank of common men.'

⁴ See p. 50, note 2.

⁵ Poetelius, Duilius and

XXXVI. Ille finis Appio alienae personae ferendae fuit¹. Suo jam inde vivere ingenio coepit novosque collegas jam priùs quàm inirent magistratum in suos mores formare. Quotidie coibant remotis arbitris; inde impotentibus instructi consiliis quae secretò ab aliis coquebant², jam haud dissimulando superbiam, rari aditùs, colloquentibus difficiles ad Idus Maias rem perduxere; Idus tum Maias solennes in eundis magistratibus erant³. Initio igitur magistratùs, primum honoris diem denunciatione ingentis terroris insignem fecere. Nam quum ita priores decemviri servassent ut unus fasces haberet, et hoc insigne regium in orbem, suam cujusque vicem, per omnes iret⁴, subitò omnes cum duodenis fascibus prodière. Centum viginti lictores forum impleverant, et fascibus secures illigatas praeferebant, 'nec attinuisse demi securim, quum sine 'provocatione creati essent' interpretabantur. Decem regum species erat, multiplicatusque terror non infimis solùm sed primoribus Patrum ratis 'caedis causam ac principium 'quaeri; ut si quis memorem libertatis vocem aut in se 'natu aut in populo misisset, statim virgae securesque etiam 'ad ceterorum metum expedirentur⁵.' Nam praeterquam quòd in populo nihil erat praesidii sublatà provocatione, intercessionem⁶ quòque consensu sustulerant, quum priores decemviri appellatione collegae corrigi reddita ab se jura tulissent⁷, et quaedam, quae sui judicii videri possent, ad populum rejecissent. Aliquamdiu aequatus inter omnes terror fuit; paullatim totus vertere in plebem coepit. Abstinebatur a Patribus; in humiliores libidinosè crudeliterque

Oppius, are said by Dionysius to have been plebeians; and Niebuhr adds to them, Antonius and Rabuleius, making five patrician and five plebeian decemviri. Livy evidently considers them all as patricians, whence Dr Arnold infers that there must once have been patrician and plebeian families of the same name, of which the patrician branches had become extinct before the time when their names became famous in history.

¹ *Ille, &c.* 'That' (his success) 'led 'Appius to throw off the mask.' A metaphor taken from the Roman practice of wearing masks (*personae*) on the stage.

² *Impotentia consilia*, 'measures of unrestrained oppression';—*coquere consilia*, 'to cook artfully, to contrive measures.'

³ See p. 200, note 4.

⁴ See chap. 33. ⁵ See p. 182, note 4. ⁶ *Provocatio*, here an

appeal from a magistrate to the people; *intercessio*, see p. 181, note 5.

⁷ *Tulissent*, 'had permitted.' See p. 235, note 3. *Rejecissent*, alluding to the story of Sestius, in ch. 83.

consulebatur ; hominum non causarum toti erant ¹, ut apud quos gratia vim aequi haberet. Judicia domi conflabant, pronuntiabant in foro. Si quis collegam appellâset, ab eo ad quem venerat ita discedebat, ut poeniteret non prioris decreto stetisse. Opinio etiam sine auctore exierat, ' non in praesentis modò temporis eos injuriam conspirâsse, ' sed foedus clandestinum inter ipsos jurejurando ictum, " ne comitia haberent, perpetuoque decemviratu possessum " semel obtinerent ² imperium."

XXXVII. Circumspectare tum patriciorum vultus plebei, et inde libertatis captare auram, unde servitutem timendo in eum statum rempublicam adduxerant. Primores Patrum odisse decemviros, odisse plebem ; nec probare quae fierent ; et credere haud indignis accidere ; avidè ruendo ad libertatem in servitutem elapsos juvare nolle ; cumulare quòque injurias, ut taedio praesentium consules duo tandem et status pristinus rerum in desiderium veniant. Jam et processerat pars major anni, et duae tabulae legum ad prioris anni decem tabulas erant adjectae ³ ; nec quicquam jam

¹ *Hominum*, &c. ' Persons, not causes, received their whole consideration.' *Erant hominum*, a common mode of expression ; literally, ' they were the property of persons,' i. e. Persons occupied their attention as if by right.

² *Obtinere* here signifies, ' to keep firmly.' A similar expression occurs, iv. 16. Nec deinde id plebem concessum semel obtinuisse.

³ A valuable account of the contents of these tables is given by Dr Arnold in his History of Rome. As I find it impossible to abridge it, in any thing like reasonable compass, I must content myself with giving the following summary from Ferguson's Roman Republic : ' This code appears in some clauses to have been a first draft of ' the regulations which are necessary in the establishment of property, and in making private parties answerable to public judicatures in all their disputes. The property of land was established ' by a fair prescription of two years, and that of other effects, by a ' prescription of one year. Any controversy concerning the boundaries of land property was to be determined by arbiters or jurymen appointed by the magistrate. Parties cited to a court of justice were not at liberty to decline attendance. Judgment in capital cases was competent only to the assembly of the people in their centuries ; but this supreme tribunal might delegate its powers ' by a special commission. The distinction of patrician and plebeian ' was so great, that persons in these different orders were not permitted to intermarry. The father being considered as the absolute ' master of his child, had a right even to kill or expose him to sale.

supererat, si hae quòque leges centuriatis comitiis perlatae essent, cur eo magistratu reipublicae opus esset. Expectabant quàm mox consulibus creandis comitia edicerentur. Id modò plebes agitabat, quonam modo tribuniciam potestatem, munimentum libertati, rem intermissam repararent, quum interim mentio comitiorum nulla fieri, et decemviri qui primò tribunicios homines, quia id populare habebatur, circum se ostentaverant plebei, patriciis juvenibus¹ seperant latera; eorum catervae tribunalia obsederant. Hi ferre, agere² plebem plebisque res, quum fortuna quà quicquid cupitum foret potentioris esset³. Et jam ne tergo quidem abstinebatur; virgis caedi, alii securi subjici; et ne gratuita crudelitas esset, bonorum donatio sequi domini supplicium. Hâc mercede juvenus nobilis corrupta, non modò non ire obviàm injuriae, sed propalam licentiam suam malle quàm omnium libertatem.

XXXVIII. Idus Maiæ venere. Nullis subrogatis magistratibus, privati pro decemviris neque animis ad imperium inhibendum⁴ imminutis neque ad

'The interest of money was limited to one *per cent.*: but bankruptcy was treated as a crime, and without any distinction of fraud or misfortune, exposed the insolvent debtor to the mercy of his creditors, who might put him to death, dissect or quarter him, and distribute his members among them. In private every family were free to worship the gods their own way. And in public, though certain forms were required, yet there was not any penalty annexed to the commission of them, as the punishment of offences in this matter was left to the offended god. The people were required to build their houses two feet asunder, to leave eight feet for the ordinary breadth of streets and highways, and double this breadth at the turnings. They were forbid to dress or to polish the wood employed in funeral piles, or to express their sorrow for the dead by wounding their flesh, tearing their hair, or by uttering indecent or lamentable cries.' ¹ See p. 210, note 7. ² *Ferre, agere*, similar to the Greek *φίγειν καὶ ἀγναι*, and the Scotch stealing and lifting,—applied, the former to plundering goods that can be carried, the latter to plundering cattle, &c. which are driven. ³ To the

host of conjectures as to the meaning of this passage if not corrupt, and of emendations if it is, I may be allowed to add my opinion, that there is little difficulty if we understand *qua* to mean 'to whatever extent, bounded only by,' as, *omnia qua visus erat*, &c. Sallust, Jugurtha, c. 108; *qua terra patet, fera regnat Erinnyes*. Ovid. Met. i. 241. 'When fortune was on the side of the more powerful, as far as, to an extent limited only by, his desires.' ⁴ *Inhibere im-*

speciem honoris insignibus prodeunt. Id verò regnum haud dubiè videri. Deploratur in perpetuum libertas; nec vindex quisquam existit, aut futurus videtur. Nec ipsi solum desponderant animos, sed contemni coepti erant a finitimis populis; 'imperiumque ibi esse ubi non esset libertas' indignabantur¹. Sabini magnâ manu incursionem in agrum Romanum fecere; latèque populati, quum hominum atque pecudum inulti praedas egissent, recepto ad Eretum quod passim vagatum erat agmine, castra locant spem in discordiâ Romanâ ponentes 'eam impedimentum delectui fore.' Non nuncii solum, sed per urbem agrestium fuga trepidationem iniecit. Decemviri consultant 'quid opus facto sit?' Destitutis inter Patrum et plebis odia addidit terrorem insuper alium fortuna. Aequi aliâ ex parte castra in Algidio locant, 'depopulatumque inde excursionibus Tusculanum agrum' legati ab Tusculo, praesidium orantes nunciant. Is pavor perpulit decemviros, ut senatum, simul duobus circumstantibus urbem bellis, consulerent. Citari jubent in curiam Patres, haud ignari quanta invidiae immineret tempestas, 'omnes vastati agri periculorumque imminuentium causas in se congesturos, tentationemque eam fore abolendi sibi magistratûs, ni consensu resisterent im-perioque inhibendo² acriter in paucos praeferocis animi conatus aliorum comprimerent.' Postquam audita vox in foro est praeconis Patres in curiam ad decemviros vocantis, velut nova res, quia intermiserant jam diu morem consulendi senatûs, mirabundam plebem convertit, 'quidnam incidisset, cur ex tanto intervallo rem desuetam usurparent? hostibus belloque gratiam habendam, quòd solitum quicquam liberae civitatis fieret.' Circumspectare omnibus fori partibus senatorem, raròque usquam noscitare; curiam inde ac solitudinem circa decemviros intueri, quum et ipsi 'invisum consensu imperium,' et plebs 'quia privatis jus non esset vocandi senatum, non convenire Patres' interpretarentur³, 'jam caput fieri libertatem repetentium, si se

perium, habere imperium in, 'to exercise against others.' ¹ Livy inaccurately changes the nominative to the two connected verbs, the first being ipsi *Romani*, the second *finitimi*. The suggestion of *qui* for *que* seems plausible. ² See p. 239, note 4. ³ *Quum*, &c. 'Whilst, on the one hand, the decemvirs themselves concluded that' (supply *interpretarentur*,—the conclusion of course being drawn from

'plebs comitem senatui det, et quemadmodum Patres vocati 'non coëant in senatum, sic plebs abnuat delectum.' Haec fremunt plebes. Patrum haud ferè quisquam in foro; in urbe rari erant. Indignitate rerum cesserant in agros, suarumque rerum erant ¹, amissâ publicâ, 'tantum ab injuriâ se 'abesse' rati 'quantum a coetu congressuque impotentium 'dominorum se amovissent.' Postquam citati non conveniebant, dimissi circa domos apparitores simul ad pignora ² capienda sciscitandumque 'num consultò detrectarent?' referunt, 'senatum in agris esse.' Laetius id decemviris accidit quàm si 'praesentes detrectare imperium' referrent. Jubent acciri omnes, senatumque in diem posterum edicunt; qui aliquantò spe ipsorum frequentior convenit. Quo facto 'proditam a Patribus' plebs 'libertatem' rata, 'quòd iis qui 'jam magistratu abissent privatisque, si vis abesset, tanquam 'jure cogentibus senatus paruisset ³.'

XXXIX. Sed magis obedienter ventum in curiam est quàm obnoxia ⁴ dictas sententias accepimus. 'L. Valerium 'Potitum' proditum memoriae est 'post relationem Ap. 'Clandii, priùs quàm ordine sententiae rogarentur, postulando ut de republicâ liceret dicere ⁵, prohibentibus minaciter 'decemviris, 'proditurum se ad plebem' denunciantem 'tumultum excivisse. Nec minùs ferociter M. Horatium 'Barbatum isse in certamen, 'Decem Tarquinius' appel-

the non-assembling of the senators) 'their government was unanimously detested; and the common people concluded that the senators did not assemble, because the decemvirs, being private individuals, had no right to summon the senate.'

¹ See p. 238, note 1.

² 'If any senator refused or neglected to attend, he was punished by a fine and distraining his goods, unless he had a just excuse. The fine was imposed by him who held the senate, and pledges (*pignora*) were taken till it was paid. But after sixty or sixty-five years of age, senators might attend or not, as they pleased.' Dr ADAM.

³ *Quod iis*, &c. 'Because (in their opinion) the senate had obeyed men, who had already quitted office, and were in private stations, except by lawless usurpation, as if they were legally empowered to assemble them.'

⁴ *Obnoxius*, (ob noxam,) 'exposed to punishment for a fault, under obligations, submissive.'

⁵ *Ut*, &c. 'That he might be allowed to speak generally on the condition of public affairs.' As the decemviri had summoned the senate merely to consider the best means of repelling the enemy, this inconvenient demand was resisted by the decemviri.

‘lantem, admonentemque ‘Valeriis et Horatiis¹ ducibus
 “pulsos reges. Nec nominis homines tum pertaesum esse,
 “quippe quo Jovem appellari fas sit, quo Romulum condi-
 “torem urbis deincepsque reges appellatos, quod sacris
 “etiam, ut solenne, retentum sit². Superbiam violentiam-
 “que tum perosos regis; quae si in rege tum eodem aut
 “in filio regis ferenda non fuerint, quem laturum in tot
 “privatis? Viderent ne, vetando in curiâ libere homines
 “loqui, extra curiam etiam moverent vocem. Neque se
 “videre, qui sibi minùs privato ad concionem populum vo-
 “care quàm illis senatum cogere liceat. Ubi vellent, ex-
 “perirentur quanto ferocior dolor libertate suâ vindicandâ
 “quàm cupiditas injustâ dominatione esset³. De bello
 “Sabino eos referre⁴; tanquam magis ullum populo Ro-
 “mano bellum sit quàm cum iis qui legum ferendarum
 “causâ creati nihil juris in civitate reliquerint, qui comitia,
 “qui annuos magistratus, qui vicissitudinem imperitandi
 “(quod unum exaequandae sit libertatis) sustulerint, qui
 “privati fasces et regium imperium habeant. Fuisse, regi-
 “bus exactis, patricios magistratus creatos; postea, post
 “secessionem plebis, plebeios. Cujus illi partis essent?
 “rogitare. Populares? quid enim⁵ eos per populum
 “egisse? Optimates? qui anno jam propè senatum non
 “habuerint, tunc ita habeant ut de republicâ loqui prohi-
 “beant? Ne nimium in metu alieno spei poterent? Gra-
 “viora quae patiantur videri jam hominibus quàm quae
 “metuant.”

XL. Haec vociferante Horatio, quum decemviri nec irae
 nec ignoscendi modum⁶ reperirent, nec quò evasura res es-
 set cernerent, C. Claudii⁷, qui patruus Appii decemviri
 erat, oratio fuit precibus quàm jurgio similis, orantis per
 sui fratris parentisque ejus manes; ‘Ut civilis potiùs so-

¹ For the *Valerii*, see i. 58, ii. 2; the *Horatii*, ii. 8, 10. ² See ii. 2.

³ *Quanto*, &c. ‘how much more impetuous would be the indignation with which the Roman people would assert their liberty, than the ambition with which the decemvirs would maintain their usurped power.’

⁴ See p. 241, note 5. ⁵ *Enim* is used here to import that an objection to something going before is understood, as in the sentence commented on p. 219, note 2. ‘Of the popular faction?’

⁶ *That may not be*, ‘for what,’ &c. ⁷ *Iras*, &c. ‘By what bounds they should measure either their resentment or their indulgence.’

⁸ See c. 15 and 35.

‘cietatis in quâ natus esset, quam foederis nefariè icti cum collegis meminisset. Multò id magis se illius causâ orare quàm reipublicae; quippe rempublicam, si a volentibus nequeat, ab invitis jus expetituram; sed ex magno certamine magnas excitari ferme iras; earum eventum se horrere.’ Quum ‘aliud praeterquam de quo retulissent’ decemviri ‘dicere’ prohiberent, Claudium interpellandi verecundia fuit. Sententiam igitur peregit, ‘nullum placere senatûs consultum fieri.’ Omnesque ita accipiebant, privatos eos a Claudio judicatos; multique ex consularibus verbo assensi sunt. Alia sententia asperior in speciem vim minorem aliquanto habuit, quae ‘patricios coire ad pro-dendum interregem’ jubebat. Censendo enim, ‘quoscunque magistratus esse qui senatum haberent’ judicabat, quos privatos fecerat auctor nullius senatûs consulti faciendi¹. Ita labante jam causâ decemvirorum, L. Cornelius Maluginensis, M. Cornelii decemviri frater, quum ex consularibus ad ultimum dicendi locum consultò servatus esset, simulando curam belli fratrem collegasque ejus tuebatur; ‘quonam fato incidisset mirari se’ dictitans, ‘ut decemviroi qui decemviratum petissent, aut socii, aut hi maximè oppugnarent²; aut quid ita, quum per tot menses vacuâ³

¹ *Censendo*, &c. *Enim* refers to *vim minorem*, ‘for the very act of making a motion implied that those who held the senate were magistrates of some sort, whilst they had been reduced to the rank of private individuals by him who had advised that no decree of the senate should be made.’

² There seems to be no real difficulty in this passage, although the critics have been much puzzled with its meaning, and have proposed various emendations. There were three parties attacking the decemvirs, in three different ways. Valerius Potitus and Horatius wish to fly in the face of the decemvirs’ authority, by bringing a question before the senate, apart from that, for the consideration of which they had been summoned. Claudius simply proposes that the senate should make no decree, leaving his opinion of the authority of the decemvirs to be implied. The third opinion, though in reality more favourable to the decemvirs, seemed more severe, (*asperior in speciem*.) Cornelius alludes to Claudius and the *consulares*, (doubtless included in the candidates alluded to, c. 35,) who supported him on this occasion by the words *qui decemviratum petissent*, (see c. 35,)—to Horatius and Potitus by *socii*, ‘the partners of Claudius’ in considering the decemvirs as virtually private persons—to the proposers of the seemingly most severe measure, by *aut hi maxime*, ‘or these last, most furiously of all.’

³ *Vacuâ*, scil. a bello.

‘civitate nemo justine magistratus summae rerum praesent controversiam fecerit, nunc demum quum hostes propè ad portas sint, civiles discordias serant; nisi quòd in turbido minùs perspicuum fore putent quid agatur. Ceterum neminem, majore curâ occupatis animis, verum¹ esse praejudicium rei tantae afferre. Sibi placere, de eo quod Valerius Horatiusque ante Idus Maias decemviros abisse magistratu insimulent, bellis quae immineant perfectis, republicâ in tranquillum redactâ, senatu disceptante agi; et jam nunc ita se parare Ap. Claudium, ut comitiorum quae decemviris creandis decemvir ipse habuerit sciat sibi rationem reddendam esse, utrùm in unum annum creati sint, an donec leges quae deessent perferrentur. In praesentiâ omnia praeter bellum omitti placere. Cujus si falsò famam vulgatam vanaque non nuncios solùm sed Tusculanorum etiam legatos attulisse putent, speculatores mittendos censere qui certiùs explorata referant; sin fides et nunciis et legatis habeatur, delectum primo quoque tempore haberi; decemviros, quòd cuique eorum videatur, exercitus ducere; nec rem aliam praeverti.’

XLI. In hanc sententiam ut discederetur², juniores Patrum vincebant. Ferociores iterum coòrti Valerius Horatiusque vociferari, ‘ut de republicâ liceret dicere. Dicturos ad populum, si in senatu per factionem non liceat. Neque enim sibi privatos aut in curiâ, aut in concione posse obstare; neque se imaginariis fascibus eorum cessuros esse.’ Tum Appius, jam propè esse ratus ut, ni violentiae eorum pari resisteretur audaciâ, victum imperium esset, ‘Non erit melius,’ inquit, ‘nisi de quo consulimus vocem misisse³;’ et ad Valerium, negantem se privato reticere⁴, lictorem accedere jussit. Jam Quiritium fidem implorante Valerio a curiae limine, L. Cornelius complexus Appium non (quod simulabat) consulendo⁵ diremit certamen; factaque per

¹ *Verum*, i. e. justum, aequum.

² See p. 57, note 3.

³ *Non*, &c. ‘It will not be for the advantage of any senator, that he has uttered a word, except on the subject about which we are consulting you.’

⁴ *Reticere privato*, ‘to keep silence for a man in a private station.’

⁵ In this difficult passage, a number of the MSS. have *quid*—an equal number, followed by Stroth and Ruperti, read *quod*; Stroth explaining it, ‘Appius did not consult the senate farther about the levy, about which he pretended to

Cornelium Valerio dicendi gratia quae vellet, quum libertas non ultra vocem excessisset, decemviri propositum tenuere. Consulares quodque ac seniores ab residuo tribuniciae potestatis odio ¹, 'cujus desiderium plebi multo acrius quàm consularis imperii' rebantur 'esse,' prope malebant postmodo ipsos decemviros voluntate abire magistratu quàm invidiâ eorum exsurgere rursus plebem; 'si leniter ducta res sine populari strepitu ad consules redisset, aut bellis interpositis, aut moderatione consulum in imperiis exercendis, posse in oblivionem tribunorum plebem adduci.' Silentio Patrum edicitur delectus. Juniores, quum sine provocatione imperium esset, ad nomina respondent. Legionibus scriptis, inter se decemviri comparabant quos ire ad bellum, quos praeesse exercitibus oporteret. Principes inter decemviros erant Q. Fabius et Ap. Claudius. Bellum domi majus quàm foris apparebat. Appii violentiam aptiorem rati ad comprimendos urbanos motus ²; in Fabio minùs in

'consult them.' Rhenanus, and almost all the other editors, without MSS. authority, read *cui*, with this meaning; 'Cornelius, by providing for the safety of Appius (in reality,) for whose safety he pretended that he did not intend to provide,'—his pretence being that he wished to provide for the safety of Valerius. I should be inclined to retain Stroth's reading with a different meaning. The decemvirs wished to consult the senate about the war, Valerius proposed a general reference about the condition of the state. The decemvirs ultimately prevailed—*propositum tenere*, words inconsistent with Stroth's interpretation. But an open rupture was prevented only by Appius pretending to yield to Valerius, to whom he gave an opportunity of speaking, and no more. The words then would mean, L. Cornelius embraced Appius, and brought the contest to an end, by his (Appius) not persisting in consulting the 'senate as to the levy, as he pretended,' i. e. his seeming not to persist as a mere pretence to end the riotous proceedings, and gratify his uncle.

¹ See p. 28, note 2, and p. 93, note 4. *Odium potestatis* is here passive; 'hatred suffered by (i. e. towards, against) the power.'

² 'He,' (Appius Claudius Crassus) 'was descended from a long line of ancestors, distinguished by their haughty demeanour, and by the inflexibility with which they had withstood all the demands of the plebeian order. While the political conduct and the deportment of the Claudian nobles drew upon them the fiercest public hatred, they were wanting, if any credit is due to the public history of Rome, in a class of qualities, which in a military commonwealth is sufficient to cover a multitude of offences. Several of them appear to have been eloquent, versed in civil business, and learned, after the

bono constans quàm gnavum in militiâ ingenium esse ; hunc enim virum egregium olim domi militiaeque decemviratus collegaeque ita mutaverant, ut Appii quàm sui similis mallet esse. Huic bellum in Sabinis, M. Rabuleio et Q. Poetilio additis collegis, mandatum. M. Cornelius in Algidum missus cum L. Minucio et T. Antonio et K. Duilio et M. Sergio ; Sp. Oppium Ap. Claudio adiutorem ad urbem tuendam, aequo omnium decemvirorum imperio, decernunt.

XLII. Nihilo militiae quàm domi meliùs respublica administrata est. Illa modò in ducibus culpa, quòd ut odio essent civibus fecerant ; alia omnis penes milites noxa erat, qui ne quid ductu atque auspicio decemvirorum prospere usquam gereretur, vinci se per suum atque illorum dedecus patiebantur¹. Fusi et ab Sabinis ad Eretum, et in Algido ab Aequis exercitus erant. Ab Ereto per silentium noctis profugi, propius urbem inter Fidenas Crustumeriamque loco edito castra communlerant. Persecutis hostibus nusquam se aequo certamine committentes, naturâ loci ac vallo non virtute aut armis tutabantur. Majus flagitium in Algido, major etiam clades accepta ; castra quòque amissa erant ; exutusque omnibus utensilibus miles Tusculum se, fide misericordiâque victurus² hospitem, (quas tamen non fefellerunt,) contulerat. Romam tanti erant terrores allati ut, posito jam decemvirali odio³, Patres 'vigilias in urbe habendas' censerent ; 'omnes qui per aetatem arma ferre possent, custodire moenia ac pro portis stationes agere' juberent ; 'arma Tusculum ad supplementum'⁴ decernerent, 'decemvirosque ab arce Tusculi degressos in castris militem habere ; castra alia a Fidenis in Sabinum agrum transferri ; belloque ultro inferendo deterreri hostes a consilio urbis oppugnandae.'

'fashion of their age ; but in war, they were not distinguished by skill or valour. Some of them, as if conscious where their weakness lay, had, when filling the highest magistracies, taken internal administration as their department of public business, and left the military command to their colleagues.' (See ii. 24, iv. 36, and this passage.) 'One of them had been entrusted with an army,' (see ii. 59,) 'and had failed ignominiously. None of them had been honoured with a triumph.' Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome*, p. 145. ¹ P. 187, note 4. ² *Victurus*, from vivo.

³ See p. 93, note 4. ⁴ *Ad supplementum*, 'in addition to reinforcements.' Gronovius ingeniously conjectures *ac*.

XLIII. Ad clades ab hostibus acceptas duo nefanda facinora decemviri belli domique adjiciunt. L. Siccium¹ in Sabinis, per invidiam decemviralem² tribunorum creandorum secessionisque mentiones ad vulgus militum sermonibus occultis serentem, prospeculatum ad locum castris capiendum mittunt. Datur negotium militibus quos miserant expeditionis ejus comites, 'ut eum opportuno adorti loco interficerent.' Haud inultum interfecere. Nam circa repugnantem aliquot insidiatores cecidere, quum ipse se praevalidus pari viribus animo circumventus tutaretur. Nunciant in castra ceteri, 'praecipitatum in insidias esse Siccium egregiè pugnantem, militesque quosdam cum eo amissos.' Primò fides nunciantibus fuit. Profecta deinde cohors ad sepeliendos qui ceciderant decemvirorum permisso, postquam nullum spoliatum ibi corpus, Sicciumque in medio jacentem armatumque, omnibus in eum versis corporibus videre, hostium neque corpus ullum nec vestigia abeuntium, 'profectò ab suis interfectum' memorantes, retulere corpus. Invidiaeque plena castra erant, et Romam ferri protinus Siccium placebat³, ni decemviri funus militare ei publicâ impensâ facere maturâssent. Sepultus ingenti militum moestitiâ, pessimâ decemvirorum in vulgus famâ est.

XLIV. Sequitur aliud in urbe nefas ab libidine ortum, hand minùs foedo eventu quàm quod per stuprum caedemque Lucretiae urbe regnoque Tarquinius expulerat; ut non finis solùm idem decemviris qui regibus, sed causa etiam eadem imperii amittendi esset. Ap. Claudium virginis plebeiae stuprandae libido cepit. Pater virginis, L. Virginius honestum ordinem in Algido ducebat⁴, vir exempli recti domi militiaeque. Perinde uxor instituta fuerat, liberique instituebantur. Desponderat filium L. Icilio tribunicio, viro acri, et pro causâ plebis expertae⁵ virtutis. Hanc virginem adultam, formâ excellentem, Appius amore ardens, pretio ac spe pellicere adortus, postquam omnia pudore septa animadverterat, ad crudelem superbamque vim animum convertit. M. Claudio clienti negotium dedit, ut

¹ See p. 232, note 1.

² See p. 93, note 4.

³ That

the unfinished action indicated by the imperfect *placebat* was never completed is indicated by *ni*.

⁴ See p. 141, note 6.

⁵ The author of the law, *De Aventino publicando*. See p. 231, note 5.

virginem in servitutem assereret neque cederet secundum libertatem postulantibus vindicias¹; 'quodd pater puellae abesset, locum injuriae esse' ratus. Virgini venienti in forum (ibi namque in tabernis literarum ludi² erant) minister decemviri libidinis manum iniecit; 'servâ suâ natam servamque' appellans 'esse'; 'sequique se' jubebat, 'cunctantem vi abstracturum.' Pavidâ puellâ stupente, ad clamorem nutricis fidem Quiritium implorantis fit concursus. Virginii patris sponsique Icillii popolare nomen celebratur. Notos gratia eorum, turbam indignitas rei virgini conciliat. Jam a vi tuta erat, quum assertor 'nihil opus esse multitudine concitatâ' ait, 'se jure grassari, non vi.' Vocat puellam in jus, auctoribus, qui aderant, ut sequeretur³. Ad tribunal Appii perventum est. Notam judici fabulam petitor, quippe apud ipsum auctorem argumenti, peragit⁴; 'puellam domi suae natam, furtoque inde in domum Virginii translata, suppositam ei esse; id se indicio committendum afferre, probaturumque vel ipso Virginio iudice, ad quem major pars injuriae ejus pertineat. Interim domum sequi ancillam, sequum esse.' Advocati puellae, quum Virginium reipublicae causâ dixerant abesse, bido adfuturum, si nunciatum ei sit, iniquum esse absentem de liberis dimicare, postulant 'ut rem integram in patris adventum differat, lege ab ipso latâ vindicias det secundum libertatem, neu patiatur virginem adultam famae prius quam libertatis periculum adire.'

XLV. Appius decreto praefatus, 'quàm libertati faverit,

¹ *Asserere in servitutem*, 'to claim as a slave,' opposed to *asserere in libertatem vel vindicare* 'to claim as free.' *Vindicias* are an interim decision of the judge, decreeing that until proof appear, the person, whose condition is in question, shall retain the same station as he has hitherto held, whether that of a slave or a freeman. This, according to Dionysius, and Livy himself, was one of the laws of the twelve tables; and it was at first irresistible. Hence the meaning of *postulare vindicias secundum libertatem*; 'to demand a decision, that in the meanwhile the girl was in the station of one free born,' applied to the advocates of the claimed person; *dare vindicias*, (in the last sentence of the chapter,) 'to pronounce that decision,' applied to the judge. ² *Literarum ludi*, 'schools.'

³ *Auctoribus*, &c. 'Those who advocated her cause,' or 'the bystanders, advising her to follow.' ⁴ *Peragere fabulam*, a metaphor taken from the stage:—so *argumenti*.

‘eam ipsam legem declarare quam Virginii amici postulati-
 ‘tioni suae praetendant. Ceterum ita in eâ firmum liber-
 ‘tati fore praesidium, si nec causis nec personis variet. In
 ‘his enim quae asserantur in libertatem, quia quivis lege
 ‘agere possit, id juris esse; in eâ quae in patris manu sit,
 ‘neminem esse alium cui dominus possessione cedat¹.
 ‘Placere itaque patrem arcessi; interea juris sui jacturam
 ‘assertorem non facere, quin ducat puellam sistendamque
 ‘in adventum ejus, qui pater dicatur, promittat.’ Adversus
 injuriam decreti quum multi magis fremerent quàm quis-
 quam unus reclamare auderet, P. Numitorius, puellae avun-
 culus, et sponsus Icilius interveniunt. Datâque inter tur-
 bam viâ, quum multitudo Iciliî maximè interventu resisti
 posse Appio crederet, lictor ‘decrêsse’ ait, vociferantemque
 Icilium submovet. Placidum quòque ingenium tam atrox
 injuria accendisset. ‘Ferro hinc tibi submovendus sum,
 ‘Appi,’ inquit, ‘ut tacitum feras², quod celari vis. Vir-
 ‘ginem ego hanc sum ducturus, nuptam³ pudicamque ha-
 ‘biturus. Proinde omnes collegarum quòque lictores con-
 ‘voca, expediti virgas et secures⁴ jube; non manebit extra

¹ Appius, for his own purposes, in interpreting his own law, intro-
 duces a distinction betwixt those who were *sui juris*, entirely free,
 and those who were subject to the *patria potestas*. The law, accord-
 ing to him, can apply only to the former, because in them only is there
 a true claim for liberty, and in them only could a judge give an interim
 decision, *secundum libertatem*. To give such a decision in the case of
 Virginia, would be a *variatio personarum*: it would be introducing,
 as entitled to the benefit of the law, a class of persons, who were,
 even according to their own statements, not entitled to *vindiciae se-
 cundum libertatem*. Besides, and most important of all, the law could
 act in the former, as any citizen was entitled to plead the case of
 one presumptively free. But, in this case, no one could plead, but
 either the father as master on the one hand, or the alleged master
 on the other: as the father was not present, consequently no one
 had any legal claim to urge the law. We may translate the sen-
 tence thus; ‘For, in the case of those persons, whose complete
 ‘liberty is claimed, the law holds that any one is entitled by law to
 ‘act for them; in the present case, where the young woman is at
 ‘her father’s disposal, there is no other than her father to whom
 ‘the claimant can yield possession.’ ² See p. 92, note 2.

³ *Nuptam*, ‘veiled,’ the symbol of a regular marriage, which was
 legal only between freeborn Roman citizens. ⁴ See p. 182,
 note 4.

‘ domum patris sponsa Icili. Non si tribunicium auxilium
 ‘ et provocationem plebi Romanae, duas arces libertatis
 ‘ tuendae ademistis, ideo in liberos quòque nostros conju-
 ‘ gesque regnum vestrae libidini datum est. Saevite in ter-
 ‘ gum et in cervices nostras; pudicitia saltem in tuto sit.
 ‘ Huic si vis afferetur, ego praesentium Quiritium pro
 ‘ sponsâ, Virginus militum pro unica ¹ filiâ, omnes Deo-
 ‘ rum hominumque implorabimus fidem; neque tu istud
 ‘ unquam decretum sine caede nostrâ referes. Postulo,
 ‘ Appi, etiam atque etiam consideres, quò progrediare.
 ‘ Virginus viderit de filiâ, ubi venerit, quid agat. Hoc
 ‘ tantum sciat sibi, si hujus vindictis cessarit, conditionem
 ‘ filiae quaerendam esse ². Me vindicantem sponsam in li-
 ‘ bertatem vita citius deseret quàm fides.’

XLVI. Concitata multitudo erat, certamenque instare videbatur. Lictores Icilius circumsteterant, nec ultra minas tamen processum est; quum Appius, ‘ Non Vir-
 ‘ giniam defendi ab Icilio, sed inquietum hominem et tribu-
 ‘ natum etiam nunc spirantem ³ locum seditionis quaerere’ diceret; non praebiturum se illi eo die materiam; sed ut
 ‘ jam sciret, non id petulantiae suae, sed Virginio absenti
 ‘ et patrio nomini et libertati datum, jus eo die se non dic-
 ‘ turum neque decretum interpositurum; a M. Claudio
 ‘ petiturum, ut decederet jure suo vindicarique puellam in
 ‘ posterum diem pateretur. Quòd nisi pater postero die
 ‘ adfuisset, denunciare se Icilio similibusque Icili, neque legi
 ‘ suae latorem, neque decemviro constantiam defore; nec
 ‘ se utique collegarum lictores convocaturum ad coërcendos
 ‘ seditionis auctores; contentum se suis lictoribus fore.’
 Quum dilatum tempus injuriae esset secessissentque advo-
 cati puellae, placuit omnium primùm, ‘ fratrem Icili filium-
 ‘ que Numitorii, impigros juvenes, pergere inde rectâ ad
 ‘ portam, et quantum accelerari posset, Virginium acciri e
 ‘ castris. In eo verti puellae salutem, si postero die vindex
 ‘ injuriae ad tempus praesto esset.’ Jussi pergunt, citatis-
 que equis nuncium ad patrem perferunt. Quum instaret
 assertor puellae ut vindicaret ⁴ sponsoresque daret, atque

¹ See p. 37, note 1.

² *Conditionem, &c.* ‘ That

‘ he must seek another marriage for his daughter.’

³ *Tribu-*

natum, &c. ‘ Even still breathing the spirit of the tribuneship.’

⁴ *Assertor puellae, Claudius, ut vindicaret Icilius, vindicaret, i. e. vindi-*

‘id ipsum agi’ diceret Icilius sedulò tempus terens dum praeciperent iter nuncii missi in castra, manus tollere undique multitudo, et se quisque paratum ad spondendum Icilio ostendere. Atque ille lacrimabundus, ‘Gratum est,’ inquit, ‘crastinâ die vestrâ operâ utar. Sponsorum nunc ‘satis est.’ Ita vindicatur Virginia, spondentibus propinquis. Appius paullisper moratus ne ejus rei causâ sedisse videretur, postquam, omissis rebus aliis prae curâ unius, nemo adibat, domum se recepit; collegisque in castra scribit, ‘ne Virginio commeatum dent, atque etiam in custodiâ habeant.’ Improbum consilium serum, ut debuit, fuit; et jam commeatu sumpto profectus Virginus primâ vigiliâ erat, quum postero die mane de retinendo eo nequicquam literae redduntur.

XLVII. At in urbe primâ luce, quum civitas in foro expectatione erecta staret, Virginus sordidatus¹ filiam suam obsoletâ veste, comitantibus aliquot matronis, cum ingenti advocacy in forum deducit². Circumire ibi et prensare homines coepit; et non orare solùm precariam opem, sed pro debitâ petere, ‘Se pro liberis eorum ac conjugibus quotidie in acie stare; nec alium virum esse, cujus strenuè ac ferociter facta in bello plura memorari possent. Quid prodesse, si incolumi urbe, quae captâ ultima timeantur, liberis suis sint patienda? Haec prope concionabundus circumibat homines; similia his ab Icilio jactabantur; comitatus muliebris plus tacito fletu quàm ulla vox movebat. Adversus quae omnia obstinato animo Appius (tanta vis amentiae veriùs quàm amoris mentem turbaverat) in tribunal ascendit; et ultro querente pauca petitor, ‘quòd jus ‘sibi pridie per ambitionem³ dictum non esset,’ priùs quàm aut ille postulatum perageret, aut Virginio respondendi cretetur locus, Appius interfatur. Quem decreto sermonem praetenderit, forsàn aliquem verum auctores antiqui tradiderint⁴; quia nusquam ullum in tantâ foeditate decreti

cias postularet. See p. 248, note 1. So below, *Virginia vindicatur*. Virginia vindiciis postulatis dimittitur.

note 1.

² See p. 181, note 3.

ambitionem, ‘through improper partiality.’

⁴ *Quum*, &c. Gronovius understands the force of the potential *tradiderint* to be, ‘had in their power to record,’ if they had chosen; but Livy does not assert that the ancient writers did not record the preamble;

¹ See p. 181,

³ *Per*

verisimilem invenio, id quod constat nudum videtur proponendum, 'decrêsse vindicias' secundum servitutem.' Primò stupor omnes admiratione rei tam atrocis defixit. Silentium inde aliquamdiu tenuit. Dein quum M. Claudius, circumstantibus matronis, iret ad prehendam virginem, lamentabilisque eum mulierum comploratio excepisset, Virginus intentans in Appium manus, 'Icilio,' inquit, 'Appi, non tibi filiam despondi, et ad nuptias, non ad stuprum educavi. Placet pecudum ferarumque rita promiscuè in concubitus ruere? Passurine haec isti sint, nescio; non spero esse passuros illos qui arma habent.' Quum repelleretur assertor virginis a globo mulierum circumstantiumque advocatorum, silentium factum per praeconem.

XLVIII. Decemvir alienatus ad libidinem animo negat², 'hesterno tantum convicio Icilio violentiâque Virginii, cujus testem populum Romanum habeat, sed certis quòque indiis compertum se habere, nocte totâ coetus in urbe factos esse ad movendam seditionem. Itaque se, haud inscium ejus dimicationis, cum armatis descendisse; non ut quemquam quietum violaret, sed ut turbantes civitatis otium pro majestate imperii coërceret. Proinde quiêsse erit melius. I,' inquit, 'lictor, submove turbam, et da viam domino ad prehendum Mancipium.' Quum haec intonuisset plenus irae, multitudo ipsa se suâ sponte dimovit, desertaque praeda injuriae puella stabat. Tum Virginus, ubi nihil usquam auxilii vidit, 'Quaeso,' inquit, 'Appi, primùm ignosce patrio dolori, si quid inclementius in te sum invectus; deinde sinas hîc coram virgine nutricem percontari, quid hoc rei sit? ut si falsò pater dictus sum, aequiore hinc animo discedam.' Datâ veniâ, seducit filiam ac nutricem prope

he asserts that he rejects their accounts as improbable, while he admits that some one of these accounts may have been true enough. Hence, the passage means, 'Perhaps, some one of the preambles to his decree, which the ancient writers have recorded, may have been really uttered by him.' Dionysius is not so scrupulous as Livy. Following his usual method of full detail, he narrates the tale to be found in the ordinary histories of Rome, that Appius had long known the justice of his client's claim, and, as a judge, was bound to enforce it. ¹ According to Livy then, (see p. 248, note 1,) it was only an interim decree that Appius pronounced; but it was sufficiently iniquitous, and more glaringly illegal than a final decision in favour of Claudius. ² *Negat*, dicit non.

Cloacinae¹ ad tabernas, quibus nunc 'Novis²' est nomen; atque ibi ab lanio cultro arrepto, 'Hoc te uno quo possum,' ait, 'modo, filia, in libertatem vindico.' Pectus deinde puellae transfigit, respectansque ad tribunal, 'Te,' inquit, 'Appi, tuumque caput sanguine hoc consecro.' Clamore ad tam atrox facinus orto excitus Appius comprehendi Virginium jubet. Ille ferro, quâcunque ibat, viam facere, donec, multitudine etiam prosequentium tuente, ad portam perrexit. Icilius Numitoriusque exsanguine corpus sublatum ostendant populo, scelus Appii, puellae infelicem formam, necessitatem patris deplorant. Sequentes clamitant matronae, 'Eamne liberorum procreandorum conditionem? ea pudicitiae prae-mia esse?' ceteraque, quae in tali re muliebris dolor, quo est moestior imbecillo animo, eo miserabilia magis querentibus subjicit. Virorum et maximè Icilius vox tota tribuniciae potestatis ac provocationis ad populum ereptae, publicarumque indignationum erat³.

XLIX. Concitatur multitudo partim atrocitate sceleris, partim spe per occasionem repetendae libertatis. Appius nunc 'vocari Icilium,' nunc retractantem 'arripi,' postremò quum locus adeundi apparitoribus non daretur, ipse cum agmine patriciorum juvenum per turbam vadens, 'in vincula duci' jubet. Jam circa Icilium non solum multitudo, sed duces quoque multitudinis erant L. Valerius et M. Horatius, qui, repulso lictore, 'si jure ageret, vindicare se a privato 'Icilius' aiebant⁴, 'si vim afferre conaretur, ibi quoque se 'haud impares fore.' Hinc atrox rixa oritur. Valerium Horatiumque lictor decemviri invadit; franguntur a multitudine fasces; in concionem Appius ascendit; sequuntur Horatius Valeriusque; eos concio audit, decemviro obstrepitur⁵. Jam pro imperio Valerius discedere a privato lictores jubebat; quum fractis animis, Appius vitae metuens

¹ See p. 61, note 4.

² See p. 7, note 3.

³ *Virorum, &c.* 'The clamours of the men, and of Icilius above all, were wholly directed against the abrogation of the tribunicial power and of the appeal to the people, and against the public indignities.' *Qui, &c.* 'Who, having driven back the lictor, said, that if the transaction was one depending on legal procedure, they were ready to defend Icilius against Appius, as he was uninvested with any public authority.'

⁵ *Obstrepere alicui*, 'to shout down a speaker.' So in Sallust, Cat. 31, *obstrepere pene omnes*.

in domum se propinquam foro, insciis adversariis, capite obvoluto recepit. Sp. Oppius ut auxilio collegae esset in forum ex alterâ parte irrumpit; videt imperium vi victum. Agitatus deinde consiliis, ad quae ex omni parte assentiendo multis auctoribus trepidaverat, senatum postremò vocari jussit¹. Ea res, quòd magnae parti Patrum displicere acta decemvirorum videbantur, spe per senatum finiendae potestatis ejus multitudinem sedavit. Senatus nec plebem irritandam censuit; et multo magis providendum, ne quid Virginii adventus in exercitu motûs faceret.

L. Itaque missi juniores Patrum in castra, quae tum in monte Vecilio erant, nunciant decemviris, 'ut omni ope ab 'seditione milites contineant;' ubi Virginius majorem quàm reliquerat in urbe motum excivit. Nam praeterquam quòd agmine prope quadringentorum hominum veniens, qui ab urbe indignitate rei accensi comites ei se dederant, conspectus est, strictum etiam telum respersusque ipse cruore tota in se castra convertit. Et togae², multifariam in castris visae, majoris aliquanto quàm erat speciem urbanae multitudinis fecerant. Quaerentibus 'quid rei esset?' flens diu vocem non misit; tandem, ut jam ex trepidatione concurrentium turba constitit ac silentium fuit, ordine cuncta, ut gesta erant, exposuit. Supinas deinde tendens manus, commilitones appellans orabat, 'Ne 'quod scelus Ap. Claudii esset sibi attribuerent; neu se, 'ut parricidam liberûm aversarentur; sibi vitam filiae suâ 'cariorem fuisse, si liberae ac pudicae vivere licitum fuisset. 'Quum velut servam ad stuprum rapi videret, morte amitti 'melius ratum quàm contumeliâ liberos, misericordiâ se in 'speciem crudelitatis lapsum. Nec se superstitem filiae 'futurum fuisse, nisi spem ulciscendae mortis ejus in auxilio commilitonum habuisset. Illis quòque enim filias, so-

¹ This reading, which is that of Stroth, seems to be the best. For *ad quae*, the MSS. have *atque*, which is perhaps intelligible, giving it the force of 'in truth,' and considering the clause parenthetical. Sigonius reads *agitans . . . atque . . . trepidus*; Drakenborch *atque . . . trepidus*, conjecturing *postquam . . . trepidaverat*; Gronovius conjectures *atque . . . ut trepida re*. If I might be allowed a conjecture I should propose *ut qui*, which, as well as *quippe qui* and similar expressions, is sometimes found with the indicative. See Crombie's *Gymnasium*, vol. i. p. 297. An instance of this is seen in the 54th chapter, *quippe qui ruitis*. ² See p. 208, note 1.

' rores conjugesque esse ; nec cum filiâ suâ libidinem Ap. Claudii extinctam esse, sed quo impunitior sit, eo effrenatorem fore. Alienâ calamitate documentum datum illis cavendae similis injuriae. Quod ad se attineat, uxorem sibi fato ereptam ; filiam, quia non ultrâ pudica victura fuerit, miseram sed honestam mortem occubuisse. Non esse jam Appii libidini locum in domo suâ. Ab aliâ violentiâ ejus eodem se animo suum corpus vindicaturum, quo vindicaverit filiae. Ceteri sibi ac liberis suis consularent.' Haec Virginio vociferanti succlamabat multitudo, ' nec illius dolori nec suae libertati se defuturos.' Et immixti turbae militum togati, quum¹ eadem illa querendo docendoque quanto visa quàm audita indigniora potuerint videri, simul ' profligatam² jam rem ' nunciando ' Romae esse ; ' insecutique, qui ' Appium prope interemptum in exsilium abisse' dicerent, perpulerunt³ ut ' ad arma!' conclamaretur vellerentque signa et Romam proficiscerentur. Decemviri simul his quae videbant, simul his quae acta Romae audierant perturbati, alius in aliam partem castrorum, ad sedandos motus discurrent ; et leniter agentibus responsum non redditur ; imperium si quis inhiheret⁴, ' et viros et armatos se esse' respondetur. Eunt agmine ad urbem et Aventinum⁵ insidunt, ut quisque occurrerat, plebem ad repetendam libertatem creandosque tribunos plebis adhortantes ; alia vox nulla violenta audita est. Senatum Sp. Oppius habet ; ' nihil' placet ' aspere agi, quippe ab ipsis datum locum seditionis esse.' Mittuntur tres legati consulares, Sp. Tarpeius, C. Julius, P. Sulpicius, qui quaererent sena-

¹ *Quum*—*simul*, according to Gronovius, the same as *cum-tum qua-qua* or *et-et*.

² *Profligare*, (pro, fligo,) ' to dash forward, to give an impulse to ;' hence *profligare hostes*, (passim,) ' to throw into disorder, and consequently rout an enemy ;' *bellum profligatum conficere*, (Liv,) ' to give a successful impulse to ' a war, and bring it to a conclusion by victory.' Here *rem profligatam*, ' that the overthrow of the decemviral power had made great progress.'

³ In construing this sentence observe that *perpulerunt* has two subjects, *et immixti . . . togati*, referring to those who had come with Appius, and *insecutique*, referring to those who had followed him ; moreover, that the form *qui dicerent* is equivalent to *dicendo*. At the same time it is proper to notice that all the MSS. but one have *insecutosque*, making it a part of the information ushered in by *nunciando*.

⁴ See p. 239, note 4.

⁵ See p. 231, note 5.

tûs verbis, 'cujus jussu castra deseruissent? aut quid sibi vellent, qui armati Aventinum obsedissent, belloque averso ab hostibus patriam suam cepissent?' Non defuit quid responderetur; deerat qui daret responsum, nullo dum certo duce, nec satis audentibus singulis invidiæ se offerre. Id modò a multitudine conclamatum est, 'ut L. Valerium et M. Horatium ad se mitterent; his se daturos responsum.'

LI. Dimissis legatis, admonet milites Virginus, 'in re non maximâ paullò antè trepidatum esse, quia sine capite multitudo fuerit; responsumque, quanquam non inutiliter, fortuito tamen magis consensu quàm communi consilio, esse. Placere decem creari qui summae rei praeessent, militarique honore tribunos militum appellari.' Quum ad eum ipsum primum is honos deferretur, 'Melioribus meis vestrisque rebus reservate,' inquit, 'ista de me judicia. Nec mihi filia iuncta honorem ullum jucundum esse patitur; nec in perturbatâ republicâ eos utile est praeesse vobis, qui proximi invidiæ sint. Si quis usus mei est, nihilo minor ex privato capietur.' Ita decem numero tribunos militares creant. Neque in Sabinis quievit exercitus. Ibi quòque, auctore Icilio Numitorioque, secessio ab decemviris facta est, non minore motu animorum Siccii¹ caedis memoriâ revocatâ quàm quem nova fama de virgine adeò foedè ad libidinem petitiâ accenderat. Icilius ubi audit tribunos militum in Aventino creatos, ne comitiorum militarium praerogativam² urbana comitia iisdem tribunis plebis

¹ See chap. 43.

² 'Anciently the centuries were called to give their votes according to the institution of Servius Tullius; first the Equites, and then the centuries of the first class, but afterwards it was determined by lot in what order they should vote. When this was first done is uncertain. The names of the centuries were thrown into a box, and then the box being shaken, so that the lots might lie equally, the century which came out first gave its vote first, and hence was called *PRAEROGATIVA*. Those centuries which followed next were called *primo vocatae*; the rest *jure vocatae*. But all the centuries are usually called *jure vocatae*, except the *praerogativa*. Its vote was held of the highest importance. Hence *praerogativa* is put for a sign or pledge, a favourable omen or intimation of any thing future; for a precedent or example, or favour, and among later writers, for a peculiar or exclusive privilege.' Dr ADAM.

creandis sequerentur, peritus rerum popularium imminens-que ¹ ei potestati, et ipse, prius quàm iretur ad urbem, pari potestate eundem numerum ab suis creandum curat. Portâ Collinâ urbem intravere sub signis, mediâque urbe agmine in Aventinum pergunt. Ibi conjuncti alteri exercitui, viginti tribunis militum negotium dederunt, ut ex suo numero duos crearent, qui summæ rerum præessent. M. Oppium, Sex. Manilium creant. Patres solliciti de summâ rerum, quum senatus quotidie esset, jurgiis saepius terunt tempus quàm consiliis. Siccii caedes decemviris et Appiana libido et dedecora militiae objiciebantur. Placebat 'Valerium 'Horatiumque ire in Aventinum.' Illi negabant 'se aliter 'ituros, quàm si decemviri deponerent insignia magistratûs 'ejus, quo anno jam antè abissent.' Decemviri querentes 'se in ordinem cogi ²,' 'non antè quàm perlatis legibus, 'quarum causâ creati essent, deposituros imperium se' aiebant.

LII. Per M. Duilium, qui tribunus plebis fuerat, certior facta plebs contentionibus assiduis nihil transigi, in Sacrum montem ex Aventino transit, affirmante Duilio 'non prius 'quàm deserì urbem videant, curam in animos Patrum de- 'scensuram. Admoniturum Sacrum montem constantiae 'plebis; scituros quòd sine restitutâ potestate redigi in 'concordiam res nequeant ³.' Viâ Nomentanâ, cui tum Ficulensi nomen fuit, profecti castra in monte Sacro locavere, modestiam patrum suorum nihil violando imitati. Secuta exercitum plebs, nullo qui per aetatem ire posset retractante. Prosequuntur conjuges liberique, 'cuinam se 'relinquerent in eâ urbe, in quâ nec pudicitia nec libertas 'sancta esset?' miserabiliter rogitantes. Quum vasta Romæ omnia insueta solitudo fecisset, in foro præter paucos seniorum nemo esset, vocatis utique in senatum Patribus, desertum apparuisset forum, plures jam quàm Horatius et Valerius vociferabantur, 'Quid exspectabitis, Patres con- 'scripti? Si decemviri finem pertinaciae non faciunt, ruere

¹ *Imminere*, 'to hang over;' hence, probably, from birds of prey, 'to hanker after.'

² See p. 236, note 3.

³ From the rareness of such an expression as *scituros, quod* in pure Latinity, Gronovius suggests *sciturosque quam*. Bauer conjectures that *scituros* comes from *scisco*. This word, however, is not applicable, as he remarks, to the decrees of the senate.

‘ac deflagrare omnia passuri estis? Quod autem istud imperium est, decemviri, quod amplexi tenetis? Tectis ac parietibus jura dicturi estis? Non pudet lictorum vestrorum majorem prope numerum in foro conspici quàm togatorum aliorumque? Quid, si hostes ad urbem veniant, facturi estis? quid, si plebs mox, ubi parum secessionem moveamur, armata veniat? Occasum urbis vultis finire imperium? Atqui aut plebs non est habenda, aut habendi sunt tribuni plebis. Nos citiùs caruerimus patriciis magistratibus quàm illi plebeiis. Novam inexpertamque eam potestatem eripuerunt patribus nostris, ne¹ nunc, dulcedine semel capti, ferant desiderium; quum praesertim nec nos temperemus imperiis, quo minùs illi auxilii egeant.’ Quum haec ex omni parte jactarentur, victi consensu decemviri, ‘futuros se, quando ita videatur, in potestate Patrum’² affirmant. Id modò simul orant ac monent, ‘ut ipsis ab invidiâ caveatur, nec suo sanguine ad supplicia Patrum plebem assuefaciant.’

LIII. Tum Valerius Horatiusque missi ad plebem conditionibus, quibus videretur, revocandam componendasque res, ‘decemviris quòque ab irâ et impetu multitudinis praecavere’ jubentur. Profecti gaudio ingenti plebis in castra accipiuntur, quippe liberatores haud dubiè et motûs initio et exitu rei; ob haec advenientibus gratiae actae. Icilius pro multitudine verba facit. Idem quum de conditionibus ageretur, quaerentibus legatis ‘quae postulata plebis essent?’ composito jam ante adventum legatorum consilio, ea postulavit ut appareret in aequitate rerum plus quàm in armis reponi spei. Potestatem enim tribuniciam provocationemque repetebant, quae ante decemviros creatos auxilia plebis fuerant, et ‘ne cui fraudi esset, concisae milites aut plebem ad repetendam per secessionem libertatem.’ De decemviro-
rum modò supplicio atrox postulatum fuit; ‘dedi’ quippe ‘eos aequum’ censebant, ‘vivosque igni concrematuros’³ minabantur. Legati ad ea; ‘Quae consilii’⁴ fuerunt, adeò ‘aequa postulastis ut ultro vobis deferenda fuerint; liber-

¹ Ne, (for *nedum*) ‘much less.’

² See p. 221, note 1.

³ There are confused accounts of this dreadful punishment having been inflicted about the time of Sp. Cassius, on nine individuals who had favoured the commons.

⁴ *Consilii*, opposed to *irae* in the next sentence.

‘tati enim ea praesidia petitis, non licentiae ad impugnandos alios. Irae vestrae magis ignoscendum quàm indulgendum est, quippe qui crudelitatis odio in crudelitatem ruitis¹, et priùs penè quàm ipsi liberi sitis, dominari jam in adversarios vultis. Nunquamne quiescet civitas nostra a suppliciis, aut Patrum in plebem Romanam, aut plebis in Patres? Scuto vobis magis quàm gladio opus est. Satis superque humilis est qui jure aequo in civitate vivit, nec inferendo injuriam nec patiendo². Etiam si quando metuendos vos praebituri estis, quum recuperatis magistratibus legibusque vestris judicia penes vos erunt de capite nostro fortunisque, tunc, ut quaeque causa erit, statuētis. Nunc libertatem repeti satis est.’

LIV. Facerent ut vellent permittentibus cunctis, ‘mox redituros se’ legati ‘rebus perfectis’ affirmant. Profecti quum mandata plebis Patribus exposuissent, alii decemviri, quandoquidem praeter spem ipsorum supplicii sui nulla mentio fieret, haud quicquam abnuere. Appius truci ingenio et invidiâ praecipuâ odium in se aliorum suo in eos metiens odio, ‘Haud ignaro³,’ inquit, ‘imminet fortuna. Video, donec arma adversariis tradantur, differri adversus nos certamen. Dandus invidiae est sanguis. Nihil ne ego quidem moror quo minùs decemviratu abeam.’ Factum senatûsconsultum, ‘Ut decemviri se primo quoque tempore magistratu abdicarent; Q. Furius pontifex maximus tribunos plebis crearet, et ne cui fraudi esset secessio militum plebisque.’ His senatûsconsultis perfectis, dimisso senatu, decemviri prodeunt in concionem abdicantque se magistratu, ingenti hominum laetitiâ. Nunciantur haec plebi. Legatos quicquid in urbe hominum supererat prosequitur; huic multitudini laeta alia turba ex castris occurrit. Congratulantur ‘libertatem concordiamque civitati restitutam.’ Legati pro concione; ‘Quod bonum, faus-

¹ Quippe qui ruitis. See p. 254, note 1. ² As a general remark, it is not true that a man living in a state, in the enjoyment of equal rights with his fellow citizens, is ‘more than humble enough,’ (*superque*) nor is it satisfactory to refer these words, as Doering and Niebuhr do, to the decemviri alone. It seems rather to refer to the present offers of the Patricians, contrasted with their former political and general superiority, of course including the decemviri.

³ Ignaro, supply *michi*.

‘tum, felixque sit vobis reique publicae, redite in patriam
 ‘ad penates, conjuges, liberosque vestros; sed quâ hîc mo-
 ‘destiâ fuistis, ubi nullius ager in tot rerum usu necessario
 ‘tantae multitudini est violatus, eam modestiam ferte in
 ‘urbem. In Aventinum ite, unde profecti estis¹. Ibi
 ‘felici loco, ubi prima initia inchoastis libertatis vestrae,
 ‘tribunos plebi creabitis. Praesto erit pontifex maximus,
 ‘qui comitia habeat.’ Ingens assensus alacritasque cuncta
 approbantium fuit. Convellunt inde signa, profectique
 Romam certant cum obviis gaudio. Armati per urbem
 silentio in Aventinum perveniunt. Ibi extemplo, pontifice
 maximo comitia habente, tribunos plebis creaverunt, omnium
 primum A. Virginium, inde L. Icilium, et P. Numitorium
 avunculum Virginiae, auctores secessionis; tum C. Sici-
 nium, progeniem ejus², quem ‘primum tribunum plebis
 ‘creatum in Sacro monte’ proditum memoriae est, et M.
 Duilium, qui tribunatum insignem ante decemviros creatos
 gesserat, nec in decemviralibus certaminibus plebi defuerat.
 Spe deinde magis quàm meritis electi M. Titinius, M.
 Pomponius, C. Apronius, P. Villius, C. Oppius. Tribu-
 natu inito, L. Icilius extemplo plebem rogavit, et plebs sci-
 vit, ‘ne cui fraudi esset secessio ab decemviris facta.’ Con-
 festim de consulibus creandis cum provocatione M. Duilius
 rogationem³ pertulit. Ea omnia in pratis Flaminiis con-
 cilio plebis acta, quem nunc ‘Circum Flaminium’ appellant.

LV. Per interregem deinde consules creati L.
 306. Valerius, M. Horatius, qui extemplo magistratum
 ceperunt; quorum consulatus popularis sine ullâ
 Patrum injuriâ, nec sine offensione fuit; quicquid enim li-
 ‘bertati plebis caveretur, id suis decedere opibus’ crede-
 bant. Omnium primùm, quum veluti in controverso jure
 esset, ‘tenerentur ne Patres plebiscitis?’ legem centuriatis
 comitiis tulere, ‘Ut quod tributim plebes jussisset populum
 ‘teneret’⁴; quâ lege tribuniciis rogationibus telum acer-

¹ According to Cicero, *pro Cornelio*, the commons got possession of the Capitol also. ² See II. 33. ³ See p. 183, note 2.

In these two acts of the indemnity and of the appointment of consuls, we have express notice of the commons ratifying the enactments of the senate. It may be here remarked, that Niebuhr and Arnold are of opinion that the first institution of *consuls*, properly so called, took place at this time. ⁴ This we must under-

rimum datum est. Aliam deinde consularem legem de provocatione, unicum praesidium libertatis, decemvirali potestate eversam non restituunt modò, sed etiam in posterum muniunt, sanciendo novam legem, 'Ne quis ullum magis-
' tratum sine provocatione crearet; qui creâsset, eum jus
' fasque esset occidi, neve ea caedes capitalis noxae habere-
' tur.' Et quum plebem hinc provocatione, hinc tribunicio auxilio satis firmâssent, ipsis quòque tribunis ut sacrosancti viderentur, (cujus rei prope jam memoria aboleverat,) relatis quibusdam ex magno intervallo ceremoniis renovârunt; et quum religione inviolatos eos, tum lege etiam fecerunt, sanciendo 'Ut qui tribunis plebis, aedilibus, iudicibus, decem-
' viris¹ nocuisset, ejus caput Jovi sacrum esset; fami-
' lia ad aedem Cereris, Liberi, Liberaeque venum iret.'
' Hâc lege' juris interpretes negant 'quemquam sacrosanc-
' tum esse; sed eum, qui eorum cuiquam nocuerit, sacrum
' sanciri. Itaque aedilem prehendi ducique a majoribus ma-
' gistratibus; quod etsi non jure fiat, (noceri enim ei, cui
' hâc lege non liceat,) tamen argumentum esse non haberi
' pro sacrosancto aedilem; tribunos vetere jurejurando ple-
' bis,' (quum primùm eam potestatem creavit,) 'sacrosanctos
' esse².' Fuere qui interpretarentur, 'eâdem hâc Horatiâ

stand with Niebuhr and Arnold to mean that the *plebiscita* were binding on the whole people, as a part of the constitution, entitled to be considered by the other orders of the state, but requiring their ratification.

¹ Who were the *judices* and the *decemviri*? With regard to the former, even in Livy's time we find, from the subsequent passage, there were doubts; and the latter word does not occur in some of the MSS. Ruperti thinks that the *judices* are the aediles, called by Dionysius *δικασταί*, and that the *decemviri* are the ten tribunes of the people, both mentioned twice for the sake of emphasis. Dr Arnold thinks that the *judices* are the *consuls*, formerly called *praetors*, and now receiving the appellation of *judices*, as possessing only civil functions, their military authority being vested in the hands of *decemvirs*, five chosen from the patricians, and five from the commons. ² The reasoning of the lawyers seems to have been as follows: To make a man *sacrosanctus* requires a religious consecration; (relatis quibusdam ex magno intervallo ceremoniis:) hence the tribunes were *sacrosancti*, not by this law, but *vetere jurejurando plebis*; (see II. 33;) the aediles, again, only protected by this law, were liable to seizure at the hands of the *maiores magistratus*, which exposed indeed the latter to punishment, but could not have been done at all, had the law extended to making the aediles *sacrosancti*.

‘lege consulibus quòque, et praetoribus quia iisdem auspicis quibus consules crearentur, cautum esse; iudicem enim consulem appellari.’ Quae refellitur interpretatio, ‘quòd his temporibus nondum consulem iudicem, sed praetorem appellari mos fuerit ¹.’ Hae consulares leges fuere. Institutum etiam ab iisdem consulibus, ‘ut senatusconsulta in aedem Cereris ad aediles plebis deferrentur,’ quae antea arbitrio consulum suppresserantur vitiabanturque. M. Duius deinde tribunus plebis plebem rogavit, plebesque scivit, ‘qui plebem sine tribunis reliquisset, quique magistratum sine provocatione creasset, tergo ac capite puniretur.’ Haec omnia, ut invitis ita non adversantibus patriciis, transacta, quia nondum in quemquam unum saeviebatur.

LVI. Fundatâ deinde et potestate tribunicâ et plebis libertate, tum tribuni ‘aggredi singulos tutum maturumque’ jam rati, accusatorem primum Virginium et Appium reum deligunt. Quum diem Appio Virginio dixisset, et Appius stipatus patriciis juvenibus in forum descendisset, redintegrata extemplo est omnibus memoria foedissimae potestatis, quum ipsum satellitesque ejus vidissent. Tum Virginio, ‘Oratio,’ inquit, ‘rebus dubiis inventa est; itaque neque ego accusando apud vos eum tempus teram, a cujus crudelitate vosmet ipsi armis vindicâstis; nec istum ad cetera scelera impudentiam in defendendo se adjicere patiar. Omnium igitur tibi, Ap. Claudii, quae impiè nefarièque per biennium alia super alia es ausus, gratiam facio. Unus tantum criminis ², ni iudicem dices ³, ‘te ab libertate in servitutem contra leges vindicias non dedisse ⁴,’ in vincula te duci jubeo.’ Nec in tribunicio auxilio Appius,

That is, a man is *sacrosanctus*, absolutely inviolable, when religious obligations were added to legal enactment, and the violator could be slain *on the spot* with impunity; a mere legal enactment did not make the magistrate *sacrosanctus*, but devoted to death, *sacrum sanxit, probably after a trial*, the violator. ¹ *Quas, &c.* ‘Which interpretation is refuted, on the ground that, in these early times, the term praetor, ‘not judge, was applied to the consul.’ Otherwise Cicero; *Regio imperio duo sunt; iique, praeuendo, iudicando, consulendo, praetores, iudices, consules* adpellantur. Leg. 3. 3. ² Supply *causâ*. ³ See p. 224, note 1. Virginio says that he will throw Appius into prison, if he will not consent to go before a judge, (*ni iudicem dices*,) and prove that he had not decided contrary to the decemviral laws in the case of Virginia. ⁴ See p. 252, note 1.

nec in iudicio populi ullam spem habebat. Attamen et tribunos appellavit; et nullo morante, arreptus a viatore, 'Provoco,' inquit. Audita vox una vindex libertatis ex eo missa ore, quo vindiciae nuper ab libertate dictae erant¹, silentium fecit. Et dum pro se quisque, 'Deos tandem esse et non negligere humana' fremunt, 'et superbiae crudelitatisque, etsi seras, non leves tamen venire poenas; provocare, qui provocationem sustulisset, et implorare praesidium populi, qui omnia iura populi obtrisset; rapisque in vincula egentem jure libertatis, qui liberum corpus in servitutem addixisset,' ipsius Appii inter concionis murmur fidem populi Romani implorantis vox audiebatur. 'Majorum merita in rempublicam domi militiaeque' commemorabat, 'suum infelix erga plebem Romanam studium, quod aequandarum legum causâ cum maximâ offensione Patrum consulatu ablisset², suas leges, quibus manentibus lator earum in vincula ducatur. Ceterum sua propria bona malaque, quum causae dicendae data facultas sit, tum se experturum. In praesentiâ se communi jure civitatis civem Romanum die dictâ postulare, ut dicere liceat, ut iudicium populi Romani experiri. Non ita se invidiam pertimuisse, ut nihil in aequitate et misericordiâ civium suorum spei habeat. Quod si indictâ causâ in vincula ducatur, iterum se tribunos plebei appellare, et monere ne imitentur, quos oderint. Quod si tribuni 'eodem foedere obligatos se' fateantur 'tollendae appellationis causâ, in quam³ conspirasse decemviros criminati sint,' ait 'se provocare ad populum; implorare leges de provocatione, et consulares, et tribunicias eo ipso anno latas. Quem enim provocaturum, si hoc⁴ indemnato indictâ causâ non liceat? Cui plebeio et humili praesidium in legibus fore, si Ap. Claudio non sit? se documento⁵ futurum, utrûm novis legibus dominatio an libertas firmata sit, et appellatio provocatioque adversus injuriam magistratum ostentata tantum inanibus literis, an verè data sit.'

LVII. Contra ea Virginius 'unum Ap. Claudium et legum expertem et civilis et humani foederis esse' aiebat.

¹ See p. 248, note 1.

² See chap. 33.

³ *Quam*.

Doering suggests *quod* with a reference to *eodem foedere*. Mark, *appellare tribunos—provocare ad populum*.

⁴ *Hoc*, namely, *provocare*.

⁵ See p. 51, note 1.

‘ Respicere¹ tribunal homines castellum omnium scele-
 ‘ rum, ubi decemvir ille perpetuus, bonis, tergo, sanguini
 ‘ civium infestus, virgas securesque omnibus minitans, De-
 ‘ orum hominumque contemptor, carnificibus non lictori-
 ‘ bus stipatus, jam ab rapinis et caedibus animo ad libidinem
 ‘ verso, virginem ingenuam in oculis populi Romani, velut
 ‘ bello captam, ab complexu patris abreptam, ministro cu-
 ‘ bicali sui clienti dono dederit; ubi crudeli decreto nefan-
 ‘ disque vindiciis dexteram patris in filiam armaverit; ubi
 ‘ tollentes corpus semianime virginis sponsum avunculum-
 ‘ que in carcerem duci jusserit, stupro interpellato magis
 ‘ quàm caede motus. Et illi carcerem aedificatum esse,
 ‘ quod domicilium² plebis Romanae vocare sit solitus.
 ‘ Proinde ut ille iterum ac saepius provocet, sic se iterum
 ‘ ac saepius judicem illi ferre, ‘ ni vindicias ab libertate in
 ‘ servitutem dederit³.’ Si ad judicem non eat, pro dam-
 ‘ nato in vincula duci jubere.’ Ut haud quoquam impro-
 ‘ bante, sic⁴ magno motu animorum, quum tanti viri suppli-
 ‘ cio suamet plebi jam nimia libertas videretur, in carcerem
 est conjectus. Tribunus ei diem prodixit⁵. Inter haec
 ab Latinis et Hernicis legati gratulatum de concordia Patrum ac plebis Romam venerunt; donumque ob eam Jovi optimo maximo coronam auream in Capitolium tulere parvi ponderis, prout res haud opulentae erant, colebanturque religiones⁶ piè magis quàm magnificè. Iisdem auctoribus cognitum est ‘ Aequos Volcosque summâ vi bellum appa-
 ‘ rare.’ Itaque partiri provincias⁷ consules jussi. Horatio Sabini, Valerio Aequi Volsique evenere. Quum ad ea bella delectum edixissent, favore plebis non juniores modò, sed emeritis etiam stipendiis⁸ pars magna voluntariorum ad

¹ See p. 168, note 1.

² Probably taken by Livy from an expression of Cicero, (Lib. v. In Verrem,) quoted by Gronovius, where he calls a Syracusan prison *domicilium civium Romanorum*.

³ Ni, &c. ‘ to decide whether or not he gave an ‘ interim decision consigning to slavery one who was in a state of ‘ apparent freedom.’ See p. 224, note 1.

⁴ See p. 157, note 1.

⁵ See p. 56, note 4. But *religiones* is here used in a good sense.

⁶ See p. 163, note 3.

⁷ Ten campaigns as a horseman, and twenty as a foot-soldier, exempted the Romans from further service. Those who had so completed their time were called *emeriti*, and the campaigns themselves *stipendia emerita*.

nomina danda praesto fuere; eoque non copiâ modò, sed genere etiam militum, veteranis admistis, firmior exercitus fuit. Priùs quàm urbem egrederentur, leges decemvirales, quibus 'tabulis duodecim' est nomen, in aes incisas in publico proposuerunt. Sunt qui 'jussu tribunorum aediles' functos eo ministerio' scribant.

LVIII. C. Claudius (qui perosus decemvirorum scelera, et ante omnes fratris filii superbiae infestus Regillum, anti-quam in patriam, se contulerat) is magno jam natu, quum ad pericula ejus deprecanda redisset cujus vitia fugerat, sordidatus cum gentilibus clientibusque in foro prensabat singulos orabatque, 'Ne Claudiae genti eam inustam maculam vellent, ut carcere et vinculis viderentur digni; virum' honoratissimae imaginis futurum ad posteros, legum latorem conditoremque Romani juris, jacere vinctum inter fures nocturnos ac latrones. Averterent ab irâ parumper ad cognitionem cogitationemque animos, et potius unum tot Claudiis deprecantibus condonarent quàm propter unius odium multorum preces aspernarentur. Se quoque id generi ac nomini dare, nec cum eo in gratiam redisse cujus adversae fortunae velit succursum. Virtute libertatem recuperatam esse; clementiâ concordiam ordinum stabiliri posse.' Erant quos moveret suâ magis pietate¹ quàm ejus pro quo agebat causâ. Sed Virginiius 'sui potius ut misererentur' orabat, 'filiaeque; nec gentis Claudiae regnum in plebem sortitae, sed necessariorum Virginiae trium tribunorum preces audirent, qui ad auxilium plebis creati, ipsi plebis fidem atque auxilium implorarent.' Justiores hae lacrimae videbantur. Itaque spe incisâ, priùs quàm producta dies adesset, Appius sibi mortem conscivit². Subinde arreptus a P. Numitorio Sp. Oppius, proximus invidiae quòd in urbe fuerat quum injustae vindiciae a collegâ dicerentur. Plus tamen facta injuria Oppio quàm non prohibita invidiae fecit. Testis productus, qui septem et viginti enumeratis stipendiis, octies extra ordinem donatus³ donaque ea gerens in conspectu populi, scissâ veste tergum

¹ *Pietas*, 'natural affection,' either towards the gods, or here, towards one's family.

² According to Dionysius, there were reports that his death was ordered by the decemvirs.

³ *Octies*, &c., 'having received eight rewards for extraordinary services.'

laceratum virgis ostendit, nihilum deprecans 'quin si quam suam noxam reus dicere posset, privatus iterum in se saeviret.' Oppius quodque ductus in vincula est, et ante iudicii diem finem ibi vitae fecit. Bona Claudii Oppiique tribuni publicavere. Collegae eorum exsilii causâ solum verterunt; bona publicata sunt. Et M. Claudius, assertor Virginiae, die dictâ damnatus, ipso remittente Virginio ultimam poenam, dimissus Tibur exsulatum abiit; manesque Virginiae mortuae quàm vivae felicioris, per tot domos ad petendas poenas vagati, nullo relicto fonte, tandem quieverunt.

LIX. Ingens metus incesserat Patres, vultusque jam iidem tribunorum erant qui decemvirorum fuerant, quum M. Duilius tribunus plebis, inhibito salubriter modo nimiae potestatis, 'Et libertatis,' inquit, 'nostrae et poenarum ex inimicis satis est. Itaque hoc anno nec diem dici cuiquam nec in vincula duci quemquam sum passurus. Nam neque vetera peccata repeti jam oblitterata placet, quum nova expiata sint decemvirorum suppliciis; et nihil admissum iri quod vim tribuniciam desideret, spondet perpetua consulum amborum in libertate vestrâ tuendâ cura.' Ea primum moderatio tribuni metum Patribus dempsit, eademque auxit consulum invidiam, 'quod adedò toti plebis fuissent¹, ut Patrum salutis libertatisque prior plebeio magistratui quàm patricio cura fuisset, et antè inimicos satiety poenarum suarum cepisset quàm obviâ ituros licentiae eorum consules appareret.' Multique erant qui 'mollius consultum' dicerent, 'quod legum ab iis latarum Patres auctores fuissent.' Neque erat dubium quin turbato reipublicae statu tempori succubuissent².

LX. Consules, rebus urbanis compositis fundatoque ple-

¹ See p. 238, note 1.

² The force of this passage, from *Ea primum*, seems to me, after attentively considering the numerous annotations on its several parts, to be. The senators universally blamed the consuls for favouring the commons,—many of them blamed themselves for sanctioning the laws proposed by the consuls, saying, 'that their own measures had been culpably indulgent' (*mollius consultum*)—and it was evident that as they had yielded to the necessities of the times, and not to their own convictions of right, they would, as soon as they had it in their power, assert the former aristocracy. And this actually took place.

bis statu, in provincias diversi abiêre. Valerius adversus conjunctos jam in Algido exercitus Aequorum Volscorumque sustinuit consilio bellum¹. Quòd si extemplo rem fortunae commisisset, haud scio an (qui tum animi ab decemvirorum infelicibus auspiciis Romanis hostibusque erant) magno detrimento certamen statutum fuerit². Castris mille passuum ab hoste positis copias continebat. Hostes medium inter bina castra spatium acie instructâ complebant, provocantibusque ad proelium responsum Romanus nemo reddebat. Tandem fatigati stando ac nequicquam exspectando certamen Aequi Volscique, postquam concessum prope modum de victoriâ credebant, pars in Hernicos, pars in Latinos praedatum abeunt; relinquitur magis castris praesidium quàm satis virium ad certamen. Quod ubi consul sensit, reddit illatum antea terrorem instructâque acie ultro hostem lacessit. Ubi illi conscientiâ quid abesset virium detractavere pugnam, crevit extemplo Romanis animus, et pro victis habebant paventes intra vallum. Quum per totum diem stetissent intenti ad certamen, nocti cessere, et Romani quidem pleni spei corpora curabant; haudquaquam pari hostes animo nuncios passim trepidi ad revocandos praedatores dimittunt. Recurritur ex proximis locis; ultiores non inventi. Ubi illuxit, egreditur castris Romanus vallum invasurus, ni copia pugnae fieret; et postquam multa jam dies erat neque movebatur quicquam ab hoste, jubet signa inferri consul; motâque acie, indignatio Aequos et Volscos incessit, si victores exercitus vallum potiùs quàm virtus et arma tegerent. Igitur et ipsi efflagitatum ab ducibus signum pugnae accepere. Jamque pars egressa portis erat deincepsque alii servabant ordinem in suum quisque locum descendentes, quum consul Romanus, priùs quàm totis viribus fulta constaret hostium acies, intulit signa; adortusque nec omnes dum eductos, nec, qui erant, satis explicatis ordinibus, prope fluctuantem turbam trepidantium huc atque illuc circumspectantiumque se ac suos, addito turbatis mentibus clamore atque impetu invadit. Retulere primò pedem hostes; deinde, quum animos col-

¹ *Sustinuit consilio bellum*, 'purposely prolonged the war.' ² See p. 158, note 5.

legissent et undique duces ' victisne cessuri essent ?' increparent, restituitur pugna.

LXI. Consul ex alterâ parte Romanos ' meminisse' jubebat, ' illo die primùm liberos pro liberâ urbe Romanâ pugnare ; sibimet ipsis victuros, non ut decemvirorum victores ' praemium essent. Non Appio duce rem geri, sed consule ' Valerio, a liberatoribus populi Romani orto¹, liberatore ipso. Ostenderent, prioribus proeliis per duces, non per milites stetisse ne vincerent. Turpe esse contra cives plus ' animi habuisse quàm contra hostes, et domi quàm foris ' servitutem magis timuisse. Unam Virginiam fuisse, cujus ' pudicitiae in pace periculum esset, unum Appium civem ' periculosae libidinis ; at si fortuna belli inclinet, omnium ' liberis ab tot millibus hostium periculum fore. Nolle omni- ' nari, quae nec Jupiter nec Mars pater passuri sint iis au- ' spiciis² conditae urbi accidere.' Aventini Sacrique mon- tis admonebat, ' ut ubi libertas parta esset paucis antè men- ' sibus, eò imperium illibatum referrent, ostenderentque ' eandem indolem militibus Romanis post exactos decemviros ' esse, quae ante creatos fuerit, nec aequatis legibus immi- ' nutam virtutem populi Romani esse.' Haec ubi inter signa peditum dicta dedit, avolat deinde ad equites, ' Agite, ju- ' venes,' inquit, ' praestate virtute peditem, ut honore atque ' ordine praestatis. Primo concursu pedes movit hostem ; ' pulsum vos, immissis equis, exigite e campo. Non susti- ' nebunt impetum ; et nunc cunctantur magis quàm resis- ' tunt.' Concitant equos permittuntque in hostem pedestri jam turbatum pugnâ ; et perruptis ordinibus elati ad novis- simam aciem, pars libero spatio circumvecti jam fugam un- dique capessentes plerosque a castris avertunt, praeterequi- tantesque absterrent. Peditum acies et consul ipse visque omnis belli fertur in castra ; captisque cum ingenti caede, majore praedâ potitur. Hujus pugnae fama perlata non in urbem modò, sed in Sabinos ad alterum exercitum. In urbe laetitîa modò celebrata est ; in castris animos militum ad aemulandum decus accendit. Jam Horatius eos, excur- sionibus sufficiendo³ proeliisque levibus experiundo, assue-

¹ Referring to his ancestor Valerius Publicola.

² *auspiciis.* ' Such (so favourable) auspices.'

³ *Excursionibus sufficiendo*, according to Douatius, ' by training the sol- diers,' *sufficere*, used metaphorically, from a preliminary process

fecerat sibi potius fidere quàm meminisse ignominiae decemvirorum ductu acceptae; parvaeque certamina in summam totius profecerant spei. Nec cessabant Sabini, feroces ab re priore anno bene gestâ, lacerare atque instare rogitan-
 'tes, ' Quid latrocinii modo procursantes pauci recur-
 ' rentesque tererent tempus, et in multa proelia parvaeque
 ' carperent summam unius belli? Quin illi congregarentur
 ' acie, inclinandamque semel fortunae rem darent?'

LXII. Ad id quod suâ sponte satis collectum animorum erat, indignitate etiam Romani accendebantur; ' Jam alte-
 ' rum exercitum victorem in urbem rediturum; sibi ultro
 ' per contumelias hostem insultare. Quando autem se, si
 ' tum non sint, pares hostibus fore?' Ubi haec fremere militem in castris consul sensit, concione advocatâ, ' Quem-
 ' admodum,' inquit, ' in Alcido res gesta sit, arbitror vos,
 ' milites, audisse; qualem liberi populi exercitum decuit
 ' esse, talis fuit. Consultu collegae, virtute militum vic-
 ' toria parta est. Quod ad me attinet, id consilii animique
 ' habiturus sum quod vos mihi effeceritis. Et trahi bellum
 ' salubriter, et maturè perfici potest. Si trahendum est,
 ' ego, ut in dies spes virtusque vestra crescat, eâdem quâ
 ' institui disciplinâ efficiam. Si jam satis animi est decer-
 ' nique placet, agitedum, clamorem qualem in acie sublaturi
 ' estis tollite hic, indicem voluntatis virtutisque vestrae.' Postquam ingenti alacritate clamor est sublatus, ' Quod
 ' bene vertat, gesturum se illis morem posteroque die in
 ' aciem deducturum' affirmat. Reliquum diei apparandis armis consumptum est. Postero die simul instrui Romanam aciem Sabini videre, et ipsi jam pridem avidi certaminis procedunt. Proelium fuit, quale inter fidentes sibimet ambo exercitus, veteris perpetuaeque alterum gloriae¹, alterum nuper novâ victoriâ elatum. Consilio etiam Sabini vires adjuvere; nam quum aequâssent aciem², duo extra

in dying; according to Duker, ' by the soldiers finding that in sallies ' they were a match for the enemy; '—according to Stroth, ' by the ' consuls supplying them with opportunities for sallying.' Another interpretation makes it mean, ' by supplying soldiers to those who ' wished to head sallies.' The explanation of Douatius seems the least forced.

¹ As the passage stands, *gloriae* is governed by *exercitus* understood, but Stroth's conjecture of *memoriâ* after *gloriae* is excellent.

² Nam, &c. ' For when the Sabines

ordinem millia, quae in sinistrum cornu Romanorum in ipso certamine impressionem facerent, tenuere. Quae ubi, illatis ex transverso signis, degravabant prope circumventum cornu, equites duarum legionum sexcenti fere ex equis desiliunt, cedentibusque jam suis, provolant in primum, simulque et hosti se opponunt, et aequato primum periculo pudore deinde animos peditum accendunt. Verecundiae erat, 'equitem suo alienoque Marte¹ pugnare, peditem ne 'ad pedes quidem degresso equiti parem esse.'

LXIII. Vadunt igitur in proelium ab suâ parte omis-
sum, et locum ex quo cesserant repetunt; momentoque²
non restituta modò pugna, sed inclinatur etiam Sabinis cornu.
Eques inter ordines peditum tectus se ad equos recipit,
transvolat inde in partem alteram, suis victoriae nuncius,
simul et in hostes jam pavidos, quippe fuso suae partis va-
lidiore cornu, impetum facit. Non aliorum eo proelio vir-
tus magis enituit. Consul providere omnia, laudare fortes,
increpare sicubi segnior pugna esset. Castigati fortium
statim virorum operam edebant; tantumque hos pudor
quantum alios laudes excitabant. Redintegrato clamore,
undique omnes connisi hostem avertunt, nec deinde Ro-
mana vis sustineri potuit. Sabini fusi passim per agros
castra hosti ad praedam relinquunt. Ibi non sociorum, si-
cut in Algidio³, res, sed suas Romanus populationibus
agrorum amissas recipit. Geminâ victoriâ duobus bifariam
proeliis partâ, malignè senatus in unum diem supplicationes⁴
consulum nomine decrevit. Populus injussu et altero die
frequens iit supplicatum; et haec vaga popularisque sup-
plicatio studiis prope celebratior fuit. Consules ex com-
posito eodem biduo ad urbem accessere, senatumque in
Martium campum evocavere⁵. Ubi quum de rebus ab se

'had extended their line, so as to equal in length that of the Ro-
'mans.'

¹ *Suo alienoque Marte*, 'in a department of the battle
'belonging to others, as well as in their own.'

² *Momento*. This seems to be one of the primary meanings of the word, (see
p. 86, note 1,) 'by this movement.'

³ See chapter 61. ⁴ *Sup-
plicatio*, generally 'a season of prayer to heaven;' either 'of suppli-
'cation,' as in chap. 7, or 'of thanksgiving,' as here.

⁵ *Evocavere*,
'summoned out of the city.' No magistrate invested with military
power could enter the city. The consuls were therefore obliged,
on this occasion, to convene the senate without the walls.

geatis agerent, questi primores Patrum ‘senatum inter mi-
 ‘lites deditâ operâ terroris causâ haberi.’ Itaque inde con-
 sules, ne criminationi locus esset, in prata Flaminia, ubi
 nunc aedes Apollinis est, (jam tum Apollinarem appella-
 bant,) avocavere senatum. Ubi quum ingenti consensu
 Patrum negaretur triumphus, L. Icilius tribunus plebis tu-
 lit ad populum de triumpho consulum, multis dissuasum
 prodeuntibus, maximè C. Claudio vociferante ‘De Patri-
 ‘bus, non de hostibus consules triumphare velle, gratiam-
 ‘que pro privato merito in tribunum, non pro virtute ho-
 ‘nore[m] peti. Nunquam antè de triumpho per populum
 ‘actum, semper aestimationem arbitriumque ejus honoris
 ‘penes senatum fuisse; ne reges quidem majestatem sum-
 ‘mi ordinis imminuisse. Ne ita omnia tribuni potestatis
 ‘suae implerent, ut nullum publicum consilium sinerent
 ‘esse; ita demum liberam civitatem fore, ita aequatas leges,
 ‘si sua quisque jura ordo, suam majestatem teneat.’ In
 eandem sententiam multa et a ceteris senioribus Patrum
 quum essent dicta, omnes tribus¹ eam rogationem accepe-
 runt. Tum primum sine auctoritate senatûs, populi jussu
 triumphatum est².

LXIV. Haec victoria tribunorum plebisque prope in
 haud salubrem luxuriam vertit, conspiratione inter tribunos
 facta ut iidem tribuni reficerentur, et, quo sua minùs cupi-
 ditas emineret, consulibus quòque continuarent magistratu-
 tum. Consensum Patrum causabantur, ‘quo per contu-
 ‘meliam consulum jura plebis labefacta essent. Quid fu-
 ‘turum, nondum firmatis legibus, si novos tribunos per fac-
 ‘tiones suas consules adorti essent? Non enim semper Va-
 ‘lerios Horatiosque consules fore, qui libertati plebis suas
 ‘opes postferrent.’ Forte quâdam utili ad tempus, ut co-
 mitiis praecesset potissimum M. Duilio sorte evenit, viro

¹ *Omnes tribus.* The tribes passing this bill, yet called in the next sentence *populus*, ‘the whole people,’ and the fact stated above, that a tribune of the commons, *tulit ad populum*, indicate either looseness of statement on the part of Livy, or must be considered part of the fragmentary notices alluded to, p. 273, note 1. ² See p. 206, note 2. According to the *Fasti Capitolini* this triumph was celebrated on the 13th of August 304. It was well merited, as far as the success over the Sabines was concerned, as we hear no more of their hostility for 150 years after this.

prudenti et ex continuatione magistratûs invidiam imminentem cernenti. Qui quum 'ex veteribus tribunis' negaret 'ullius se rationem habiturum,' pugnarentque collegae, 'ut liberas tribus in suffragium mitteret, aut concederet sortem comitiorum collegis, habituris e lege potius comitia quàm ex voluntate Patrum;' injectâ contentione, Duilius consules ad subsellia accitos quum interrogâsset, 'quid de comitiis consularibus in animo haberent?' respondissentque 'se novos consules creaturos,' auctores populares sententiae haud popularis nactus, in concionem cum iis processit. Ubi quum consules producti ad populum interrogatique, 'si eos populus Romanus memor libertatis per illos receptae domi, memor militiae rerumque gestarum, consules iterum faceret, quidnam facturi essent?' nihil sententiae suae mutâsset, collaudatis consulibus, 'quod per severarent ad ultimum dissimiles decemvirorum esse,' comitia habuit; et quinque tribunis plebis creatis, quum prae studiis apertè petentium novem tribunorum alii candidati tribus non explerent¹, concilium dimisit; nec deinde comitiorum causâ habuit. 'Satisfactum legi' aiebat, 'quae numero nusquam praefinito tribunis, modò ut relinquerentur sanciret², et ab iis qui creati essent cooptari collegas juberet.' Recitabatque rogationis carmen³ in quo, 'Si tribunos plebei decem rogabo, si qui vos minus hodie decem tribunos plebei feceritis; hi tum uti quos sibi collegas cooptâssint, ut illi legitimi eâdem lege tribuni plebei sint, ut illi quos hodie tribunos plebei feceritis⁴.' Duilius

¹ Quum, &c. 'When in consequence of the pretensions of the nine tribunes, who, without concealment, stood for the office, the other candidates did not obtain a legal majority in the tribes.'

² Quae, i. e. quippe ea . . . modo ut relinquerentur sanciret; 'in as much as it enacted no more than that the old tribunes should not quit office without leaving successors.' ³ See p. 42, note 3.

⁴ Si, &c. 'If while I shall preside at the election of ten tribunes of the commons, you by any means shall have this day elected less than the ten tribunes of the commons; then it shall be observed, that they whom the elected shall have chosen (*cooptassint* for *cooptaverint*) as their colleagues, be lawful tribunes of the commons, with the same legality as those whom you to-day shall have elected tribunes.' As each successful candidate required a clear majority of the tribes, and it was likely that in the election of so large a number as ten tribunes, it might often happen that the whole ten might

quum ad ultimum perseverasset, negando 'quindecim tri-
'bunos plebei rempublicam habere posse,' victâ collegarum
cupiditate, pariter Patribus plebique acceptus magistratu
abiit.

LXV. Novi tribuni plebis in cooptandis collegis Patrum
voluntatem foverunt. Duos etiam patricios consularesque¹,

u. c. Sp. Tarpeium et A. Aterium cooptavere. Consules
307. creati, Lar. Herminius, T. Virginus Coelimontanus
nihil magnopere ad Patrum aut plebis causam incli-
nati, otium domi ac foris habuere. L. Trebonius tribunus
plebis, infestus Patribus quod 'se ab iis in cooptandis tri-
'bunis fraude captum, proditum a collegis' aiebat, rogatio-
nem tulit, 'ut qui plebem Romanam tribunos plebi rogaret,
'is usque eò rogaret dum decem tribunos plebi faceret ;'
insectandisque Patribus, unde 'Aspero' etiam inditum est
cognomen, tribunatum gessit. Inde M. Geganius Mace-

not be elected, some such provision was necessary to save the pre-
siding tribune from the punishment referred to in the end of the
55th chapter.

¹ We have here a fragmentary notice, which, taken with others, both from Livy himself, (see p. 271, note 1,) and from Dionysius, Festus, Cicero and Zonaras, shew that the blending of the two orders began at a much earlier period than is commonly supposed, though the process was often interrupted by the resumed sway of the aristocracy. According to Niebuhr and Arnold, the overthrow of the decemviri introduced a new constitution, with consuls—for the first time so called—two at first, but the ultimate number left indefinite, one-half to be patrician, and the other plebeian, for home government; decemvirs, five patrician and five plebeian, for the command of the army, and the defence of the patricians; and ten tribunes for the defence of the commons, similarly divided between the two orders, while the Comitia Tributa were raised to the level of the other Comitia, both by the enactment referred to p. 260, note 4, and by their being inaugurated with religious ceremonies. If this be true, it is probable that the commingling of the tribes with the centuries—a matter of the greatest obscurity, but which undoubtedly existed in the matured Roman constitution, (see Index, *Tribus*,)—commenced about this time. But it is clear that the new constitution, if it ever existed in this form, did not last long, probably, as Dr Arnold says, 'because it attempted to obtain objects for which the time was not yet come.' There certainly remained one obstacle which preserved more than any other the distinction between the orders, the express prohibition of *connubia*, or fully legal intermarriages between patricians and plebeians, contained in the laws of the twelve tables.

rinus et C. Julius consules facti coitiones tribunorum
 u. c. adversus nobilium juventutem ortas, sine insecta-
 308. tione potestatis ejus, conservatâ majestate Patrum sedare; plebem, decreto ad bellum Volscorum et Aequorum delectu, sustinendo rem¹ ab seditionibus continuere, 'urbano quodque otio foris omnia tranquilla esse' affirmantes, 'per discordias civiles externos tollere animos.' Cura pacis concordiae quodque intestinae causa fuit. Sed alter semper ordo gravis alterius modestiae erat. Quiescenti plebi ab junioribus Patrum injuriae fieri coeptae. Ubi tribuni auxilio humilioribus essent, in primis parum proderat²; deinde ne ipsi quidem inviolati erant, utique postremis mensibus quum et per coitiones potentiorum injuria fieret, et vis potestatis omnis aliquanto posteriore anni parte languidior ferme esset; jamque plebs ita in tribunatu ponere aliquid spei, 'si similes Icilio tribunos haberet; nomina tantum se 'biennio habuisse.' Seniores contrâ Patrum, ut nimis feroces suos credere juvenes esse, ita malle, si modus excedendus esset, suis quàm adversariis superesse animos. Adeo moderatio tuendae libertatis, dum 'aequari velle' simulando ita se quisque extollit ut deprimat alium, in difficili est; cavendoque ne metuant homines, metuendos ultro se efficiunt; et injuriam a nobis repulsam, tanquam aut facere aut pati necesse sit, injungimus aliis³.

LXVI. T. Quinctius Capitolinus⁴ quantum et
 u. c. Agrippa Furius consules inde facti, nec seditionem
 309. domi nec foris bellum acceperunt; sed imminabat utrumque. Jam non ultrâ discordia civium reprimi poterat, et tribunis et plebe incitatâ in Patres, quum dies alicui nobilium dicta novis semper certaminibus conciones turbaret. Ad quarum primum strepitum, velut signo accepto, arma cepere Aequi ac Volsci, simul quod persuaserant iis duces cupidi praedarum, 'biennio⁵ ante delectum indictum

¹ *Sustinendo rem*, 'by putting off the war.' So sustinuit consilio bellum, chap. 60.

² *In primis*. 'In the first cases defended 'by them, little good was done.' Mark in *primis*, *deinde*, *utique postremis mensibus*.

³ A singularly varied sentence—*quisque extollit—metuant—injungimus*.

⁴ 'The real history of this year is lost 'almost entirely.' Dr Arnold, vol. i. p. 335.

⁵ *Biennio ante*, 'two years before.' As the alleged failure of the levy occurred in the preceding year, this must be obtained by including both the term

‘haberi non potuisse, abnuente jam plebe imperium; eò
 ‘adversus se non esse missos exercitus. Dissolvi licentiâ
 ‘militandi morem, nec pro communi jam patriâ Romam
 ‘esse; quicquid irarum simultatumque cum externis fuerit
 ‘in ipsos verti. Occaecatos lupos intestinâ rabie oppri-
 ‘mendi occasionem esse.’ Coniunctis exercitibus Latinum
 primùm agrum perpopulati sunt; deinde postquam ibi nemo
 vindex occurrebat, tum verò exsultantibus belli auctoribus,
 ad moenia ipsa Romae populabundi regione portae Esquil-
 linæ accessere, vastationem agrorum per contumeliam urbi
 ostentantes. Unde postquam inulti, praedam prae se
 agentes, retro ad Corbionem agmine ière, Quinctius consul
 ad concionem populum vocavit.

LXVII. Ibi in hanc sententiam locutum accipio; ‘Etsi
 ‘mihi nullius noxae conscius, Quirites, sum, tamen cum
 ‘pudore summo in concionem vestram processi; hoc vos
 ‘scire, hoc posteris memoriae traditum iri, Aequos et Vol-
 ‘scos, vix Hernicis modò pares, T. Quinctio quartum con-
 ‘sule, ad moenia urbis Romae impune armatos venisse!
 ‘Hanc ego ignominiam, (quanquam jam diu ita vivitur, is
 ‘status rerum est ut nihil boni divinet animus,) si huic po-
 ‘tissimùm imminere anno scissem, vel exilio vel morte si
 ‘alia fuga honoris non esset vitâsem. Ergo si viri arma
 ‘illa habuissent, quae in portis fuere nostris, capi Roma me
 ‘consule potuit! Satis honorum, satis superque vitae erat;
 ‘mori consulem tertium oportuit. Quem tandem ignavis-
 ‘simi hostium contempsere? nos consules? an vos Qui-
 ‘rites? Si culpa in nobis est, auferte imperium indignis;
 ‘et si id parum est, insuper poenas expetite¹; si in vobis,
 ‘nemo Deorum nec hominum sit², qui vestra puniat pec-
 ‘cata, Quirites; vosmet tantum eorum poeniteat. Non illi
 ‘vestram ignaviam contempsere, nec suae virtuti confisi
 ‘sunt; quippe toties fusi fugatique, castris exuti, agro
 ‘mulctati, sub jugum missi et se et vos novere. Discordia
 ‘ordinum est venenum urbis hujus, Patrum ac plebis cer-
 ‘tamina; dum nec nobis imperii, nec vobis libertatis est
 ‘modus, dum taedet vos patriciorum, hos plebeiorum magis-
 ‘tratum, sustulere illi animos. Prò Deum fidem, quid
 ‘vobis vultis? Tribunos plebis concupistis; concordiae

from which, and to which the computation is made.
 note 2.

² A prayer, ‘may there be.’

¹ See p. 39,

‘causâ concessimus. Decemviros desiderâstis; creati passi sumus. Decemvirorum vos pertaesum est; coëgimus abire magistratu. Manente in eosdem privatos irâ vestrâ, mori atque exsulare nobilissimos viros honoratissimosque passi sumus. Tribunos plebis creare iterum¹ voluistis; creâstis. Consules facerestrarum partium etsi Patribus videbamus iniquum, patricium quôque magistratum plebi donum fieri vidimus². Auxilium tribuniciû, provocationem ad populum, scita plebis injuncta patribus sub titulo aequandarum legum, nostra jura oppressa tulimus et ferimus. Qui finis erit discordiarum? Ecquando unam urbem habere, ecquando communem hanc esse patriam licebit? Victi nos aequiore animo quiescimus quàm vos victores. Satisne est, nobis vos metuendos esse? Adversus nos Aventinum capitur, adversus nos Sacer occupatur mons. Esquilias quidem ab hoste prope captas, et scandentem in aggerem Volscum hostem nemo submovit³. In nos viri, in nos armati estis.

LXVIII. ‘Agitedum, ubi hîc curiam circumsederitis et forum infestum feceritis et carcerem impleveritis principibus, iisdem istis ferocibus animis egredimini extra portam Esquilinam; aut si ne hoc quidem audetis, ex muris visite agros vestros ferro ignique vastatos, praedam abigi, fumare incensa passim tecta. At enim⁴ communis res per haec loco est pejore; ager uritur, urbs obsidetur, belli gloria penes hostes est. Quid tandem? privatae res vestrae in quo statu sunt? Jam unicuique ex agris sua damna nunciabuntur. Quid est tandem domi, unde ea expleatis? Tribuni vobis amissa reddent ac restituent? Vocis verborumque quantum voletis ingerent, et criminum in

¹ It has been doubted whether, according to Livy, the tribuneship of the commons was suspended during the decemvirate. This is decisive.

² Alluding either to the creation of Valerius and Horatius, the protectors of the commons, or to the constitution mentioned p. 273, note 1.

³ The verb *submovere* here has a double force, *defendere* submovendo, *submovere* defendendo. In the latter notion only is it applied to the words (*Volscum hostem*) nearest it, and the former meaning must be supplied to *Esquilias*. *Agger*, according to Gronovius, refers to a defence of the Esquiline hill, erected by Tarquin the Tyrant.

⁴ *At enim*. ‘But’ you will reply, we hereby gain our object of harassing the patricians,—‘for.’ See p. 219, note 2.

' principes, et legum aliarum super alias, et concionum.
 ' Sed ex illis concionibus nunquam vestrum quisquam re,
 ' fortunâ, domum auctior rediit. Ecquis retulit aliquid ad
 ' conjugem ac liberos, praeter odia, offensiones, similitudines
 ' publicas privatasque? a quibus semper non vestra virtute
 ' innocentiaque, sed auxilio alieno¹ tuti sitis. At Hercules,
 ' quum stipendia nobis consulibus, non tribunis ducibus, et
 ' in castris, non in foro faciebatis, et in acie vestrum clamo-
 ' rem hostes, non in concione Patres Romani horrebant,
 ' praedâ partâ, agro ex hoste capto, pleni fortunarum glo-
 ' riaeque simul publicae simul privatae, triumphantes do-
 ' mum ad penates redibatis. Nunc oneratum vestris for-
 ' tunis hostem abire sinitis. Haerete affixi concionibus et
 ' in foro vivite; sequitur vos necessitas militandi, quam fu-
 ' gitis. Grave erat in Aequos et Volscos proficisci? ante
 ' portas est bellum. Si inde non pellitur, jam intra moenia
 ' erit, et arcem et Capitolium scandet, et in domos vestras
 ' vos persequetur. Biennio² ante senatus delectum haberi,
 ' et educi exercitum in Algidum jussit. Sedemus desides
 ' domi, mulierum ritu inter nos altercantes, praesenti pace
 ' laeti, nec cernentes ex otio illo brevi multiplex bellum re-
 ' diturum. His ego gratiora dictu alia esse scio; sed me
 ' vera pro gratis loqui, etsi meum ingenium non moneret,
 ' necessitas cogit. Vellem equidem vobis placere, Quirites,
 ' sed multo malo vos salvos esse, qualicunque erga me ani-
 ' mo futuri estis. Naturâ hoc ita comparatum est, ut qui
 ' apud multitudinem suâ causâ loquitur gravior eo sit, cujus
 ' mens nihil praeter publicum commodum videt; nisi fortè
 ' assentatores publicos, plebicolos istos qui vos nec in armis
 ' nec in otio esse sinunt, vestra vos causâ incitare et sti-
 ' mulare putatis. Concitati, aut honori aut quaestui illis
 ' estis; et quia in concordia ordinum nullos³ se usquam
 ' esse vident, malae rei se quàm nullius, turbarum ac sedi-
 ' tionum duces esse volunt. Quarum rerum si vos tae-
 ' dium tandem capere potest, et patrum vestrosque antiquos
 ' mores vultis pro his novis sumere, nulla supplicia recuso,
 ' nisi⁴ paucis diebus hos populatores agrorum nostrorum

¹ *Alieno*, of the tribunes.² See p. 274, note 5.³ So

in English we say, of an insignificant person, that he is nobody.

⁴ *Nisi*, si non.

‘fucos fugatosque castris exuero, et a portis nostris moenibusque ad illorum urbes hunc belli terrorem, quo nunc vos attoniti estis, transtulero.’

LXIX. Rarò aliàs tribuni popularis oratio acceptior plebi quàm tunc severissimi consulis fuit. Juventus quòque, quae inter tales metus detractationem militiae telum acerrimum adversus Patres habere solita erat, arma et bellum spectabat; et agrestium fuga spoliatique in agris et vulnerati, foediora iis quae subiciebantur oculis nunciantes, totam urbem irâ implevere. In senatum ubi ventum est, ibi verò in Quinctium omnes versi, ut unum vindicem majestatis Romanae intueri; et primores Patrum ‘dignam’ dicere ‘concionem imperio consulari, dignam tot consulatibus anteactis, dignam vitâ omni, plenâ honorum saepe gestorum, saepius meritorum. Alios consules aut per prodicionem dignitatis Patrum plebi adulatos, aut acerbè tuendo jura ordinis, asperiores domando multitudinem fecisse; T. Quinctium orationem memorem majestatis Patrum concordiaeque ordinum et temporum in primis habuisse. Orare eum collegamque, ut capessèrent rempublicam; orare tribunos¹, ut uno animo cum consulibus bellum ab urbe ac moenibus propulsari vellent, plebemque obedientem in re tam trepidâ Patribus praeberent; appellare tribunos communem patriam² auxiliumque eorum implorare, vastatis agris, urbe prope oppugnata.’ Consensu omnium delectus decernitur habeturque. Quum consules in concione pronunciâssent, ‘Tempus non esse causas cognoscendi; omnes juniores postero die primâ luce in campo Martio adessent; cognoscendis causis eorum, qui nomina non dedissent, bello perfecto se daturus tempus; pro deserto futurum, cujus non probâssent causam,’ omnis juventus adfuit postero die. Cohortes sibi quaeque centuriones legerunt; bini senatores singulis cohortibus praepositi. Haec omnia adeò maturè perfecta accepimus, ut signa, eo

¹ From this passage Duker infers that the tribunes had, on the overthrow of the decemviral power, obtained a seat in the senate.

² Either, according to Ruperti, ‘that they appealed to the tribunes, constituting a part of their common country,’ or, more probably, ‘that their common country appealed to the tribunes;’ as in Cic. Orat. in Catilinam, l. Nunc te *patria*, quae *communis* est omnium nostrum parens, odit.

ipso die a quaestoribus ex aerario prompta delataque in campum, quartâ diei horâ mota ex campo sint, exercitusque novus, paucis cohortibus veterum militum voluntate sequentibus, manserit ad decimum lapidem. Insequens dies hostem in conspectum dedit, castraque ad Corbionem castris sunt conjuncta. Tertio die, quum ira Romanos, illos, quum toties rebellâssent, conscientia culpa ac desperatio irritaret, mora dimicandi nulla est facta.

LXX. In exercitu Romano quum duo consules essent potestate pari, quod saluberrimum in administratione magnarum rerum est, summa imperii, concedente Agrippâ, penes collegam erat; et praelatus ille facilitati submittentis se comiter respondebat, communicando consilia laudesque, et aequando imparem sibi. In acie Quinctius dextrum cornu, Agrippa sinistrum tenuit: Sp. Postumio Albo legato datur media acies tuenda; legatum alterum Ser. Sulpicium equitibus praeficiunt. Pedites ab dextro cornu egregiè pugnare, haud segniter resistentibus Volscis. Ser. Sulpicius per mediam hostium aciem cum equitatu perrupit; unde quum eâdem reverti posset ad suos, priùs quàm hostis turbatos ordines reficeret terga impugnare hostium satius visum est. Momentoque temporis, in aversam incursando aciem ancipiti terrore dissipâssent hostes, ni suo proprio eum proelio equites Volscorum et Aequorum exceptum aliquamdiu tenuissent. Ibi verò Sulpicius negare ‘cunctandi tempus esse,’ ‘circumventos interclusosque ab suis’ vociferans, ‘ni equestre proelium connisi omni vi perficerent. Nec fugare equitem integrum satis esse, conficerent equos virosque, ne quis reveheretur inde ad proelium aut intergraret pugnam. Non posse illos resistere sibi, quibus ‘conferta peditum acies cessisset.’ Haud surdis auribus dicta; impressione unâ totum equitatum fudere, magnam vim ex equis praecipitavere, ipsos equosque spiculis confodere. Is finis pugnae equestris fuit. Tunc adorti peditum aciem, nuncios ad consules rei gestae mittunt, ubi jam inclinabatur hostium acies. Nuncius deinde et vincentibus Romanis animos auxit, et referentes gradum perculit Aequos. In mediâ primùm acie vinci coepti, quâ permissus equitatus turbaverat ordines. Sinistrum deinde cornu ab Quinctio consule pelli coeptum¹; in dextro

¹ *Vinci coepti, pelli coeptum.* See p. 71, note 2.

plurimum laboris fuit. Ibi Agrippa aetate viribusque ferrox, qudm omni parte pugnae meliùs res geri quàm apud se videret, accepta signa ab signiferis ipse inferre, quaedam jacere etiam in confertos hostes coepit; cuius ignominiae metu concitati milites invasere hostem. Ita aequata ex omni parte victoria est. Nuncius tum a Quinctio venit, 'victorem jam se imminere hostium castris; nolle irrum-pere, antequam sciat debellatum et in sinistro cornu esse. Si jam fudisset hostes, conferret ad se signa, ut simul omnis exercitus praedâ potiretur.' Victor Agrippa cum mutuâ gratulatione ad victorem collegam castraque hostium venit. Ibi paucis defendentibus momentoque fuis, sine certamine in munitiones irrumpunt; praedâque ingenti compotem exercitum, suis etiam rebus recuperatis quae populatione agrorum amissae erant, reducunt. Triumphum nec ipsos postulâsse, nec delatum iis ab senatu accipio; nec traditur causa spreti aut non sperati honoris. Ego quantum in tanto intervallo temporum conjicio, quum Valerio atque Horatio consulibus, qui praeter Volscos et Aequos Sabini etiam belli perfecti gloriam pepererant, negatus ab senatu triumphus esset, verecundiae fuit pro parte dimidiâ rerum consulibus petere triumphum; ne etiam, si impetrâssent, magis hominum ratio quàm meritorum habita videretur.

LXXI. Victoriâ honestam ex hostibus partam, turpe domi de finibus sociorum iudicium populi deformavit. Aricini atque Ardeates de ambiguo agro quum saepe bello certâssent, multis in vicem cladibus fessi iudicem populum Romanum cepere. Quum ad causam orandam venissent, concilio populi a magistratibus dato, magnâ contentione actum. Jamque editis testibus, quum tribus vocari et populum inire suffragium oporteret, consurgit P. Scaptius de plebe, magno natu; et, 'Si licet,' inquit, 'consules, de re publicâ dicere, errare ego populum in hâc causâ non patiar.' Quum ut vanum eum negarent consules audiendum esse, vociferantemque 'prodi publicam causam' submoveri jussissent, tribunos appellat. Tribuni, ut fere semper reguntur a multitudine magis quàm regunt, dedere cupidae audiendi plebi, ut quae vellet Scaptius diceret. Ibi inquit, 'Annum se tertium et octogesimum agere, et in eo agro de quo agitur militâsse non juvenem, vicesima jam sti-

‘pendia merentem, quum ad Coriolos sit bellatum¹. Eo rem se vetustate oblitteratam, ceterum suae memoriae infixam afferre; agrum de quo ambigitur finium Coriolanorum fuisse, captisque Coriolis², jure belli publicum populi Romani factum. Mirari se, quonam more Ardeates Aricinique, cujus agri jus nunquam usurpaverint incolumi Coriolanâ re, eum se a populo Romano, quem pro domino judicem fecerint, intercepturos sperent. Sibi exiguum vitae tempus superesse; non potuisse se tamen inducere in animum quin, quem agrum miles pro parte virili manu cepisset, eum senex quodque voce, quâ unâ posset, vindicaret. Magnopere se suadere populo, ne inutili pudore suam ipse causam damnaret.’

LXXII. Consules quum Scaptium non silentio modò, sed cum assensu etiam audiri animadvertissent, Deos hominesque testantes ‘flagitium ingens fieri,’ Patrum primores arcessunt. Cum his circumire tribunos³, orare, ‘Ne pessimum facinus pejore exemplo admitterent judices, in suam rem litem vertendo, quum praesertim, etiamsi fas sit curam emolumenti sui judici esse, nequaquam tantum agro intercipiendo acquiratur, quantum amittatur alienandis injuriâ sociorum animis. Nam famae quidem ac fidei damna majora esse quàm quae aestimari possent. Hoc legatos referre domum; hoc vulgari; hoc socios audire; hoc hostes; quo cum dolore hos? quo cum gaudio illos?’

¹ Corioli was taken, u. c. 261, 48 years before this. Scaptius had served 19 campaigns, and must have been 17 years old before he entered the service. $48+19+17=84$, the age, or nearly so, which he here gives himself out to have attained. It is needless to press a narrative like this too closely.

² See ii. 33. ³ Perizonius, with the applause of almost all the commentators, proposes *tribus*, as the tribunes had no right to the title *judices* given to the party entreated in the next sentence. This is unnecessary. The tribunes were the representatives and authorised advisers of the tribes, and therefore might well enough be termed the *judices*, or might be entreated to use their paramount influence, that the judges should not decide improperly. Some place the comma after *circumire*, *plebem* understood; then we have *tribunos orare*; and others place the comma after *admitterent*,—Faber, who does this, suggesting *judicis*.

⁴ As *hic* and *ille* refer, the former to near, the latter to distant objects, *hic*, as is well known, generally signifies the *latter*, (the nearer); *ille*, the *former* (the more distant.) They are here reversed. This is not uncommon.

‘ Scaptione hoc, concionali seni, assignaturos putarent finitimos populos ? Clarum hâc fore imagine Scaptium ; populum Romanum quadruplatoris et interceptoris litis alienae personam laturum ¹. Quem enim hoc privatae rei judicem fecisse, ut sibi controversiosam adjudicaret rem ? Scaptium ipsum id quidem, etsi praemortui jam sit pudoris, non facturum.’ Haec consules, haec Patres vociferantur ; sed plus cupiditas et auctor cupiditatis Scaptius valet. Vocatae tribus judicaverunt ‘ agrum publicum populi Romani esse.’ Nec abnuitor ita fuisse, si ad iudices alios itum foret ; nunc haud sanè quicquam bono causae levatur dedecus iudicii ; idque non Aricinis Ardeatibusque quàm Patribus Romanis foedius atque acerbius visum. Reliquum anni quietum ab urbanis motibus et ab externis mansit.

¹ *Scaptione*, &c. ‘ Did they think that the neighbouring states would attribute this to Scaptius, an old babler in public meetings ? Scaptius would go down to posterity ennobled with this, as an image ; whilst the Roman people would bear the character of cheating pettifoggers, and of basely taking advantage of their situation as judges, in usurping what was claimed by others.’ *Quadruplâtôr*, proprie est delator, seu calumniator, qui alios ficti criminis accusat, ut quartam mulctae partem inde secundum legem ferat. Stroth. According to Festus, one who accused another of offences involving a fourfold penalty, as gambling, usury.

LIBER QUARTUS.

EPITOME.

I, &c. *LEX de connubio Patrum et plebis a tribunis plebis contentione magnâ, Patribus repugnantibus, perlatâ est.* VI, VII. *Tribuni militares.* Aliquot annis *res populi Romani domi militiaeque per hoc genus magistratûs administratae sunt.* VIII. *Item censores tunc primùm creati sunt.* XI. *Ager Ardeatibus populi Romani iudicio ablatus, missis in eum colonis restitutus est.* XII, XIII, &c. *Quum fame populus Romanus laboraret,*

Sp. Maelius, eques Romanus, frumentum populo suâ impensâ largitus est; et ob id factum conciliatâ sibi plebe, regnum affectans a C. Servilio Ahala, magistro equitum, jussu Quinctii Cincinnati dictatoris occisus est. XVI. L. Minucius index bove auratâ donatus est. XVII, XVIII. Legatis Romanis a Fidenatibus occisis, quoniam ob rempublicam occubuerant, statuæ in Rostris positæ sunt. XIX, XX. Cossus Cornelius tribunus militum, occiso Tolumnio rege Vejentium, opima spolia secunda retulit. XXIV. Mam. Aemilius dictator, censuræ honore, qui antea per quinquennium gerebatur, anni et sex mensium spatio finito, ob eam rem a censoribus notatus est. XXXI, &c. XXXIV. Fidenæ in potestatem redactæ eoque coloni missi sunt. Quibus occisis, Fidenates quum defecissent a Mam. Aemilio dictatore victi sunt, et Fidenæ captæ. XLV. Conjunctio servorum oppressa est. XLIX. L. Postumius, tribunus militum, propter crudelitatem ab exercitu occisus est. LIX. Stipendium ex aerario tum primùm militibus datum est. LX, LXI. Res præterea gestas adversus Volscos, et Fidenates, et Faliscos continet.

I. Hos secuti M. Genucius et C. Curtius consules.

U. C. 310. Fuit annus domi forisque infestus. Nam anni principio et de connubio ¹ Patrum et plebis C. Canuleius tribunus plebis rogationem ² promulgavit, quâ ‘contaminari sanguinem suum’ Patres ‘confundique jura gentium’ ³

¹ ‘He,’ (Canuleius) ‘chose that particular reform out of many in which the commons felt a deep interest, and in which many of the patricians sympathised with them, the repeal, namely, of that law of the twelve tables which forbade connubia between the two orders. Many families must have felt the hardship of this law; for marriages between patricians and plebeians were common, and as they were not in the highest sense legal, the children followed the mother’s condition, not the father’s, and were not subject to their father’s power, nor could inherit from him if he died intestate.’ Dr Arnold’s *Rome*, vol. i. p. 336.

² See p. 183, note 2. ³ *Jura gentium*. The patricians were divided into *gentes*, (which we may translate by the word *clans*,) bearing the same *nomen*, and partaking of the same religious privileges, which were subdivided into *familiae*, bearing the same *cognomen*. See p. 90, note 5. Intermarriage with the plebeians,

rebantur ; et mentio, primò sensim illata a tribunis, ut alterum ex plebe consulem liceret fieri, eò processit deinde ut rogationem novem tribuni promulgarent, ‘ ut populo potestas esset, seu de plebe seu de Patribus vellet, consules faciendi.’ ‘ Id verò si fieret, non vulgari modò cum infimis, sed prorsus auferri a primoribus ad plebem summum imperium’ credebant. Laeti ergo audiêre Patres Ardeatium populum ob injuriam agri abjudicati descisse, et Vejentes depopulatos extrema agri Romani, et Volscos Aequosque ob communitam Verruginem fremere ; adeò vel infelix bellum ignominiosae paci praeferabant. His itaque in majus etiam acceptis, ut inter strepitum tot bellorum conticescerent actiones tribuniciae, ‘ delectus haberi, bellum armaque vi summâ apparari’ jubent ; ‘ si quo intentiùs possit quàm T. Quinctio consule apparatus sit.’ Tum C. Canuleius pauca in senatu vociferatus, ‘ nequicquam ter-ritando consules avertere plebem a curâ novarum legum ; nunquam eos se vivo delectum habituros, antequam ea quae promulgata ab se collegisque essent plebes scivisset ;’ et confestim ad concionem advocavit.

II. Eodem tempore et consules senatum in tribunum, et tribunus populum in consules incitabat. Negabant consules ‘ jam ultrà ferri posse furores tribunicios. Ventum jam ad finem esse ; domi plus belli concitari quàm foris. Id adeò non plebis quàm Patrum, neque tribunorum magis quàm consulum culpâ accidere. Cujus rei praemium sit in civitate, eam maximis semper auctibus crescere ; sic pace bonos, sic bello fieri. Maximum Romae praemium seditionum esse ; id et singulis universisque semper honori fuisse. Reminiscerentur quam majestatem senatûs ipsi a patribus acceperant, quam liberis tradituri essent, ut (quemadmodum plebs) gloriari posset auctiorem ampliorum remque esse¹. Finem ergo non fieri nec futuram, do-

who had no *jus gentilitatis*, and were, therefore, as aliens, excluded from all the most important political privileges, would, according to the reasoning of the patricians, throw their rights into utter confusion. See Index, *Patres*.

¹ As this sentence stands, *senatus* must be understood as the nominative to *posset*, (see a similar change, p. 187, note 1 ;) Drakenborch in this passage places the parenthesis after *posset*, getting rid of the change of number, but introducing a startling ellipsis ; nor can we adopt the suggestion of

‘ nec quàm felices seditiones, tam honorati seditionum auctores essent ¹. Quas quantasque res C. Canuleium aggressum ? colluvionem gentium, perturbationem auspiorum publicorum privatorumque afferre, ne quid sinceri, ne quid incontaminati sit, ut discrimine omni sublato, nec se quisquam nec suos noverit. Quam enim aliam vim concubia promiscua habere, nisi ut ferarum prope ritu vultur gentur concubitus plebis Patrumque ? ut qui natus sit ignoret, cujus sanguinis, quorum sacrorum sit, dimidius Patrum sit, dimidius plebis, ne secum quidem ipse concors. Parum id videri, quòd omnia divina humanaque turbentur ; jam ad consulatum vulgi turbatores accingi ; et primò, ut alter consul ex plebe fieret, id modò sermonibus tentàsse ; nunc rogari ut, seu ex Patribus seu ex plebe velit, populus consules creet ; et creaturos haud dubiè ex plebe seditiosissimum quemque ; Canuleios igitur Icilio-que consules fore. Ne id Jupiter optimus maximus sine-
ret, regiae majestatis imperium eò recidere ; et se milles morituros potiùs quàm ut tantum dedecoris admitti patiantur. Certum habere, majores quòque, si divinàsset concedendo omnia non mitiorem in se plebem, sed asperior-
rem alia ex aliis iniquiora postulando, quum prima impetràsset, futuram, primò quamlibet dimicationem subituros fuisse potiùs quàm eas leges sibi imponi paterentur. Quia
tum concessum sit de tribunis, iterum ² concessum esse. Finem non fieri. Posse in eàdem civitate tribunos plebis et Patres esse ? aut hunc ordinem, aut illum magistratum tollendum esse ; potiùsque serò quàm nunquam ³ obviàm eundum audaciae temeritatique. Illine ut ⁴ impune primò discordias serentes concitent finitima bella, deinde adver-

Stroth, that *ut* is used for *quam*, and signifies *quam parum* ! The sentence evidently means, ‘ the senate should keep in mind,—in order that it might be able to boast.’ Amongst the various opinions on the passage, the best seems to be that which recommends it to be expunged, or transferred. The reasoning, as Bauer remarks, from *Cujus*, &c. to *Quas*, &c. is in the form of a perfect syllogism ; but its connection is totally destroyed by this sentence. ¹ *Ergo* has no reference to the preceding sentence, but to those before it.

² *Quum prima impetràsset, tum*, after the secession to Mons Sacer. *Iterum*, alluding to the re-appointment of the tribunes, after the decemviral power had been abolished.

³ Compare our proverb, ‘ Better late than never.’

⁴ See p. 18, note 6.

‘sus ea quae concitaverint armari civitatem defendique pro-
 ‘hibeant, et quum hostes tantum non arcessierint, exercitus
 ‘conscribi adversus hostes non patiantur? Sed audeat
 ‘Canuleius in senatu proloqui se, nisi suas leges tanquam
 ‘victoris Patres accipi sinant, delectum haberi prohibitu-
 ‘rum. Quid esse aliud quam minari, se proditurum pa-
 ‘triam, oppugnari atque capi passurum? Quid eam vocem
 ‘animorum non plebi Romanae, sed Volscis et Aequis et
 ‘Vejentibus allaturam? Nonne, Canuleio duce, se spera-
 ‘turos Capitolium atque arcem scandere posse, si Patribus
 ‘tribuni, cum jure ac majestate ademptâ, animos etiam
 ‘eripuerint? Consules paratos esse duces prius adversus
 ‘scelus civium quam adversus hostium arma.’

III. Quum maximè haec in senatu agerentur, Canuleius
 pro legibus suis et adversus consules ita disseruit; ‘Quan-
 ‘topere vos, Quirites, contemnerent, Patres, quam indignos
 ‘ducerent, qui unâ secum urbe intra eadem moenia vivere-
 ‘tis, saepe equidem et antè videor animadvertisse; nunc
 ‘tamen maximè, quòd adeò atroces in has rogationes nos-
 ‘tras coorti sunt; quibus quid aliud quam admonemus,
 ‘cives nos eorum esse et, si non easdem opes habere, ean-
 ‘dem tamen patriam incolere? Alterâ connubium petimus,
 ‘quod finitimis externisque dari solet. Nos quidem civita-
 ‘tem, quae plus quam connubium est, hostibus etiam victis
 ‘dedimus. Alterâ nihil novi ferimus; sed id, quod populi
 ‘est, repetimus atque usurpamus¹, ut quibus velit, populus
 ‘Romanus honores mandet. Quid tandem est, cur coelum
 ‘ac terras misceant? cur in me impetus modò penè in se-
 ‘natu sit factus? negent se manibus temperaturos, viola-
 ‘turosque denuncient sacrosanctam potestatem? Si populo
 ‘Romano liberum suffragium datur, ut quibus velit, consu-
 ‘latum mandet, et non praeciditur spes plebeio quòque, si
 ‘dignus summo honore erit, apiscendi summi honoris, stare
 ‘urbs haec non poterit? de imperio actum est? et perinde
 ‘hoc valet, plebeiusne consul fiat, tanquam² servum aut

¹ *Usurpare* is a legal term, ‘to assert one’s right, by entering for-
 ‘mally into the possession and enjoyment of a property or privilege.’

² *Et perinde*, &c. ‘And has the question, whether a plebeian shall
 ‘be consul, the same meaning as if—.’ Others disjoin *ne* from *ple-
 beius*, with this meaning, ‘And has the law, let not a plebeian be
 ‘consul,’ &c.

‘libertinum aliquis consulem futurum dicat? Ecquid sentitis in quanto contemptu vivatis? Lucis vobis hujus partem, si liceat, adimant. Quòd spiratis, quòd vocem mititis, quòd formas hominum habetis indignantur. Quin etiam (si Diis placet¹) ‘nefas’ aiunt ‘esse, consulem plebeiū fieri.’ Obsecro vos, si non ad fastos, non ad commentarios pontificum² admittimur, ne ea quidem scimus quae omnes peregrini etiam sciunt? consules in locum regum successisse, nec aut juris aut majestatis quicquam habere, quod non in regibus antè fuerit? En unquam creditis fando auditum esse, ‘Numam Pompilium, non modò non patricium sed ne civem quidem Romanum³, ex Sabinò agro accitum, populi jussu, Patribus auctoribus, Romanae regnasse? L. deinde Tarquiniū, non Romanae modò sed ne Italicae quidem gentis⁴, Damarati Corinthii filium, incolam ab Tarquiniis, vivis liberis Anci, regem factum? Ser. Tulliam post hunc, captivā Corniculana natum, patre nullo⁵, matre servā, ingenio, virtute regnum tenuisse?’ Quid enim de T. Tatío Sabino dicam, quem ipse Romulus, parens urbis in societatem regni accepit? Ergo, dum nullum fastiditur genus, in quo eniteret virtus, crevit imperium Romanum. Poeniteat nunc vos plebei consulis, quum majores nostri advenas reges non fastidierint, et ne regibus quidem exactis clausa urbs fuerit peregrinae virtuti. Claudiam certè gentem, post reges exactos, ex Sabinis non in civitatem modò accepimus, sed etiam in patriciorum numerum⁶. Ex peregrinone patricius, deinde consul fiat—civis Romanus si sit ex plebe, praecisa consulatūs spes erit? Utrū tandem non credimus fieri posse, ut vir fortis ac strenuus, pace

¹ *Si Diis placet*, said ironically—‘if (so) it is heaven’s will, forsooth.’

² ‘The Pontifex Maximus and his college had the care of regulating the year and the public calendar, called *Fasti Kalendares*, because the days of each month from kalends to kalends, or from beginning to end, were marked in them through the whole year, what days were *fasti*, and what *nefasti*: the knowledge of which was confined to the Pontifices and Patricians.’ DR ADAM. *Sì*, ‘although.’ ³ See p. 71, note 4, canons i. and ii. In the first sentence there are two distinct circumstances denied, *patricium* and *civem*; in the second, one—*gentis*—common to both the causes. See also p. 63, note 2. ⁴ *Patre nullo*, ‘of a father who was nobody.’ See p. 277, note 3. ⁵ See ii. 16.

‘belloque bonus ex plebe sit Numae, L. Tarquinio, Ser. Tullio similis? An ne, si sit, quidem ad gubernacula rei-publicae accedere eum patiemur? potiusque decemviris, teterrimis mortalium, qui tamen omnes ex Patribus erant, quàm optimis regum novis hominibus¹ similes consules sumus habituri?’

IV. ‘At enim² nemo post reges exactos de plebe consul fuit. Quid postea³? Nullane res nova institui debet? et quod nondum est factum, multa enim nondum sunt facta in novo populo, ea⁴, ne si utilia quidem sint, fieri oportet? Pontifices, augures, Romulo regnante nulli erant; ab Numâ Pompilio creati sunt. Census in civitate et descriptio centuriarum classiumque non erat; ab Ser. Tullio est facta. Consules nunquam fuerant; regibus exactis creati sunt. Dictatoris nec imperium, nec nomen fuerat; apud Patres esse coepit. Tribuni plebis, aediles, quaestores nulli erant; institutum est ut fierent. Decemvros legibus scribendis intra decem hos annos et creavimus, et e republicâ sustulimus. Quis dubitat quin in aeternum urbe conditâ, in immensum crescente, nova imperia, sacerdotia, iura gentium hominumque instituantur? Hoc ipsum, “ne connubium Patribus cum plebe esset,” non decemviri tulerunt paucis his annis, pessimo exemplo publico, cum summâ injuriâ plebis? An esse ulla major aut insignitior contumelia potest quàm partem civitatis, velut contaminatam, indignam connubio haberi? Quid est aliud quàm exsilium intra eadem moenia, quàm relegationem⁵ pati? Ne affinitatibus, ne propinquitatibus immisceamur cavent, ne societur sanguis. Quid? hoc si polluit nobilitatem istam vestram, (quam plerique oriundi ex Albanis et Sabinis, non genere nec sanguine, sed per cooptationem in Patres habetis, aut ab regibus lecti, aut post reges exactos jussu populi,) sinceram servare privatis consiliis non poteratis, nec ducendo ex plebe, neque vestras filias sorores, que enubere sinendo e Patribus? Nemo plebeius patriciae

¹ See p. 63, note 3. ² See p. 219, note 2. ³ *Quid postea?*

‘What then?’ ⁴ *Ea*, plural, referring to *quod*, singular, as *quod* is a general expression comprehending many particulars, the intervening *multa*, especially, having led to the transference of number.

⁵ *Relegatio* is simple ‘banishment,’ without the deprivation of the rights of citizenship; *Exsilium* implies both.

‘virgini vim afferret; patriciorum ista libido est. Nemo invitum pactionem nuptialem quemquam facere coëgisset. Verùm enim verò lege id prohiberi et connubium tolli Patrum ac plebis, id demum contumeliosum plebi est. Cur enim non confertis¹, ‘ne sit connubium divitibus ac pauperibus?’ Quod privatorum consiliorum ubique semper fuit, ut, in quam cuique feminae convenisset domum, nuberet, ex quâ pactus esset vir domo, in matrimonium duceret, id vos sub legis superbissimae vincula conjicitis, quâ dirimatis societatem civilem, duasque ex unâ civitate faciatis. Cur non sancitis, ‘ne vicinus patricio sit plebeius—ne eodem itinere eat—ne idem convivium ineat—ne in foro eodem consistat?’ Quid enim in re est aliud, si plebeiam patricius duxerit; si patriciam plebeius? Quid juris tandem mutatur? Nempe patrem sequuntur liberi. Nec quod nos ex connubio vestro petamus quicquam est, praeterquam ut hominum, ut civium numero simus; nec vos, nisi in contumeliam ignominiamque nostram certare juvat, quod contendatis quicquam est.

V. ‘Denique, utrùm tandem populi Romani an vestrum² summum imperium est? Regibus exactis, utrùm vobis dominatio, an omnibus aequa libertas parta est? Oportet licere populo Romano, si velit, jubere legem. An, ut quaeque rogatio promulgata erit, vos delectum pro poenâ decernetis? et simul ego tribunus vocare tribus in suffragium coepero, tu statim consul sacramento juniores adiges et in castra educes? et minaberis plebi, minaberis tribuno? Quid, si non, quantum istae minae adversus plebis consensum valerent, bis³ jam experti essetis? Scilicet, quia nobis consultum volebatis, certamine abstinuistis. An ideo non est dimicatum, quòd quae pars firmior, eadem modestior fuit? Nec nunc erit certamen, Quirites. Animos vestros illi tentabunt semper, vires non experientur. Itaque ad bella ista, seu falsa seu vera sunt, consules, parata vobis plebes est, si connubiis redditis unam hanc civitatem tandem facitis; si coalescere, si jungi miscerique vobis privatis necessitudinibus possunt⁴; si spes, si aditus ad honores

¹ *Confertis*, (fertis, con,) ‘at the same time pass a law.’ ² See p. 42, note 2. ³ See ii. 55; iii. 11. ⁴ Observe the change *parata est, possunt*; in the first case *plebes* taken as a body, in the second individually.

‘ viris strenuis et fortibus datur; si in consortio, si in societate reipublicae esse, si—quod aequae libertatis est—in vicem annuis magistratibus parere atque imperitare licet. Si haec impediēt aliquis, ferte sermonibus et multiplicata famā bella; nemo est nomen daturus, nemo arma capturus, nemo dimicaturus pro superbis dominis, cum quibus nec in re publicā honorum, nec in privatā connubii societas est.’

VI. Quum in concionem et consules processissent, et res a perpetuis orationibus in altercationem vertisset, interroganti tribuno, ‘ cur plebeium consulem fieri non oporteret?’ ut fortasse verè, sic¹ parum utiliter in praesens certamen respondit², ‘ quòd nemo plebeius auspicia haberet; ideòque decemviros connubium diremissee, ne incertā prole auspicia turbarentur.’ Plebes ad id maximè indignatione exarsit, ‘ quòd auspiciari, tanquam invisi Diis immortalibus, negarentur posse.’ Nec antè finis contentionum fuit, (quum et tribunum acerrimum auctorem plebes nacta esset, et ipsa cum eo pertinaciā certaret,) quàm victi tandem Patres ‘ ut de connubio ferretur’ consensere³, ita maximè rati ‘ contentionem de plebeiis consulibus tribunos aut totam deposituros, aut post bellum dilaturos esse; contentamque interim connubio plebem paratam delectui fore.’ Quum Canuleius victoriā de Patribus et plebis favore ingens esset, accensi alii tribuni ad certamen pro rogatione suā summā vi pugnant, et crescente in dies famā belli delectum impediunt. Consules quum per senatum, intercedentibus tribunis, nihil agi posset, consilia⁴ principum domi habebant. Apparebat aut hostibus aut civibus de victoriā concedendum esse; (soli ex consularibus Valerius atque Horatius non intererant consiliis;) C. Claudii sententia consules armabat in tribunos; Quinctiorum, Cincinnatique et Capitolini sententiae abhorrebant a caede violandisque ‘ quos, foedere icto cum plebe, sacrosanctos accepissent.’

¹ *Ut—sic*, see p. 44, note 2. ² *Respondit*, supply *alter consulum*.

³ ‘ It seems then,’ (from Zonaras, vii. 19, Florus, i. 25,) ‘ that the commons again took up arms, and established themselves, not as before, on the Aventine or the Sacred hill, but beyond the Tiber, on a spot easily capable of being converted into a distinct city. Thus pressed the patricians once more yielded.’ Dr Arnold, vol. i. p. 337. ⁴ See p. 97, note 1.

Per haec consilia eò deducta res est ut tribunos militum ¹ consulari potestate promiscuè ex Patribus ac plebe creari sinerent, de consulibus creandis nihil mutaretur; eoque contenti tribuni, contenta plebs fuit. Comitia tribunis consulari potestate tribus creandis indicuntur ². Quibus indictis, extemplo, quicumque aliquid seditiosè dixerat aut fecerat, quàm maximè tribunicii, et prensare homines et concursare toto foro candidati coepere, ut patricos desperatio primò, irritatà plebe, adipiscendi honoris, deinde indignatio si cum his gerendus esset honos deterreret; postremò coacti tamen a primoribus petiére, ne cessasse possessione reipublicae viderentur ³. Eventus eorum comitiorum docuit 'alios 'animos in contentione libertatis dignitatisque, alios secundum deposita certamina incorrupto iudicio esse;' tribunos enim omnes patricos creavit populus, contentus eo, 'quòd 'ratio habita plebeiorem esset.' Hanc modestiam aequitatemque et altitudinem animi ubi nunc in uno inveneris, quae tum populi universi fuit?

VII. Anno trecentesimo decimo ⁴ quàm urbs Roma condita erat, primùm tribuni militum pro consulibus magistratum ineunt, A. Sempronius Atratinus, L. Atilius, T. Caecilius ⁵, quorum in magistratu concor-

U. C.
311.

¹ By the creation of military tribunes, who had no sacerdotal functions, the patricians postponed the question of a division of the consulship, and still kept in their own hands the management of the auspices, to which they justly attached the highest importance.

² According to Zonaras, vii. 19, and Dionysius, xi. there were to be six, three from each order. ³ *Postremo*, &c. 'At last the pa-

tricians, only however when forced by the leading men of their own body, stood candidates, that they might not seem to have yielded the management of public affairs, then possessed by them.'

⁴ This date corresponds neither with the chronology of Sigonius nor of Glarean, whom I have followed. The former, in order to reconcile it with his statements, is obliged to insert a year, without any authority. The latter confesses the discrepancy, but does not attempt to obviate it. ⁵ 'In the MSS. of Livy, this last tri-

bune is called 'T. Celius,' or 'Caelius,' or 'Caecilius;' Caecilius is the reading followed in Drakenborch's edition, but Bekker has adopted the correction of Sigonius, 'T. Cloelius.'

Niebuhr says that L. Atilius must have been a plebeian, because the Atilii were a plebeian family, and the L. Atilius, who was a tribune of the soldiers in 356, is expressly called a plebeian by Livy

dia domi pacem etiam foris prae-buit. Sunt qui 'propter
 'adjectum Aequorum Volscorumque bello et Ardeatium
 'defectioni Vejens bellum, quia duo consules obire tot simul
 'bella nequirent, tribunos militum tres creatos' dicant, sine
 mentione promulgatae legis de consulibus creandis ex
 plebe, 'et imperio et insignibus consularibus usos.' Non
 tamen pro firmato jam stetit magistratûs ejus jus; quia
 tertio mense quàm iniêrunt, augurum decreto, perinde ac
 vitio creati honore abiêre, 'quòd C. Curtius,' qui comitiis
 eorum praefuerat, 'parum rectè tabernaculum cepisset ¹.'
 Legati ab Ardeâ Romam venerunt, ita de injuriâ ² queren-
 tes ut si demeretur ea, 'in foedere atque amicitia mansuros,
 'restituto agro' appareret. Ab senatu responsum est
 'judicium populi rescindi ab senatu non posse, praeterquam
 'quòd nullo nec exemplo nec jure fieret, concordiae etiam
 'ordinum causâ. Si Ardeates sua tempora exspectare ve-
 'lint arbitriumque senatui levandae injuriae suae permit-

'himself. But this is merely the same question which occurs with
 'respect to some of the decemvirs,' (see p. 236, note 5,) 'and it never
 'can be shewn that there were not patrician houses of all those names,
 'which to us in the latter history occur only as plebeian, except where
 'the plebeian family had been noble in some other city of Italy,
 'and was not of Roman extraction. Thus we do not hear of any
 'patrician Aelii or Caecilii. It is more probable, I think, that the
 'three tribunes first chosen were patricians, and that three plebei-
 'ans were to have been added to their number; but that the patri-
 'cians resisted this, and finally, to simplify the question, got rid of
 'their own tribunes also, and returned to the government by con-
 'suls.' Dr Arnold, vol. i. p. 338.

¹ 'On the day of the
 'comitia, he who was to preside at them, attended by one of the
 'augurs, pitched a tent without the city, to observe the omens. If
 'the *tabernaculum*, which perhaps was the same with *templum* or
 'arx, the place which they chose to make their observations, had
 'not been taken in due form, (*parum recte captum esset*,) whatever
 'was done at the comitia was reckoned of no effect. Hence the
 'usual declaration of the augurs, *vitio tabernaculum captum*, &c. And
 'so scrupulous were the ancient Romans about this matter, that if
 'the augurs at any time afterwards, upon recollection, declared that
 'there had been any informality in taking the auspices, the magis-
 'trates were obliged to resign their office, (*utpote vitio creati*,) even
 'several months after they had entered upon it.' Dr ADAM. ² Re-
 ferring to the iniquitous decision of the Roman people, recorded by
 Livy, iii. 71, 72.

‘tant, fore ut postmodo gaudeant se irae moderatos, sciant-
 ‘que Patribus aequè curae fuisse, ne qua injuria in eos
 ‘oriretur, ac ne orta diuturna esset.’ Ita legati, quum ‘se
 ‘rem integram relatu-ros’ dixissent, comiter dimissi. Pa-
 tricii, quum sine curuli magistratu respublica esset, coi-ère
 et interregem creavere. Contentio ‘consulesne, an tribuni
 ‘militum crearentur?’ in interregno rem dies complures
 tenuit. Interrex ac senatus ‘consulum comitia,’ tribuni
 plebis et plebs ‘tribunorum militum ut habeantur’ ten-
 dunt. Vicerunt Patres, quia et plebs patriciis seu hunc
 seu illum delatura honorem frustra certare supersedit, et
 principes plebis ea comitia malebant quibus non haberetur
 ratio sui quàm quibus ut indigni praeterirentur. Tribuni
 quòque plebis certamen sine effectu in beneficio apud pri-
 mores Patrum reliquere. T. Quinctius Barbatus interrex
 consules creat L. Papirium Mugillanum, L. Sempronium
 Atratinum. His consulibus cum Ardeatibus foedus reno-
 vatum est; idque monumenti est consules eos illo anno
 fuisse, qui neque in annalibus priscis neque in libris magis-
 tratum inveniuntur. Credo quòd tribuni militum initio
 anni fuerunt, eò, perinde ac si totum annum in imperio
 fuerint, suffectis his consulibus, praetermissa nomina con-
 sulum horum. Licinius Macer auctor est, ‘et in foedere
 ‘Ardeatino, et in linteis libris ad Monetæ inventa.’ Et
 foris, quum tot terrores a finitimis ostentati essent, et domi
 otium fuit.

VIII. Hunc annum (seu tribunos modò, seu tri-
 u. c. bunis suffectos consules quòque habuit) sequitur an-
 312. nus haud dubiis consulibus, M. Geganio Macerino
 iterum, T. Quinctio Capitolino quintum consulibus. Idem
 hic annus censurae initium fuit, rei a parvâ origine ortae;
 quae deinde tanto incremento aucta est, ut morum disci-
 plinaeque Romanae penes eam regimen, senatus, equitumque
 centuriae¹, decoris dedecorisque discrimen sub ditione ejus
 magistratûs, publicorum jus privatorumque locorum, vecti-

¹ Most commentators consider *senatus* and *centuriae* as the nomi-
 native. Stroth, in order to comprehend all ranks in Livy’s defini-
 tion of the censorship, proposes to destroy the *que* of *equitumque*, in-
 serting a comma after *equitum*, and regards *senatus* and *centuriae* as
 the genitive, governed by *discrimen*. Several MSS. have *centuria-*
rum.

galia populi Romani sub nutu atque arbitrio essent. Ortum autem initium rei est, quòd in populo per multos annos incenso¹ neque differri census poterat, neque consulibus, quum tot populorum bella imminerent, operae erat id negotium agere. Mentio illata ab senatu est, 'Rem operosam ac minimè consularem suo proprio magistratu egere, cui scribarum ministerium custodiaeque et tabularum cura, cui arbitrium formulae censendi subjiceretur.' Et Patres quanquam rem parvam, tamen quo plures patricii magistratus in republicâ essent, laeti accipere; id quod evenit, 'futurum' credo etiam rati, 'ut mox opes eorum qui praeessent ipsi honori jus majestatemque adjicerent.' Et tribuni (id quod tunc erat) magis necessariam² quàm speciosi ministerii procurationem intuentes, ne in parvis quòque rebus incommodè adversarentur, haud sanè tetendere. Quum a primoribus civitatis spretus honor esset, Papirium Semproniumque, quorum de consulatu dubitatur, ut eo magistratu parum solidum consulatum explerent, censui agendo populus suffragiis praefecit. Censores ab re appellati sunt.

IX. Dum haec Romae geruntur, legati ab Ardeâ veniunt, pro veterrimâ societate renovatoque foedere recenti, auxilium prope eversae urbi implorantes. Frui namque pace, optimo consilio cum populo Romano servatâ, per intestina arma non licuit; quorum causa atque initium traditur ex certamine factionum ortum; quae fuere eruntque pluribus populis magis exitio quàm bella externa, quàm fames morbive, quaeque alia in Deûm iras, velut ultima publicorum malorum, vertunt. Virginem plebei generis maximè formâ notam petière juvenes, alter virgini genere par, tutoribus fretus qui et ipsi ejusdem corporis³ erant, nobilis alter, nullâ re praeterquam formâ captus. Adjuvabant eum optimatium studia, per quae in domum quòque puellae certamen partium penetravit. Nobilis superior judicio matris esse, quae quàm splendidissimis nuptiis jungi puellam volebat. Tutores in eâ quòque re partium memores ad suum tendere⁴. Quum res peragi intra parietes nequisset, ventum in jus est. Postulatu audito matris tutorum.

¹ See p. 81, note 3.
² See p. 7, note 4.

³ *Necessariam.* An enallage, for *necessarii*.
⁴ *Ejusdem corporis*, 'of the same rank.'

⁴ *Ad suum tendere*, 'strenuously favoured the suit of the lover, who was of the same condition with themselves.'

que, magistratus secundum parentis arbitrium dant jus nuptiarum; sed vis potentior fuit. Namque tutores, inter suae partis homines de injuriâ decreti palàm in foro concionati, manu factâ virginem ex domo matris rapiunt; adversus quos infestior coorta optimatum acies sequitur accensum injuriâ juvenem. Fit proelium atrox. Pulsa plebs, nihil Romanae plebi similis, armata ex urbe profecta, colle quodam capto, in agros optimatum cum ferro ignique excursionem facit. Urbem quòque omnis etiam expertem antè certaminis¹, multitudine opificum ad spem praedae evocatâ obsidere parat. Nec ulla species cladesque belli abest, velut contactâ civitate rabie duorum juvenum funestas nuptias ex occasu patriae petentium. Parum parti utrique domi armorum bellique est visum. Optimates Romanos ad auxilium urbis obsessae, plebs ad expugnandam secum Ardeam Volscos excivere. Priores Volsci, duce Aeque Cloelio, Ardeam venere et moenibus hostium vallum objecere. Quod ubi Romam est nunciatum, extemplo M. Geganus consul cum exercitu profectus tria millia passuum ab hoste locum castris cepit, praecipitque jam die curare corpora milites jubet; quartâ deinde vigiliâ signa profert; coeptumque opus adèd approperatum est, ut sole orto Volsci firmiore se munimento ab Romanis circumvallatos quam a se urbem viderent. Et aliâ parte consul muro Ardeae brachium injunxerat, quâ ex oppido sui² commeare possent.

X. Volscus imperator, qui³ ad eam diem non commeatu praeparato sed ex populatione agrorum raptò in diem frumento aluisset militem, postquam septus vallo repentè inopem omnium rerum videt, ad colloquium consule evocato, ‘si solvendae obsidionis causâ venerit Romanus, abducturum se inde Volscos’ ait. Adversus ea consul ‘victis conditiones accipiendas esse non ferendas’ respondit, ‘neque ut venerint ad oppugnandos socios populi Romani suo arbitrio, ita abituros Volscos esse. Dedi imperatorem, arma poni’ jubet, ‘fatentes’⁴ ‘victos se esse, et imperio parere;’

¹ *Urbem quoque, &c.* According to Doering, ‘the city also, and even that part of it which had hitherto kept entirely clear of the dispute.’ Others propose to destroy *quoque* or *etiam*. ² *Brachium*, ‘an arm of the circumvallation;’ *qua, quo?* so several MSS.; *sui*, ‘the party of the nobles favourable to the Romans.’ ³ *Qui* (quippe is) *aluisset*, ‘as he had supported.’ ⁴ *Fateri?*

‘ aliter, tam abeuntibus quàm manentibus se hostem infensum, victoriam potiùs ex Volscis quàm pacem infidam Romanam relaturum.’ Volsci exiguam spem in armis, alià undique abscissâ, quum tentâssent, præter cetera adversa, loco quòque iniquo ad pugnam congressi, iniquiore ad fugam, quum ab omni parte caederentur, ad preces a certamine versi, dedito imperatore traditisque armis, sub jugum¹ missi, cum singulis vestimentis ignominiae cladisque pleni dimittuntur. Et quum haud procul urbe Tusculo condisissent, vetere Tusculanorum odio inermes oppressi dederunt poenas, vix nunciis caedis relictis. Romanus Ardeae turbatas seditione res, principibus ejus motûs securi percussis, bonisque eorum in publicum Ardeatium redactis composuit; demptamque injuriam judicii² tanto beneficio populi Romani Ardeates credebant; senatui superesse aliquid ad delendum publicae avaritiae monumentum videbatur. Consul triumphans in urbem redit, Cloelio duce Volscorum ante currum ducto, praelatisque spoliis, quibus dearmatum exercitum hostium sub jugum miserat. Aequavit, quod haud facile est, Quinctius consul togatus armati gloriam collegae, quia concordiae pacisque domesticam³ curam, jura infimis summisque moderando, ita tenuit ut eum et Patres severum consulem, et plebs satis comem crediderint; et adversus tribunos auctoritate plura quàm certamine tenuit. Quinque consulatus eodem tenore gesti, vitæque omnis consulariter acta verendum penè ipsum magis quàm honorem faciebant. Eo tribunorum militarium nulla mentio his consulibus fuit.

u. c.
313. XI. Consules creant M. Fabium Vibulanum, Postumum Aebutium Cornicinem. Fabius et Aebutius consules, quo majori gloriae rerum domi forisque gestarum succedere se cernebant, maximè autem memorabilem annum apud finitimos socios hostesque esse, quòd Ardeatibus in re præcipiti tantâ foret curâ subventum, eo impensius, ut delerent prorsus ex animis hominum infamiam judicii, senatûs consultum fecerunt, ‘ ut quoniam civitas Ardeatium intestino tumultu redacta ad paucos esset, coloni

¹ See p. 223, note 2.

² Here again repeated references are made to iii. 71-72.

³ Stroth says, that *domesticam* stands for *domesticæ*. See p. 7, note 4.

‘eò praesidii causâ adversus Volscos scriberentur.’ Hoc palàm relatum in tabulas, ut plebem tribunosque falleret ¹ iudicii rescindendi consilium initum. Consenserant autem ut, multo majore parte Rutulorum colonorum quàm Romanorum scriptâ, nec ager ullus divideretur nisi is qui interceptus iudicio infamè erat, nec ulli priùs Romano ibi, quàm omnibus Rutulis divisus esset, gleba ulla agri assignaretur. Sic ager ad Ardeates rediit. Triumviri ad coloniam Ardeam deducendam creati Agrippa Menenius, T. Cloelius Siculus, M. Aebutius Elva. Qui, per minimè populare ministerium, agro assignando sociis quem populus Romanus suum judicâset quum plebem offendissent, ne primoribus quidem Patrum satis accepti, quòd nihil gratiae cujusquam dederant, vexationes, ad populum jam die dictâ ab tribunis, coloni adscripti remanendo in coloniâ quam talem integritatis iustitiaeque habebant, vitavere.

XII. Pax domi forisque fuit et hoc et insequenti
 v. c. anno, C. Furio Pacilo et M. Papirio Crasso consuli-
 314. bus. Ludi ab decemviris per secessionem plebis a Patribus ex senatûs consulto voti eo anno facti sunt. Causa seditionum nequicquam a Poetelio quaesita. Qui tribunus plebis iterum ea ipsa ² denunciando factus, neque ut de agris dividendis plebi referrent consules ad senatum pervincere potuit; et quum magno certamine obtinuisset ut consulerentur Patres, ‘consulum an tribunorum placet comitia haberi?’ consules creari jussi sunt. Ludibrioque erant minae tribuni denunciantis ‘se delectum impediturum,’ quum quietis finitimis neque bello neque belli apparatu opus esset. Sequitur hanc tranquillitatem rerum

annus, Proculo Geganio Macerino, L. Menenio La-
 v. c. nato consulibus, multiplici clade ac periculo insignis,
 315. seditionibus, fame, regno prope per largitionis dulcedinem in cervices accepto. Unum afuit bellum externum, quo si aggravatae res essent, vix ope Deorum omnium resisti potuisset. Coepere a fame mala, seu adversus annus frugibus fuit, seu dulcedine concionum et urbis deserto agrorum cultu; nam utrumque traditur. Et Patres ple-

¹ See p. 138, note 2. ² *Ea ipsa* is explained in the subsequent clauses, as referring to the division of lands amongst the people, and the appointment of military tribunes.

bem desidem, et tribuni plebis nunc fraudem nunc negligentiam consulum aconsabant. Postremò perpulere plebei, haud adversante senatu, ut L. Minucius praefectus annonae crearetur, felicius in eo magistratu ad custodiam libertatis futurus quàm ad curationem ministerii sui; quamquam postremò annonae¹ quòque levatae haud immeritam et gratiam et gloriam tulit. Qui quum, multis circa finitimos populos legationibus terrâ marique nequicquam missis, nisi quòd ex Etruriâ haud ita multum frumenti advectum est, nullum momentum annonae fecisset², et revolutus³ ad dispensationem inopiae⁴, profiteri cogendo frumentum et vendere quod usu⁵ menstruo superesset, fraudandoque parte diurni cibi servitia, criminando inde et obijciendo irae populi frumentarios, acerbâ inquisitione aperiret magis quàm levaret inopiam; multi ex plebe, spe amissâ, potius quàm ut cruciarentur trahendo animam, capitibus obvolutis se in Tiberim praecipitaverunt.

XIII. Tum Sp. Maelius ex equestri ordine, ut illis temporibus, praedives, rem utilem pessimo exemplo, pejore consilio est aggressus; frumento namque ex Etruriâ privatâ pecuniâ per hospitum clientiumque ministeria coëmpto, (quae, credo, ipsa res ad levandam publicâ curâ annonam impedimento fuerat,) largitiones frumenti facere instituit; plebemque hoc munere delinitam, quâcunque incederet, conspectus elatusque supra modum hominis privati secum trahere, haud dubium consulatum favore ac spe despondentem. Ipse, ut est humanus animus insatiabilis eo quod fortuna spondet, ad altiora et non concessa tendere. Et 'quoniam consulatus quòque eripiendus invitis Patribus esset,' de regno agitare; 'id unum dignum tanto apparatu consiliorum et certamine, quod ingens exsudandum esset, praemium fore.' Jam comitia consularia instabant. Quae res eum, nec dum compositis maturisve satis consiliis, op-

¹ See p. 156, note 2.

² *Facere momentum*, 'to make a movement, to give an impulse in either way;' here, 'to lessening the price of corn.'

³ *Revolutus*, as Minucius does not seem before to have had recourse to the measures detailed here, we must account for the *re*, in the manner explained, p. 118, note 1.

⁴ *Dispensationem inopiae*, either 'the distribution of the scanty stores' or 'an equalization of the want.'

⁵ *Usu*, for *usui*. Examples of this form of the dative abound, especially in Caesar.

pressit. Consul sextum creatus T. Quinctius Capitolinus, minimè opportunus vir novanti res ; collega additur
 U. C. ei Agrippa Menenius, cui Lanato erat cognomen.
 316. Et L. Minucius praefectus annonae, seu refectus, seu, quoad res posceret, in incertum creatus. Nihil enim constat, nisi in libros linteos utroque anno relatum inter magistratus praefecti nomen. Hic Minucius, eandem publicè curationem agens quam Maelius privatim agendam susceperat, quum in utrâque domo genus idem hominum versaretur, rem compertam ad senatum refert, ‘ Tela in domum Maelii conferri, eumque conciones domi habere ; ac non dubia regni consilia esse. Tempus agenda rei nondum stare ; cetera jam convenisse ; et tribunos mercede emptos ad prodendam libertatem, et partita ducibus multitudinis ministeria esse. Seriùs se penè quàm tutum fuerit, ne cujus incerti vanique auctor esset, ea deferre.’ Quae postquam sunt audita, et undique primores Patrum et prioris anni consules increparent, ‘ quòd eas largitiones coetusque plebis in privatâ domo passi essent fieri,’ et novos consules, ‘ quòd expectâssent donec a praefecto annonae tanta res ad senatum deferretur, quae consulem non auctorem solùm desideraret, sed etiam vindicem ;’ tum T. Quinctius ‘ Consules immeritò increpari’ ait, ‘ qui constricti legibus de provocatione ad dissolvendum imperium¹ latis, nequaquam tantum virium in magistratu ad eam rem pro atrocitate vindicandam quantum animi haberent. Opus esse non fortì solùm viro, sed etiam libero exsolutoque legum vinculis ; itaque se dictatorem L. Quinctium dicturum ; ibi animum parem tantae potestati esse.’ Approbantibus cunctis, primò Quinctius abnuere, et ‘ quid sibi vellent’ rogare, ‘ qui se aetate exactâ tantae dimicationi objicerent ?’ Dein, quum undique ‘ plus in illo senili animo non consilii modò, sed etiam virtutis esse quàm in omnibus aliis’ dicerent laudibusque haud immeritis onerarent, et consul nihil remitteret, precatus tandem Deos immortales Cincinnatus, ‘ ne senectus sua in tam trepidis rebus damno decorive reipublicae esset,’ dictator a consule dicitur. Ipse deinde C. Servilium Ahalam magistrum equitum dicit.

XIV. Postero die, dispositis praesidiis, quum in forum

¹ *Ad dissolvendum imperium*, ‘ to enfeeble their power.’

descendisset, conversaque in eum plebs novitate rei ac miraculo esset, et Maeliani atque ipse dux eorum in se intentam vim tanti imperii cernerent, expertes consiliorum regni¹, 'qui tumultus, quod bellum repens, aut dictatoriam majestatem, aut Quinctium post octogesimum annum rectorem reipublicae quaesisset?' rogarent, missus ab dictatore Servilius magister equitum ad Maelium, 'Vocat te,' inquit, 'dictator.' Quum pavidus ille 'quid vellet?' quaereret, Serviliusque 'causam dicendam esse' proponeret, 'crimenque a Minucio delatum ad senatum diluendum,' tunc Maelius recipere se in catervam suorum, et primum circumspectans tergiversari; postremò, quum apparitor jussu magistri equitum duceret, ereptus a circumstantibus fugiensque fidem plebis Romanae implorare, et 'opprimi se consensu Patrum' dicere 'quòd plebi benignè fecisset,' orare 'ut opem sibi ultimo in discrimine ferrent, neve ante oculos suos trucidari sinerent.' Haec eum vociferantem assecutus Ahala Servilius obtruncat; respersusque cruore obtruncati, stipatus catervâ patriciorum juvenum, dictatori renunciat 'vocatam ad eum Maelium, repulso apparitore concitantem multitudinem, poenam meritam habere.' Tum dictator, 'Macte² virtute,' inquit, 'C. Servili, esto, liberatâ republicâ.'

XV. Tumultuantem deinde multitudinem incertâ existimatione facti ad concionem vocari jussit; et 'Maelium jure caesum³' pronunciavit, 'etiam si regni crimine insons fuerit, qui vocatus a magistro equitum ad dictatorem non venisset; se ad causam cognoscendam consedisset; quâ cognitâ, habiturum fuisse Maelium similem causae fortunam; vim parantem, ne judicio se committeret, vi coercitum esse. Nec cum eo, tanquam cum cive, agendum fuisse, qui natus in libero populo inter jura legesque—ex quâ urbe reges exactos sciret, eodemque anno sororis filios regis⁴ liberos consulis liberatoris patriae, propter pac-

¹ *Expertes, ignari; consiliorum regni*, a Maelio agitatorum. Rupertii. ² See p. 129, note 5. ³ 'An expression which seems as technical and official as our verdict of "justifiable homicide."'

Dr Arnold, vol. i. p. 358. ⁴ *Sororis filios regis, et.* If these words are not an interpolation, Livy, either through forgetfulness or rhetorically, uses the word *filios* for *nepotes*, as the sons of Brutus were the grandsons, not the sons, of the king's sister, i. 56.

‘tionem indicatam recipiendorum in urbem regum, a patre
 ‘securi esse percussos; ex quâ Collatinum Tarquinium
 ‘consulem nominis odio abdicare se magistratu atque exsu-
 ‘lare jussum¹; in quâ de Sp. Cassio², post aliquot annos,
 ‘propter consilia inita de regno, supplicium sumptum; in
 ‘quâ nuper decemviros bonis, exsilio, capite mulctatos³ ob
 ‘superbiam regiam—in eâ Sp. Maelius spem regni conce-
 ‘perit. Et quis homo! Quanquam nullam nobilitatem,
 ‘nullos honores, nulla merita cuiquam ad dominationem
 ‘pandere viam, sed tamen Claudios, Cassios, consulatibus,
 ‘decemviratibus, suis majorumque honoribus, splendore fa-
 ‘miliarum sustulisse animos, quò nefas fuerit; Sp. Maelium,
 ‘cui tribunatus plebis magis optandus quàm sperandus fue-
 ‘rit, frumentarium divitem, bilibris farris⁴ sperâsse liber-
 ‘tatem se civium suorum emisse, ciboque objiciendo ratum
 ‘victorem finitimorum omnium populum in servitutem per-
 ‘lici posse, ut quem senatorem concoquere civitas vix pos-
 ‘set⁵, regem ferret, Romuli conditoris, ab Diis orti, re-
 ‘cepti ad Deos, insignia atque imperium habentem. Non
 ‘pro scelere id magis quàm pro monstro habendum. Nec
 ‘satis esse sanguine ejus expiatum, nisi tecta parietesque,
 ‘intra quae tantum amentiae conceptum esset, dissiparen-
 ‘tur, bonaque contacta pretiis regni mercandi publicaren-
 ‘tur. Jubere itaque quaestores vendere ea bona, atque in
 ‘publicum redigere.’

XVI. Domum deinde, ut monumento area esset oppres-
 sae nefariae spei, dirui extemplo jussit. Id Aequimaelium⁶
 appellatum est. L. Minucius bove aurato⁷ extra portam

Sigonius, on the authority of some MSS. expunges *regis*, and applies the words to the nephews of Collatinus, the Vitellii and Aquilii, sons of the two sisters of Collatinus. Geohardus conjectures that *regis* may mean Collatinus, as a relation of the king,—and Douatius thinks that *filios* may mean *descendants* generally. ¹ See ii. 2.

² See ii. 41. ³ *Sciret* influences all the infinitives from *esse percussos*. ⁴ *Bilibris farris*, for *farinae*, ‘two pounds of flour to each man.’ Mark this proof that the ancients weighed, as well as measured their grain. ⁵ Look at this in connection with *cui tribunatus*, &c. immediately before, and see p. 278, note 1. ⁶ *Domus Maelii solo aequata*.

⁷ *Bove aurato*; this is taken generally to mean the gilt statue of an ox. But this interpretation is rendered doubtful, 1st, By the strangeness of the reward; 2d, By the agreement of all authors, that gilt statues were not introduced into Italy

Trigeminam est donatus, ne plebe quidem invitâ, quia frumentum Maelianum, assibus in modios aestimatum¹, plebi divisit. 'Hunc Minucium' apud quosdam auctores 'trans-
'isse a Patribus ad plebem, undecimumque² tribunum
'plebis cooptatum seditionem motam ex Maelianâ caede
'sedâsse' invenio. Ceterum vix credibile est numerum tribunorum Patres augeri passos, idque potissimum exemplum a patricio homine introductum, nec deinde id plebem concessum semel obtinuisse, aut certè tentâsse. Sed ante omnia refellit falsum imaginis titulum paucis antè annis lege cautum³, 'ne tribunis collegam cooptare liceret.' Q. Caecilium, Q. Junium, Sext. Titinium, soli ex collegio tribunorum neque tulerant de honoribus Minucii legem, et criminari nunc Minucium, nunc Servilium apud plebem, querique indignam necem Maelii non destiterant. Pervicerunt igitur ut tribunorum militum potius quàm consulum comitia haberentur, haud dubii quin sex locis (tot enim jam creari licebat) et plebei aliqui, profitendo 'se ultores fore
'Maelianae caedis,' crearentur. Plebs quanquam agitata multis eo anno et variis motibus erat, nec plures quàm tres tribunos consulari potestate creavit, et in iis L. Quinctium Cincinnati filium; ex cujus dictaturae invidiâ tumultus

till the 562d year of the city. Accordingly, it is probable that the words import an ox with gilt horns, either as a reward, or for sacrifice. What, in that case, can *extra portam Trigeminam* mean? A commentator, with great probability, suggests that the words *et statua* have been omitted by some transcriber. Pliny, xviii. 3. s. 4, expressly mentions the statue in honour of Minucius. Bove aratore, bove tauro, binis aeris, bove et agro, bove et auro, bove et arvo, bove et prato, have all been proposed as emendations.¹ *Assibus in modios*, 'at the price of an *as* for each *modius*.' This applies, in Livy's account, to an instantaneous sale of the stores of Maelius. Pliny, xviii. 3, s. 4, takes no notice of these stores, but says generally, that Minucius *farris pretium in trinis nundinis ad assem redegit*. This may refer to the passing of a law (see p. 235, note 4.) regulating the *maximum*, which may have been fixed at so low a price as an *as* for each *modius*, from the abundance poured into the market by the confiscation of the grain belonging to Maelius.² This tradition is also found in Pliny, xviii. 3. s. 4. Arnold is of opinion, that the tradition may have arisen from Minucius acting in concert with the tribunes of the commons, so that he was regarded as an eleventh tribune.³ See note on iv. 59. *Pronunciatum ne quis praeter armatos*, &c. For the law itself, see iii. 65.

quaerebatur. Praelatus suffragiis Quinctio Mam.
 v. c. Aemilius, vir summae dignitatis. L. Julium tertium
 317. creant.

XVII. In horum magistratu Fidenae, colonia Romana, ad Lartem Tolumnium Vejentium regem ac Vejentes defecere¹. Majus additum defectioni scelus; C. Fulcinium, Cloelium Tullum, Sp. Ancium, L. Roscium, legatos Romanos, causam novi consilii quaerentes, jussu Tolumnii interfecerunt. Levant quidam regis facinus; 'in tesserarum prospero jactu' vocem ejus ambiguum, ut occidi jussisse videretur² ab 'Fidenatibus exceptam, causam mortis legatis fuisse.' Rem incredibilem, interventu Fidenatium, novorum sociorum, consulentium de caede rupturâ jus gentium, non aversum ab intentione lusûs animum, nec deinde in horrorem versum facinus. Propius est fidem obstringi Fidenatium populum, ne respicere spem ullam ab Romanis posset, conscientiâ tanti sceleris voluisse. Legatorum, qui Fidenis caesi erant, statuae publicè in Rostris positae sunt. Cum Vejentibus Fidenatibusque, praeterquam finitimis populis, ab causâ etiam tam nefandâ bellum exorsis, atrox dimicatio instabat.

Itaque ad curam summae rerum quietâ plebe tribu-
 v. c. nisque ejus, nihil controversiae fuit, quin consules
 318. crearentur M. Geganius Macerinus tertium et L. Sergius Fidenas, a bello credo, quod deinde gessit, appellatum. Hic enim primus cis Anienem cum rege Vejentium secundo proelio conflixit, nec incruentam victoriam retulit. Major itaque ex civibus amissis dolor, quâm laetitia fuis hostibus fuit. Et senatus, ut in trepidis rebus, dictatorem dici Mam. Aemilium jussit. Is magistrum equitum ex collegio prioris anni, quo simul tribuni militum consulari potestate fuerant, L. Quinctium Cincinnatum, dignum parente juvenem, dixit. Ad delectum a consulibus habitum centuriones veteres belli periti adjecti, et numerus amissorum proximâ pugnâ expletus. Legatos Quinctium Capitolinum et M. Fabium Vibulanum sequi se dictator jussit. Quum potestas major, tum vir quodque potestati par

¹ See p. 180, note 2. ² This, as Stroth explains, might have happened, by the king's neglecting the Fidenates, when consulting him as to the propriety of killing the Roman ambassadors, and delighted with some lucky chance in the game, exclaiming 'optime,' or some such word, mistaken by the Fidenates as the answer to their question.

hostes ex agro Romano trans Anienem submovere; collesque¹ inter Fidenas atque Anienem ceperunt, referentes castra, nec antè in campos degressi sunt quàm legiones auxilio Faliscorum venerunt². Tum demum castra Etruscorum pro moenibus Fidenarum posita; et dictator Romanus haud procul inde ad confluentes consedit in utriusque ripis amnis, quâ sequi munimento poterat, vallo interposito³. Postero die in aciem eduxit.

XVIII. Inter hostes variae fuere sententiae. Faliscus procul ab domo militiam aegre patiens, satisque fidens sibi poscere pugnam; Vejenti Fidenatique plus spei in trahendo bello esse. Tolumnius, quanquam suorum magis placebant consilia, ne longinquam militiam non paterentur Falisci, 'postero die se pugnaturum' edicit. Dictatori ac Romanis, 'quòd detrectâset pugnam hostis,' animi accessere; posteroque die, jam militibus 'castra urbemque se oppugnatuross' frementibus 'nî copia pugnae fiat,' utrinque acies inter bina castra in medium campi procedunt. Vejens multitudine abundans, qui inter dimicationem castra Romana aggredierentur post montes circummisit. Trium populorum exercitus ita stetit instructus, ut dextrum cornu Vejentes, sinistrum Falisci tenerent, medii Fidenates essent. Dictator dextro cornu adversus Faliscos, sinistro contra Vejentem Capitolinus Quinctius intulit signa. Ante mediam aciem cum equitatu magister equitum processit. Parumper silentium et quies fuit, nec Etruscis, nisi cogerentur, pugnam inituris, et dictatore arcem Romanam respectante, ut ab auguribus, simul aves rite admisissent⁴, ex composito tolleretur signum. Quod simul conspexit, primos equites clamore sublato in hostem emisit; secuta peditum acies ingenti vi confligit. Nullâ parte legiones Etruscae sustinere impetum Romanorum. Eques maximè resistebat;

¹ *Potestas* and *vir* are the nominative to *submovere*, *hostes* the nominative to *ceperunt*. The change is illogical, but not unfrequent. The inaccuracy may easily be removed by reading *qui* for *que*. See p. 240, note 1.

² *Legiones Faliscorum venerunt auxilio*.

³ *Qua*, &c. 'As far as he could keep along both banks, so as to have his camp fortified by a rampart drawn from one river to the other.'

⁴ *Arx*, any elevated spot (see p. 32, note 3, and p. 292, note 1,) whence the augurs took the auspices. *Ad-dicere* and *admittere* are both applied to the favourable omens presented by birds. See p. 67, note 1.

equitumque longè fortissimus ipse rex, ab omni parte effusè sequentibus obequitans Romanis, trahebat certamen.

XIX. Erat tum inter equites tribunus militum¹ A. Cornelius Cossus, eximiâ pulchritudine corporis, animo ac viribus par, memorque generis, quod amplissimum acceptum majus auctiusque reliquit posteris. Is quum ad impetum Tolumnii, quâcunque se intendisset, trepidantes Romanas videret turmas, insignemque eum regio habitu volitantem totâ acie cognôset, 'Hiccinè est,' inquit, 'ruptor foederis humani violatorque gentium juris? Jam ego hanc macta-tam victimam, si modò sancti quicquam in terris esse Dii volunt, legatorum Manibus dabo.' Calcaribus subditis, infestâ cuspide in unum fertur hostem; quem quum ictum equo dejecisset, confestim et ipse hastâ innisus se in pedes excepit. Assurgentem ibi regem umbone resupinat, repetitumque saepius cuspide ad terram affixit. Tum exsanguì detracta spolia; caputque abscissum victor spiculo gerens, terrore caesi regis hostes fundit. Ita equitum quòque fusa acies, quae una fecerat anceps certamen. Dictator legionibus fugatis instat, et ad castra compulsos caedit. Fidenatium plurimi locorum notitiâ effugere in montes. Cossus Tiberim cum equitatu transvectus ex agro Vejentano ingentem detulit praedam ad urbem. Inter proelium et ad castra Romana pugnatum est adversus partem copiarum ab Tolumnio, ut antè dictum est, ad castra missam. Fabius Vibulanus coronâ primùm vallum defendit; intentos deinde hostes in vallum egressus dextrâ principali² cum triariis repentè invadit; quo pavore injecto caedes minor, quia pauciores erant, fuga non minùs trepida quàm in acie fuit.

XX. Omnibus locis re bene gestâ, dictator senatûs consulto jussuque populi triumphans in urbem rediit. Longè maximum triumphì spectaculum fuit Cossus, spolia opima regis interfecti gerens. In eum milites carmina incondita, aequantes eum Romulo, canere. Spolia in aede Jovis Fe-

¹ This rank, which was a subordinate one, there being six *tribuni militum* in each legion, must not be confounded with the *tribuni militum consulari potestate*.

² 'The camp had four gates, one on each side, called *Porta Praetoria*, vel *extraordinaria*, next to the enemy; *Decumana*, opposite to the former; *Porta principalis dextra*, and *principalis sinistra*.' DR ADAM.

retrii, prope Romuli spolia, quae prima Opima appellata sola eâ tempestate erant ¹, cum solenni dedicatione dono fixit; averteratque in se a curru dictatoris civium ora, et celebritatis ejus diei fructum prope solus tulerat. Dictator coronam auream libram pondo ² ex publicâ pecuniâ, populi jussu, in Capitolio Jovi donum posuit. Omnes ante me auctores secutus, A. Cornelium Cossum tribunum militum secunda spolia opima Jovis Feretrii templo intulisse exposui. Ceterum, praeterquam quod ea rite ³ opima spolia habentur quae dux duci detraxit, nec ducem novimus, nisi cujus auspicio bellum geritur ⁴, titulus ipse spoliis inscriptus illos meque arguit consulem ea Cossum cepisse. Hoc ego quum Augustum Caesarem, templorum omnium conditorem aut restitutorem, ingressum aedem Feretrii Jovis, quam vetustate dilapsam refecit, 'se ipsum in thorace linteo scriptum legisse' audissem ⁵, propè sacrilegium ratus sum Cosso spoliis suorum Caesarem, ipsius templi auctorem, subtrahere testem. Qui si eâ in re sit error, quod tam veteres annales ⁶, quodque magistratuum libri, quos lintheos in aede repositos Monetae Macer Licinius citat identidem auctores, nono ⁷ post demum anno cum T. Quinctio Penno A. Cornelium Cossum consulem habeant, existimatio communis omnibus est ⁸. Nam etiam illud accedit, ne tam clara pugna

¹ See p. 21, note 3.

² See p. 229, note 4.

³ *Rite*, an

emphatic word to please Augustus. As if Livy had said—The evidence is irresistibly in favour of the *fact* that Cossus was only in a subordinate condition—but the consecration of the spoils did not take place *rite*.

⁴ This limitation of the use of the word *dux* is not always observed. Thus Cicero, *De Officiis*, iii. 27, as mentioned by Perizonius, writes of Regulus having been captured, *Duce Xantippo, imperatore Hamilcare*.

⁵ Supply *dicere*. See p. 40, note 1.

⁶ *Qui*, &c. 'Whether' (*si*) 'this opinion' (that Cossus was only a tribune of the soldiers) 'on the subject in question be 'erroneous, seeing that' (*quod*) it may fairly be alleged that (*habeant* in the subjunc.) 'both the ancient,' &c., or, according to Perizonius, *tam veteres* means 'the most ancient.'

⁷ *Nono*, found in two MSS. The old reading was *septimo*, which must have been a mistake, as the consulship of Cossus was in the year 327. Perizonius suggests *decimo*, according to the usual inclusive practice of Roman calculation, which is followed in a subsequent sentence in the words *Tertius ab consulatu*, &c. as the military tribuneship of Cossus happened in the year 329.

⁸ *Existimatio omnibus communis est*. 'All have an 'equal right to form an opinion.' *Communis* is a law term, signify-

in eum annum transferri posset, quòd imbelles triennium ferme pestilentia inopiaque frugum circa A. Cornelium consulem fuit; adeò ut quidam annales, velut funesti¹, nihil præter nomina consulum suggerant. Tertius ab consulatu Cossi annus tribunum eum militum consulari potestate habet; eodem anno magistrum equitum; quo in imperio alteram insignem edidit pugnam equestrem². Ea libera conjectura est. Sed, ut ego arbitror, vana versare in omnes opiniones licet³, quum auctor pugnae, recentibus spoliis in sacrâ sede positis, Jovem prope ipsum cui vota erant Romulumque intuens, haud spernendos falsi tituli testes, se 'A. Cornelium Cossum consulem' scripserit⁴.

XXI. M. Cornelio Maluginense, L. Papirio Crasso
 u. c. 319. consulibus, exercitus in agrum Vejentem ac Faliscum ducti; praedae abactae hominum pecorumque; hostis in agris nusquam inventus, neque pugnandi copia facta. Urbes tamen non oppugnatae, quia pestilentia populum

ing what is common property. In the same sense, Livy uses *ea libera conjectura est*, immediately below.

¹ *Velut funesti*, 'as if able to record nothing but general mourning.'

² Livy has covertly shewn that the conjecture that Cossus *was* consul is inadmissible. He next mentions another conjecture, that the consecration took place after he *had been* consul.

³ *Vana*, &c. 'We may turn and turn groundless conjectures leading to all opinions,' i. e. conjecture after conjecture we may form leading to all varieties of opinion, but after all they must be quite unsatisfactory, seeing that (quum.)

⁴ Our limits do not permit us to enter fully into the discussion of the difficulty raised by Livy. This has been done at great length, and with great ingenuity, by Perizonius, in his *Animadversiones Historicae*, Lib. vii. It may be briefly remarked, that Livy seems, out of compliment to Augustus, to conceal his real opinion, and to express himself with studied obscurity. The consent of all the ancient historians,—the utter confusion into which a change would throw the whole of the Roman annals, whose narrative proceeds all along as if there were no doubt on the matter,—the badly disguised opinion of Livy himself,—the express authority of Varro, as reported by Festus, who states that a *manipularis miles* might obtain the *spolia opima*,—and the weakness of the authority adduced by Livy, as the inscription, *consul*, was in all probability added by the family of Cornelius at a subsequent period, after he had really been consul,—render it almost certain that Cossus was only tribune of the soldiers at the time when he gained the *spolia opima*, and, consequently, that it was not necessary to be general of the Roman army in order to attain that highest of all military honours.

invasit. Et seditiones domi quaesitae sunt, nec motae tamen, ab Sp. Maelio tribuno plebis; qui favore nominis moturum se aliquid ratus et Minucio diem dixerat, et rogationem de publicandis bonis Servilii Ahalae tulerat, 'falsis criminibus a Minucio circumventum Maelium' arguens, Servilio caedem civis indemnati objiciens; quae vaniora ad populum ipso auctore fuere. Ceterum magis vis morbi ingravescens curae erat, terroresque ac prodigia, maximè quòd crebris motibus terrae ruere in agris nunciabantur tecta. Obsecratio itaque a populo, duumviris prae-

u. c.
320.

euntibus¹, est facta. Pestilentior inde annus, C. Julio iterum et L. Virginio consulibus, tantum metum vastitatis in urbe agrisque fecit, ut non modò praedandi causâ quisquam ex agro Romano non exiret, bellive inferendi memoria Patribus aut plebi esset, sed ultro Fidenates, qui se primò aut oppido aut montibus aut muris tenuerant, populabundi descenderent in agrum Romanum. Deinde Vejentium exercitu accito, (nam Falisci perpelli ad instaurandum bellum neque clade Romanorum, neque sociorum precibus potuere,) duo populi transièrè Anienem, atque haud procul Collinâ portâ signa habuere. Trepidatum itaque non in agris magis quàm in urbe est. Julius consul in aggere murisque explicat copias; a Virginio senatus in aede Quirini consulitur. 'Dictatorem dici A. Servilium' placet, 'cui Prisco' alii, alii 'Structo fuisse cognomen' tradunt. Virginius dum collegam consuleret moratus, permittente eo, nocte dictatorem dixit. Is sibi magistrum equitum Postumum Aebutium Elvam dicit.

XXII. Dictator omnes luce primâ extra portam Collinam adesse jubet. Quibuscunque vires suppetebant ad arma ferenda, praesto fuere; signa ex aerario prompta feruntur ad dictatorem. Quae quum agerentur, hostes in loca altiora concessere. Eò dictator agmine infesto subit; nec procul Nomento signis collatis, fudit Etruscas legiones, compulsit inde in urbem Fidenas, valloque circumdedit. Sed neque scalis capi poterat urbs alta et munita, neque in obsidione

¹ In order to prevent the prayers of the people from containing any thing displeasing to the gods, persons appointed for the purpose (here *duumviri*, perhaps those appointed to take charge of the Sibylline books,) went over the words, which were repeated by the people.

vis ulla erat, quia frumentum, non necessitati modò satis sed copiae quòque, abundè ex antè convecto sufficebat. Ita expugnandi pariter cogendique ad deditionem spe amissâ, dictator in locis propter propinquitatem notis, ab aversâ parte urbis maximè neglectâ, quia suâpte naturâ tutissima erat, agere in arcem cuniculum instituit. Ipse, diversissimis locis subeundo ad moenia quadrifariam diviso exercitu, qui alii aliis succederent ad pugnam, continenti die ac nocte proelio ab sensu operis hostes avertebat, donec, perfosso a castris monte, erecta in arcem via est, intentisque Etruscis ad vanas a certo periculo minas clamor supra caput hostilis captam urbem ostendit. Eo anno C. Furius Pacilus et M. Geganius Macerinus censores villam publicam in campo Martio probaverunt ¹; ibique primum ² census populi est actus.

XXIII. 'Eosdem consules insequenti anno refec-
^{U. C.}
^{321.} 'tos, Julium tertium, Virginium iterum,' apud Ma-
 crum Licinium invenio. Valerius Antias et Q. Tu-
 bero 'M. Manlium et Q. Sulpicium consules' in eum annum
 edunt. Ceterum in tam discrepante editione et Tubero et
 Macer libros linteos auctores profitentur; neuter 'tribunos
 'militum eo anno fuisse, traditum a scriptoribus antiquis'
 dissimulat. Licinio libros haud dubiè sequi linteos placet;
 et Tubero incertus veri est ³. Sed inter cetera, vetustate
 incomperta, hoc quòque in incerto positum. Trepidatum
 in Etruriâ est post Fidenas captas, non Vejentibus solùm
 exterritis metu similis excidii, sed etiam Faliscis memoriâ
 initi primò cum iis belli, quanquam rebellantibus ⁴ non ad-
 fuerant. Igitur quum duae civitates, legatis circa duodecim
 populos missis, impetrâssent ut ad Voltumnae fanum indice-

¹ Varro, quoted by Sigonius, thus writes of the *villa publica*, 'the
 'Town House,' Hotel de Ville; *Villa publica* 'ad rempublicam ad-
 ministrandam est utilis, ubi cohortes ad delectum consuli adductae
 considant, ubi arma ostendant, id est, ubi censores censu admittant
 populum. *Probare*, applied to the censors taking the work off the
 hands of the contractor of the public buildings; *adprobare* is the word
 applied to the successful offer of the contractor to have it so taken
 off his hands. In this respect the censor resembles our Dean of
 Guild. ² *Primum*, qualifying *ibi*. ³ I. e. dubitat, utrum,

quod reliqui scriptores narrant, an quod est in libris linteis, verum
 sit. Stroth. ⁴ *Rebellantibus*, in its original meaning, 'making
 'war again.'

retor omni Etruriae concilium ¹, velut magno inde tumultu imminente, senatus Mam. Aemilium dictatorem iterum dici jussit. Ab eo A. Postumius Tubertus magister equitum est dictus; bellumque tanto majore quàm proximo conatu apparatus est, quanto plus erat ab omni Etruriâ periculi quàm ab duobus populis fuerat.

XXIV. Ea res aliquanto expectatione omnium tranquillior fuit. Itaque quum renunciatum a mercatoribus esset, 'negata Vejentibus auxilia, jussosque suo consilio bellum initum suis viribus exsequi, nec adversarum rerum quarere socios, cum quibus spem integram communicati non sint,' tum dictator, ne nequicquam creatus esset, materiâ quaerendae bello gloriae ademptâ, in pace aliquid operis edere quod monumentum esset dictaturae cupiens, censuram minuere parat, seu nimiam potestatem ratus, seu non tam magnitudine honoris quàm diuturnitate offensus. Concione itaque advocatâ, 'Rempublicam foris gerendam,' ait, 'tutaque omnia praestanda Deos immortales suscepisse, se, quod intra muros agendum esset, libertati populi Romani consulturum. Maximam autem ejus custodiam esse, si magna imperia diuturna non essent, et temporis modus imponeretur, quibus juris imponi non posset. Alios magistratus annuos esse, quinquennalem censuram; grave esse, iisdem per tot annos magnos magnâ parte vitae obnoxios vivere. Se legem laturum, 'ne plus quàm annua ac semestris censura esset.'" Consensu ingenti populi legem postero die pertulit, et, 'ut re ipsâ,' inquit, 'sciatis, Quirites, quàm mihi diuturna non placeant imperia, dictaturâ me abdicô.' Deposito suo magistratu, modo aliorum magistratui imposito, fine alteri ², cum gratulatione ac favore ingenti populi domum est reductus. Censores aegre passi Mamercum, 'quod magistratum populi Romani minuisset, tribu moverunt, octuplicatoque censu aerarium fecerunt' ³.

¹ See p. 97, note 1. ² As Mamercus has hitherto spoken only of two offices, the dictatorship and the censorship, and there are here mentioned *suo*, *aliorum*, *alteri*, we have reason to suspect that either *modo aliorum magistratui*, or *fine alteri*, should be deleted, especially as several of the MSS. want these last words. ³ *Tribu moverunt—octuplicato censu—aerarium fecerunt*. These are, according to the general opinion, three distinct acts of the censorial power in the way of punishment. 1. *Tribu movere* is to degrade a man by

‘ Quam rem ipsum ingenti animo tulisse ’ ferunt, ‘ causam
 ‘ potius ignominiae intuentem quàm ignominiam; primo-
 ‘ res Patrum, quanquam deminutum censurae jus noluis-
 ‘ sent, exemplo acerbitalis censoriae offensos, quippe quum
 ‘ se quisque diutius ac saepius subjectum censoribus fore
 ‘ cerneret quàm censuram gesturum.’ Populi certè tanta
 indignatio coorta dicitur, ut vis a censoribus nullius auctori-
 tate, praeterquam ipsius Mamerci, deterreri quiverit.

XXV. Tribuni plebis, assiduis concionibus prohi-
 bendo consularia comitia quum res prope ad interreg-
 num perducta esset, evicere tandem ut tribuni mili-
 tum consulari potestate crearentur; victoriae praemium,
 quod petebatur, ut plebeius crearetur, nullum fuit. Omnes
 patricii creati sunt, M. Fabius Vibulanus, M. Foslius, L.
 Sergius Fidenas. Pestilentia eo anno aliarum rerum otium
 praebuit. Aedis¹ Apollini pro valetudine populi vota est;
 multa duumviri² ex libris, placandae Deum irae avertendae-

removing him from a higher to a lower tribe. The effect of this
 punishment was not fully agreed on by the Romans themselves, as we
 find in Livy, xlv. 15, C. Claudius, a censor, disputing the right of the
 censor to remove a Roman from all the tribes, and thus deprive him of
 his right of citizenship. 2. The censors had absolute power to rate the
 fortunes of the citizens at any valuation they thought proper, and in this
 case they rated the fortune of Mamercus eight times beyond its
 value, thus increasing the *tributum* to be paid by him eightfold.
 3. The *aerarii*, from whatever cause so reckoned, were similarly
 circumstanced with those in *tabulas Caeritum relati*; that is, they were
 deprived of all the public rights of citizenship, such as that of vot-
 ing, retaining only their private rights, such as of property. As-
 conius (in Divinat. Cic. in Ver. c. 3,) thus derives the name; Qui
 per hoc non esset in albo centuriae suae, sed ad hoc esset civis
 tantum, ut pro capite suo tributum nomine aera penderet. It seems
 impossible to attain any very definite notion of the nature of the pun-
 ishment inferred in the phrase, *inter aerarios referri*; but I am in-
 clined to think, that only two punishments are here indicated, and
 that it differed from *in tabulas Caeritum referri*, inasmuch as the for-
 mer was a consequence of a fine imposed, during the non-payment
 of which to the treasury (hence the name) the public rights of
 citizenship could not be exercised, a punishment which would be re-
 mitted, of course, by the remission or payment of the fine. It is
 certain, that we find Mamercus soon after in high office, c. 31; and
 that a fine is meant seems indicated by the close grammatical connec-
 tion between *octuplicato censu* and *aerarium fecerunt*.¹ Aedis for
aedes, a form of this, and similar words often used by Livy.² See

que a populo pestis causâ, fecere; magna tamen clades in urbe agrisque, promiscuè hominum pecorumque pernicië, accepta. Famem cultoribus agrorum timentes in Etruriam, Pomptinumque agrum et Cumas, postremò in Siciliam quòque frumenti causâ misere. Consularium comitiorum nulla
 u. c. mentio habita est. Tribuni militum consulari potestate
 323. omnes patricii creati sunt, L. Pinarius Mamercinus, L. Furius Medullinus, Sp. Postumius Albus. Eo anno vis morbi levata, neque a penuriâ frumenti, quia antè provisum erat, periculum fuit. Consilia ad movenda bella in Volscorum Aequorumque conciliis, et in Etruriâ ad fanum Voltumnae agitata. Ibi prolatae in annum res, decretoque cautum 'ne quod antè concilium fieret; nequicquam Vējente populo querente, 'eandem, quâ Fidenae deletae sint, 'imminere Vejīs fortunam.' Interim Romae principes plebis, jam diu nequicquam imminentes spei majoris honoris, 'dum foris otium esset,' coetus indicare in domos tribunorum plebei; ibi secreta consilia agitare; queri 'se a plebe 'adeò spreto ut, quum per tot annos tribuni militum consulari potestate creentur, nulli unquam plebeio ad eum 'honorem aditus fuerit. Multum providisse suos majores, 'qui caverint ne cui patricio plebei magistratus paterent, 'aut patricos habendos fuisse tribunos plebei; adeò se suis 'etiam sordere, nec a plebe minùs quàm a Patribus contempti.' Alii purgare plebem, culpam in Patres vertere; 'eorum ambitione artibusque fieri, ut obseptum plebi sit ad 'honorem iter. Si plebi respirare ab eorum mixtis precibus minisque liceat, memorem eam suorum inituram suffragia esse, et parto auxilio imperium quòque adscituram.' Placet, tollendae ambitionis causâ, tribunos legem promulgare, 'ne cui album in vestimentum addere petitionis liceret 'causâ ¹. Parva nunc res et vix seriò agenda videri possit, quae tunc ingenti certamine Patres ac plebem accendit. Vicere tamen tribuni ut legem perferrent; apparebatque, irritatis animis, plebem ad suos studia inclinaturam; quae ne libera essent, senatus consultum factum est, 'ut consularia comitia haberentur.'

p. 207, note 3. ¹ *Album addere*, 'to whiten.' 'Those who sought 'preferments were called *Candidati*, from a white robe worn by 'them, which was rendered shining from the art of the fuller; for 'all the wealthy Romans wore a gown naturally white.' DR ADAM.

XXVI. Tumultus causa¹ fuit, quem ab Aequis et Volscis Latini atque Hernici nunciârant. T. Quinctius, Lucii filius, Cincinnatus (eidem et Penno cognomen additur) et C. Julius Mento, consules facti; nec ultra² terror belli est dilatus. Lege sacratâ³, quae maxima apud eos vis cogendae militiae erat, delectu habito, utrinque validi exercitus profecti in Algidum convenere. Ibique, seorsum Aequi, seorsum Volsci, castra communi-vere; intentiorque quàm unquam antè muniendi exercendique militem cura ducibus erat. Eo plus nuncii terroris Romam attulere. Senatui 'dictatorem dici' placuit, 'quia 'etsi saepe victi populi, majore tamen conatu quàm aliàs 'unquam rebellarent;' et aliquantum Romanae juventutis morbo absumptum erat. Ante omnia pravitas consulum, discordiaque inter ipsos, et certamina in consiliis omnibus terrebant. Sunt, qui 'malè pugnatum ab his consulibus in 'Algidum' auctores sint, 'eamque causam dictatoris creandi 'fuisse.' Illud satis constat, ad alia discordes in uno adversus Patrum voluntatem consensisse, ne dicerent dictatorem; donec, quum alia aliis terribiliora adferrentur, nec in auctoritate senatûs⁴ consules essent, Q. Servilius Priscus, summis honoribus egregiè usus, 'Vos,' inquit, 'tribuni 'plebis, quoniam ad extrema ventum est, senatus appellat, 'ut in tanto discrimine reipublicae dictatorem dicere consules pro potestate vestrâ cogatis.' Quâ voce auditâ, 'occasione oblatam' rati tribuni 'augendae potestatis' secedunt, proque collegio pronunciant, 'placere, consules senatui dicto audientes esse; si adversus consensum amplissimi ordinis ultra tendant, in vincula se duci eos iussuros.' Consules ab tribunis quàm ab senatu vinci maluerunt, 'proditum a Patribus summi imperii jus, datumque 'sub jugum tribuniciae potestati consulatum' memorantes, 'siquidem cogi aliquid pro potestate ab tribuno consules, 'et (quo quid ulterius privato timendum foret?) in vincula 'etiam duci possent.' Sors ut dictatorem diceret (nam ne id

¹ 'The pretext' for consuls being elected. *Tumultus*. See p. 144, note 4.

² Festus thus defines *leges sacratae* generally; *Sacratae leges* sunt, quibus sanctum est, qui quid adversus eas fecerit, sacer alicui Deorum sit, cum familia pecuniaque. But the term is often applied specially to the laws securing the rights of the plebeians, as in ii. 33, iii. 32.

³ See p. 221, note 3.

⁴ The power

quidem inter collegas convenerat) T. Quinctio evenit. Is A. Postumium Tubertum, socerum suum, severissimi imperii virum, dictatorem dixit; ab eo L. Julius magister equitum est dictus. Simul edicitur et justitium¹; neque aliud totâ urbe agi, quàm bellum apparari; cognitio vacantium militiae munere post bellum differtur; ita dubii quodque inclinant ad nomina danda. Et Hernicis Latinisque milites imperati; utrinque enixè obeditum dictatori est.

XXVII. Haec omnia celeritate ingenti acta; relictoque C. Julio consule ad praesidium urbis, et L. Julio magistro equitum ad subita belli ministeria, ne qua res quâ eguissent in castris moraretur, dictator, praeunte² A. Cornelio pontifice maximo, ludos magnos tumultûs causâ vovit; profectusque ab urbe, diviso cum Quinctio consule exercitu, ad hostes pervenit. Sicut bina castra hostium parvo inter se spatio distantia viderant, ipsi quodque mille ferme passus ab hoste, dictator Tusculo, consul Lanuvio propiorem locum castris ceperunt. Ita quatuor exercitus, totidem munimenta, planitiem in medio, non parvis modò excursionibus ad proelia, sed vel ad explicandas utrinque acies satis patentem habebant. Nec ex quo castris castra collata sunt³, cessatum a levibus proeliis est; facilè patiente dictatore, conferendo vires, spem universae victoriae, tentato paullatim eventu certaminum, suos praecipere. Itaque hostes, nullâ in proelio justo relictâ spe, noctu adorti castra consulis rem in casum ancipitis eventûs committunt. Clamor subito ortus non consulis modò vigiles, exercitum deinde omnem, sed dictatorem quodque ex somno excivit. Ubi praesenti ope res egebant, consul nec animo defecit nec consilio; pars militum portarum stationes firmant; pars coronâ vallum cingunt. In alteris apud dictatorem castris, quo mi-

of the commons was evidently increasing, if slowly, yet steadily. This appeal either to the commons, as Niebuhr thinks, to give the form of a law to the decree of the senate, or to the tribunes, marks the fact most distinctly; then we have the commutation of fines, mentioned in the beginning of the 30th ch., and the acknowledgement extorted from the senate, that a vote of the people was necessary previous to making war, stated at the end of the same chapter. Hence we seldom read of resistance to the levies, after this last concession. ¹ See p. 197, note 1. ² See p. 306, note 1.

³ Nec, &c. 'Nor from the time when camp was pitched in opposition to camp.'

nus tumultus est, eo plus animadvertitur quid opus facto sit. Misso extemplo ad castra subsidio, cui Sp. Postumius Albus legatus praeficitur, ipse parte copiarum, parvo circuitu, locum maximè secretum ab tumultu petit, unde ex necopinato aversum hostem invadat. Q. Sulpicium legatum praeficit castris, M. Fabio legato assignat equites, nec ante lucem movere jubet manum, inter nocturnos tumultus moderatu difficilem. Omnia quae vel alius imperator prudens et impiger in tali re praeciperet ageretque, praecipit ordine atque agit. Illud eximium consilii animique specimen, et neutiquam vulgatae laudis, quòd ultro ad oppugnanda castra hostium, unde majore agmine profectos exploratum fuerat, M. Geganium cum cohortibus delecti misit. Qui postquam intentos homines in eventum periculi alieni, pro se incautos neglectis vigiliis stationibusque est adortus, prius penè cepit castra quàm oppugnari hostes satis scirent. Inde fumo, ut convenerat, datum signum ubi conspectum ab dictatore est, exclamat ‘ cauta hostium castra ’ nunciarique passim jubet.

XXVIII. Et jam lucebat, omniaque sub oculis erant; et Fabius cum equitatu impetum dederat, et consul eruptionem e castris in trepidos jam hostes fecerat. Dictator autem, parte alterà subsidia et secundam aciem adortus, circumagenti se ad dissonos clamores ac subitos tumultus hosti undique objecerat victorem peditem equitemque. Circumventi igitur jam in medio ad unum omnes poenas rebellionis dedissent, ni Vectius Messius ex Volscis, nobilior vir factis quàm genere, jam orbem volventes suos increpans clarâ voce, ‘ Hic praebituri, ’ inquit, ‘ vos telis hostium estis indefensi, inulti? Quid igitur arma habetis? aut quid ultro bellum intulistis, in otio tumultuosi, in bello segnes? Quid hic stantibus spei est? an Deum aliquem protecturum vos rapturumque hinc putatis? Ferro via facienda est. Hâc quâ me praegressum videritis, agite, qui visuri domos, parentes, conjuges, liberos estis, ite mecum. Non murus, nec vallum, sed armati armatis obstant. Virtute pares, necessitate, quae ultimum ac maximum telum est, superiores estis. ’ Haec locutum exsequentemque dicta redintegrato clamore secuti dant impressionem, quâ Postumius Albus cohortes objecerat, et moverunt victorem, donec dictatro, pedem jam referentibus suis, advenit; eoque

omne proelium versum est. Uni viro Messio fortuna hostium innititur. Multa utrinque vulnera, multa passim caedes est. Jam ne duces quidem Romani incruenti pugnant. Unus Postumius ictus saxo, perfracto capite, acie excessit. Non dictatorem humerus vulneratus, non Fabium propè affixum equo femur, non brachium abscissum consulem ex tam ancipiti proelio submovit.

XXIX. Messium impetus per stratos caede hostes cum globo fortissimorum juvenum extulit ad castra Volscorum, quae nondum capta erant. Eòdem omnis acies inclinatur. Consul effusus usque ad vallum persecutus ipsa castra vallumque aggreditur. Eòdem et dictator aliâ parte copias admovet. Non segnior oppugnatio est quàm pugna fuerat. 'Consulem signum quòque intra vallum injecisse' ferunt, 'quò milites acriùs subirent, repetendoque signo primam impressionem factam.' Et dictator, proruto vallo, jam in castra proelium intulerat. Tum abjici passim arma, ac de di hostes coepti. Castrisque et his captis, hostes, praeter senatores, omnes venundati sunt. Praedae pars sua cognoscentibus Latinis atque Hernicis reddita; partem sub hastâ dictator vendidit; praepositoque consule castris, ipse triumphans invectus urbem dictaturâ se abdicavit. Egregiae dictaturae tristem memoriam faciunt, qui 'filium ab A. Postumio, quòd occasione bene pugnandi captus injussu decesserit praesidio, victorem securi percussus' tradunt. Nec libet credere, et licet¹, in variis opinionibus; et argumento est, 'quòd imperia 'Manliana,' non 'Postumiana,' appellata sint², quum qui prior auctor tam saevi exempli foret, occupaturus insignem titulum crudelitatis fuerit.' 'Imperioso' quòque Manlio³ cognomen inditum; Postu-

¹ *Nec, &c.* 'We have not only the inclination, but liberty to dis-believe this.' ² 'Livy mentions the story, but wishes not to

'believe it. It is related, however, by Diodorus, xii. 64; by Valerius Maximus, ii. 7, § 6; and by Aulus Gellius, xvii. 21. Gellius also speaks of 'Posthumia' or 'Posthumiana imperia et Manliana,' i. 13, § 7.' Dr Arnold, vol. i. p. 376. ³ With an inconsistency not unusual in Livy, arising either from forgetfulness, or

from following conflicting authorities, he gives here an epithet to Manlius, and an account of its origin, different from his own account, vii. 4. There he gives the epithet not to Titus Manlius Torquatus, who ordered his son to be executed for fighting contrary to orders, but his father Lucius Manlius, and attributes the origin of it to his

mius nullâ tristi notâ est insignitus. C. Julius consul aedem Apollinis, absente collegâ, sine sorte dedicavit; aegre id passus Quinctius, quum dimisso exercitu in urbem redisset, nequicquam in senatu est conquestus. Insigni magnis rebus anno additur nihil tum ad rem Romanam pertinere visum, quòd Karthaginienses, tanti hostes futuri, tum primùm per seditiones Siculorum ad partis alterius auxilium in Siciliam exercitum trajecere¹.

XXX. Agitatum in urbe ab tribunis plebis, ut tribuni militum consulari potestate crearentur; nec obtineri
 v. c. potuit. Consules fiunt L. Papirius Crassus, L. Ju-
 325. lius. Aequorum legati foedus ab senatu cùm petissent, et pro foedere deditio ostentaretur, inducias annorum octo² impetraverunt. Volscorum res, super acceptam in Algido cladem, pertinaci certamine inter pacis bellicue auctores in jurgia et seditiones versa. Undique otium fuit Romanis. Legem de mulctarum aestimatione³ pergratam

severity in enforcing the laws. His words are, *Acerbitas in delectu, non damno modo civium sed etiam laceratione corporum lata, partim virgis caesis qui ad nomina non respondissent, partim in vincula ductis, invisâ erat; et ante omnia invisum ipsum ingenium atrox, cognomenque 'Imperiosi' grave liberae civitati, ab ostentatione saevitiae adscitum.*

¹ The Romans had, v. c. 245, made a treaty with the Carthaginians, regulating their mutual commercial speculations on the coasts of Africa and Italy. See p. 105, note 1.
² The Aequi obtain a truce of eight years in 325, five years after, (c. 35,) in 330, they obtain a renewal of the truce for three years, and (we infer from the last sentence of c. 42,) in 333, the truce had expired. It is evident, that the first period of eight years is made up of the five and the three, and that Livy has here, through inadvertence, combined them. These do not need the application of Niebuhr's hypothesis, referred to p. 180, note 2, which ought to be confined to *Etrurian* truces.

³ *De mulctarum aestimatione*, 'about the commutation of fines.' The subject of fines is variously represented by the ancient writers, both as to the offence, the amount, and the time of the passing of the commutation law. Plutarch (*Περικλέας*) attributes to Valerius Publicola, the fixing of the fine liable by one who had disobeyed the consul, which, according to him, was five oxen, valued each at 100 oboli, and two sheep, valued at 10 oboli. Dionysius (x.) says, that in the year 300, (see iii. 31,) the consuls, Aterius (he calls him Terminus) and Tarpeius passed a law, extending the privilege of fining those who opposed their authority to other magistrates besides the consuls, and fixing the fine at 2 oxen and 30 sheep, (which Ruperti says should be 30 oxen and 2 sheep,) but he says nothing of commutation.

populo quum ab tribunis parari consules unitis ex collegio prodicione excepissent, ipsi praeoccupaverunt
 u. c. . . ferre. Consules L. Sergius Fidenas iterum, Hostus
 326. Lucretius Tricipitinus. Nihil dignum dictu actum his consulibus. Secuti eos consules, A. Cornelius
 u. c. Cossus, T. Quinctius Pennus iterum. Vejentes in
 327. agrum Romanum excursions fecerunt. Fama fuit quosdam ex Fidenatium juventute participes ejus populationis fuisse, cognitioque ejus rei L. Sergio, et Q. Servilio, et Mam. Aemilio permissa. Quidam Ostiam relegati, quod cur per eos dies a Fidenis afuissent parum constabat. Colonorum additus numerus, agerque iis bello interemptorum assignatus. Siccitate eo anno plurimum laboratum est; nec coelestes modò defuerunt aquae, sed terra quòque ingenito humore egens vix ad perennes suffecit amnes¹. Defectus alibi aquarum circa torridos fontes rivosque stragem siti pecorum morientium dedit; scabie alia absumpta; vulgatique contactu in homines morbi, et primo in agrestes ingruerant servitiaque. Urbs deinde impletur. Nec corpora modò affecta tabo², sed animos quòque multiplex religio et pleraque externa invasit, novos ritus sacrificandi

Hence the law is called by A. Gellius the *Lex Ateria*, and by Festus *Tarpeia*. The former writer, however, xi. 1, mentions commutation, stating besides that there was a maximum fine, which he terms *suprema*, fixed at 2 sheep and 30 oxen, on account of the scarcity of sheep, and the plenty of oxen, and that the commutation was two *asses* for each sheep, and 100 for each ox, the minimum fine, termed by him *minima*, being one sheep. He says nothing of the offence. Festus, who also makes no mention of any specific offence, but rather extends it, as he derives *peculatus a pecore*, because cattle were the usual penalty before coined money was in use, attributes a similar commutation to the same year, but places the fixing of the maximum penalty, which he makes the same as Gellius, two years later. Cicero, again, (*De Republica*, ii. 35,) agrees with Dionysius and Livy; with the former, for he speaks generally, *de multis sacramento*, as a measure agreeable to the commons, and passed in the year 300, and with Livy in fixing the period of commutation in the present consulship, only calling the consuls, C. Julius, P. Papirius. See p. 313, note 4. ¹ We learn from Thucydides that a similar calamity befel Greece at this time, as well as dreadful earthquakes. There also occurred in this year the third eruption of Mount Aetna. Thucyd. i. 23; iii. 216. ² *Tabo*. A more common form of the word in this sense is *tabe*.

vaticinando inferentibus in domos, quibus quaestui sunt capti superstitione animi¹; donec publicus jam pudor ad primores civitatis pervenit, cernentes in omnibus vicis sacellisque peregrina atque insolita piacula pacis Deum exposcendae. Datum inde negotium aedilibus ut animadvertent, 'ne qui nisi Romani Dii, neu quo alio more quàm

u. c. 328. 'patrio colerentur.' Irae adversus Veientes in insequentem annum, C. Servilium Ahalam, L. Papirium

Mugillanum consules dilatae sunt. Tunc quoque, ne confestim bellum indiceretur, neve exercitus mitterentur religio obstitit. 'Feciales'² prius mittendos ad res repetendas censuere. Cum Veientibus nuper acie dimicatum ad Nomentum et Fidenas fuerat; induciaeque inde, non pax facta, quarum et dies exierat, et ante diem rebellaverant. Missi tamen feciales; nec eorum, quum more patrum jurati repeterent res, verba sunt audita. Controversia inde fuit, utrùm populi jussu indiceretur bellum, an satis esset senatus consultum. Pervicere tribuni, denunciando 'impedituros se delectum,' ut consules de bello ad populum ferrent³. Omnes centuriae jussere. In eo quoque plebs superior fuit, quod tenuit ne consules in proximum annum crearentur.

XXXI. Tribuni militum consulari potestate quatuor creati sunt, T. Quinctius Pennus ex consulatu, u. c. 329. C. Furius, M. Postumius, A. Cornelius Cossus. Ex iis Cossus praefuit urbi; tres, delectu habito, profecti sunt Vejos, documentoque fuere quàm plurimum imperium bello inutile esset. Tendendo ad sua quisque consilia, quum aliud alii videretur, aperuerunt ad occasionem locum hosti. Incertam namque aciem, 'signum' aliis 'dari receptui,' aliis 'cani' jubentibus, invasere opportunè Veientes; castra propinqua turbatos ac terga dantes accepere. Plus itaque ignominiae quàm cladis est acceptum. Moesta civitas fuit, vinci insueta; odisse tribunos, poscere dictatorem; in eo verti spes civitatis. Et quum ibi quoque religio obstaret,

¹ Nec, &c. 'Nor were their bodies alone afflicted with pestilence, but their minds also were assailed by manifold religious ceremonies, most of them, too, of foreign origin, as those who derive gain from minds enfeebled by superstition, introduced into families new sacrificial rites, by affecting prophetic powers.' ² See i. 24.

³ See p. 313, note 4.

ne non¹ posset nisi ab consule dici dictator, augures consulti eam religionem exemere. A. Cornelius dictatorem Mam. Aemilium dixit, et ipse ab eo magister equitum est dictus. Adeò, simul fortuna civitatis virtute verâ eguit, nihil censoria animadversio² effecit quo minùs regimen rerum ex notatâ indignè domo peteretur. Vejentes re secundâ elati, missis circum Etruriae populos legatis, jactando ‘tres duces Romanos ab se uno proelio fusos,’ quum tamen nullam publici consilii societatem movissent, voluntarios undique ad spem praedae adsciverunt. Uni Fidenatium populo rebellare placuit; et tanquam nisi ab scelere bellum ordiri nefas esset, sicut legatorum antea, ita tum novorum colonorum caede imbutis armis, Vejentibus sese conjungunt. Consultare inde principes duorum populorum, Vejos an Fidenas sedem belli caperent. Fidenas visae opportuniore; itaque trajecto Tiberi, Vejentes Fidenas transtulerunt bellum. Romae terror ingens erat. Accito exercitu ab Vejis, eoque ipso ab re malè gestâ perculso, castra locantur ante portam Collinam, et in muris armati dispositi, et justitium³ in foro, tabernaeque clausae, fiuntque omnia castris quàm urbi similiora.

XXXII. Tum trepidam civitatem, praeconibus per vicos dimissis, dictator ad concionem advocatam increpuit, ‘quòd animos ex tam levibus fortunae momentis suspensos gererent, ut parvâ jacturâ acceptâ, quae ipsa non virtute hostium nec ignaviâ Romani exercitûs, sed discordiâ imperatorum accepta sit, Vejentem, hostem sexies victum pertimescant, Fidenasque prope saepius captas quàm oppugnatas. Eosdem et Romanos et hostes esse, qui per tot secula fuerint, eosdem animos, easdem corporis vires, eadem arma gerere. Se quòque eundem dictatorem Mam. Aemilium esse, qui antè Vejentium Fidenatiumque, adjunctis Faliscis, ad Nomentum exercitus fuderit; et magistrum equitum A. Cornelium eundem in acie fore, qui priore bello tribunus militum⁴, Larte Tolumnio rege Vejentium in conspectu duorum exercituum occiso, spolia opima Jovis Feretrii templo intulerit. Proin memores secum tri-

¹ *Non* is evidently redundant, and its omission is recommended by Gronovius. ² See p. 310, note 3. ³ See p. 197, note 1.

⁴ Livy's own opinion on the subject, adverted to, p. 307, note 4, is here clearly indicated.

‘umphos, secum spolia, secum victoriam esse, cum hostibus
 ‘scelus legatorum contra jus gentium interfectorum, cae-
 ‘dem in pace Fidenatium colonorum, inducias ruptas, sep-
 ‘timam infelicem defectionem, arma caperent. Simul cas-
 ‘tra castris conjunxissent, satis confidere nec sceleratis-
 ‘simis hostibus diuturnum ex ignominiâ exercitûs Ro-
 ‘mani gaudium fore, et populum Romanum intellecturum,
 ‘quanto meliùs de republicâ meriti sint, qui se dictatorem
 ‘tertiùm dixerint, quàm eos qui, ob ereptum censuræ reg-
 ‘num, labem secundæ dictaturæ suæ imposuerint.’ Votis
 deinde nuncupatis, profectus mille et quingentos passus citra
 Fidenas castra locat, dextrâ montibus, laevâ Tiberi amne
 septus. T. Quinctium Pennum legatum ‘occupare montes’
 jubet, ‘occultumque id jugum capere, quod ab tergo hosti-
 ‘bus foret.’ Ipse postero die, quum Etrusci pleni animo-
 rum ab pristini diei meliore occasione quàm pugnâ in aciem
 processissent, cunctatus parumper dum speculatores refer-
 rent ‘Quinctium evasisse in jugum propinquum arcu Fide-
 ‘narum,’ signa profert, peditumque aciem instructam pleno
 gradu¹ in hostem inducit, magistro equitum præcipit, ‘ne
 ‘injussu pugnam incipiat; se, quum opus sit, equestri
 ‘auxilio signum daturum. Tum ut memor regiae pugnae,
 ‘memor opimi doni, Romulique ac Jovis Feretrii, rem ge-
 ‘reret.’ Legiones impetu ingenti configunt. Romanus
 odio accensus, ‘impium Fidenatem, praedonem Vejentem,
 ‘ruptores induciarum, cruentos legatorum infandâ caede,
 ‘respersos sanguine colonorum suorum, perfidos socios,
 ‘imbelles hostes’ compellans, factis simul dictisque odium
 explet.

XXXIII. Concusserat primo statim congressu hostem;
 quum repentè, patefactis Fidenarum portis, nova erumpit
 acies, inaudita ante id tempus invisitataque. Ignibus armata
 ingens multitudo, facibusque ardentibus tota collucens, velut
 fanatico instincta cursu in hostem ruit; formaque insolitae
 pugnae Romanos parumper exterruit. Tum dictator, ma-

¹ The different military paces of the Romans are defined in the following passage from Vegetius; Militari gradu viginti millia pas-
 suum horis quinque duntaxat aestivis conficienda sunt; *pleno* autem
gradu, qui citatior est, totidem horis viginti quatuor millia peragenda
 sunt; quidquid addideris, jam cursus est, cujus spatium non potest
 definiri.

gistro equitum equitibusque, tum ex montibus Quinctio accito, proelium ciens, ipse in sinistrum cornu, quod incendio similis quàm proelio¹ territum cesserat flammis, accurrit, clarâque voce, 'Fumone victi,' inquit, 'velut examen apum loco vestro exacti, inermi cedetis hosti? Non ferro extinguetis ignes? non faces has ipsas pro se quisque, si igni non telis pugnandum est, ereptas ultro inferetis? Agite, nominis Romani ac virtutis patrum vestraeque mores, vertite incendium hoc in hostium urbem, et suis flammis delete Fidenas, quas vestris beneficiis placare non potuistis. Legatorum hoc vos vestrorum colonorumque sanguis, vastatique fines monent.' Ad imperium dictatoris mota cuncta acies; faces partim emissas excipiuntur, partim vi eripiuntur; utraque acies armatur igni. Magister equitum et ipse novat² pugnam equestrem. 'Frenos ut detrahant equis' imperat; et ipse princeps, calcaribus subditis evectus, effreno equo in medios ignes infertur, et alii concitati equi libero cursu ferunt equitem in hostem. Pulvis elatus mixtusque fumo lucem ex oculis virorum equorumque aufert. Ea quae militem terruerat species nihil terruit equos; ruinae igitur similem stragem eques, quâcunque pervaserat, dedit. Clamor deinde accidit novus, qui quum utramque mirabundam in se aciem vertisset, dictator exclamat, 'Quinctium legatum et suos ab tergo hostem adortos,' ipse, redintegrato clamore, infert acrius signa. Quum duae acies, duo diversa proelia circumventos Etruscos et a fronte et ab tergo urguerent, neque in castra retro, neque in montes unde se novus hostis objecerat, iter fugae esset, et equitem passim liberi frenis distulissent equi, Veientium maxima pars Tiberim effusi petunt. Fidenatium qui supersunt, ad urbem Fidenas tendunt. Infert pavidos³ fuga in mediam caedem; obtruncantur in ripis; alios in aquam compulsos gurgites ferunt; etiam peritos nandi lassitudo et vulnera et pavor degravant; pauci ex multis trahunt. Alterum agmen fertur per castra in urbem; eadem et Romanos sequentes impetus rapit, Quinctium maximè

¹ *Incendio* for *incenso*, *proelio* for *praelianti*, 'more resembling a body of men on fire than engaged in fight.'

² *Novat*, (*novam facit*,) 'introduces a new kind of.'

³ *Pavidos*, referring to the Veientes; *alterum*, in the next sentence, to the Fidenates.

et cum eo degressos modò de montibus, recentissimum ad laborem militem, quia ultimo proelio advenerat.

XXXIV. Hi, postquam mixti hostibus portam intravere, in muros evadunt, suisque capti oppidi signum ex muro tollunt. Quod ubi dictator conspexit, (jam enim et ipse in deserta hostium castra penetraverat,) cupientem militem discurrere ad praedam, spe injectâ majoris in urbe praedae, ad portam ducit, receptusque intra muros in arcem, quò ruere fugientium turbam videbat, pergit. Nec minor caedes in urbe quàm in proelio fuit, donec abjectis armis, nihil praeter vitam petentes, dictatori deduntur. Urbs castraque diripiuntur. Postero die singulis captivis ab equite ad centurionem sorte ductis, et, quorum eximia virtus fuerat, binis¹, aliis sub coronâ² venundatis, exercitum victorem opulentumque praedâ triumphans dictator Romam reduxit; jussuque magistro equitum abdicare se magistratu, ipse deinde abdicat die sextodecimo, reddito in pace imperio quod in bello trepidisque rebus acceperat. 'Classi³ quòque, ad Fidenas pugnatum cum Vejentibus' quidam annales retulere; rem aequè difficilem atque incredibilem, nec nunc lato satis ad hoc amne, et tum aliquanto, ut a veteribus accepimus, arctiore; nisi in trajectu fortè fluminis prohibendo, aliquarum navium concursum in majus (ut fit) celebrantes, navalis victoriae vanum titulum appetivere.

XXXV. Insequens annus tribunos militares consulari potestate habuit, A. Sempronium Atratinum, L. Quinctium Cincinnatum, L. Furium Medullinum, L. Horatium Barbatum. Vejentibus annorum viginti⁴ induciae datae, et Aequis triennii⁵, quum plurium annorum petissent. Et ab seditionibus urbanis otium fuit. Annum insequentem, neque bello foris neque domi seditione insignem,

¹ According to Doering this passage means that each horseman obtained one, and those whose valour had been conspicuous two captives, assigned by lot in presence of (*ad* for *apud*) a centurion appointed to discharge that office. May it not rather mean that each Roman soldier, from the horseman to the centurions, that is, all included within these two grades, and none lower, were so rewarded? It is so translated by Baker. ² See p. 135, note 4. ³ I can

here merely hint at a question raised as to this word, whether Livy, finding it in the old annalists, has not from carelessness or ignorance, mistaken its meaning, they using it to signify *cavalry*, not a *fleet*.

⁴ See beginning of chap. 58.

⁵ See p. 317, note 2.

ludi bello voti celebrem, et tribunorum militum apparatu et finitimorum concursu fecere. Tribuni consulari potestate erant Ap. Claudius Crassus, Sp. Nautius Rutilus, L. Sergius Fidenas, Sex. Julius Iulus. Spectaculum comitate etiam hospitum, ad quod publico consensu venerant, advenis gratius fuit¹. Post ludos conciones seditiosae tribunorum plebi fuerunt objurgantium multitudinem, 'quòd, admiratione eorum quos odisset stupens, in aeterno se ipsa teneret servitio, et non modò ad spem consulatùs in partem revocandam adspirare non auderet, sed ne in tribunis quidem militum creandis (quæe communia essent comitia Patrum ac plebis) aut sui aut suorum meminisset. Desineret ergo mirari, cur nemo de commodis plebis ageret; eò impendi laborem ac periculum, unde emolumentum atque honos speretur. Nihil non aggressuros homines, si magna conatùs magna præmia proponantur. Ut quidem aliquis tribunus plebis ruat caecus in certamina periculo ingenti, fructu nullo, ex quibus pro certo habeat, Patres adversus quos tenderet bello inexpiabili se persecuturos, apud plebem pro quâ dimicaverit nihilo se honoratiorem fore, neque sperandum neque postulandum esse. Magnos animos magnis honoribus fieri; neminem se plebeium contempturam, ubi contemni desissent². Experiendam rem denique in uno aut altero esse, sitne aliquis plebeius ferendo magno honori³, an portento simile miraculoque sit, fortem ac strenuum virum aliquem existere ortum ex plebe. Summâ vi expugnatum esse, ut tribuni militum consulari potestate et ex plebe crearentur; petisse viros domi militiaeque spectatos; primis annis sugillatos, repulsos, risui Patribus fuisse; desisse postremò præbere ad contumeliam os. Nec se videre, cur non lex quòque abrogetur, quâ id liceat quod nunquam futurum sit; minorem quippe ruborem fore in juris iniquitate, quàm si per indignitatem ipsorum prætereantur.'

¹ This passage, which, as it stands, is not difficult, has greatly occupied the attention of the critics. The best emendation is that which proposes *ad id quod*.

² *Neminem*, &c. 'That no plebeian would feel self contempt, when the body to which he belonged should have ceased to be despised by its own members.' ³ *Supply par.* A common form of omission. See p. 125, note 3.

XXXVI. Hujus generis orationes cum assensu auditaë incitavere quosdam ad petendum tribunatum militum, alium ' alia de commodis plebis laturum se in magistratu ' profitentem. Agri publici dividendi coloniarumque deducendarum ostentatæ spes, et vectigali possessoribus agrorum imposito, in stipendium militum erogandi aeris ¹. Captatum deinde tempus ab tribunis militum, quo per discessum hominum ab urbe, quum Patres clandestinâ denunciatione revocati ad diem certam essent, senatûs consultum fieret, absentibus tribunis plebi, ' ut quoniam Volscos in Hernicorum agros prædatum exisse fama esset, ad rem inspiciendam tribuni militum proficiscerentur, consulariaque comitia haberentur.' Profecti Ap. Claudium, filium decemviri, præfectum urbis relinquunt, impigrum juvenem et jam inde ab incunabulis imbutum odio tribunorum plebisque. Tribunis plebi nec cum absentibus iis qui senatûs consultum fecerant, nec cum Appio, transactâ re, quod contenderent fuit.

XXXVII. Creati consules sunt C. Sempronius ^{U. C.} Atratinus, Q. Fabius Vibulanus. Peregrina res, ^{332.} sed memoriâ digna, traditur eo anno facta; ' Vulcanum, Etruscorum urbem,' quæ nunc Capua est, ' ab Samnitibus captam, Capuamque ab duce eorum Capye ' vel ' (quod propius vero est) ' a campestri agro appellatam.' Cepere autem, priûs bello fatigatis Etruscis, in societatem urbis agrorumque accepti, deinde festo die graves somno epulisque incolas veteres novi coloni nocturnâ caede adorti. His rebus actis ² consules ii, quos diximus, Idibus Decembribus ³ magistratum occepere. Jam non solûm qui ad id missi erant, retulerant ' imminere ' Volscum bellum,' sed legati quodque ab Latinis et Hernicis nunciabant ' Non antè unquam Volscos nec ducibus legendis, nec exercitui scribendo intentioniores fuisse; vulgò fremere, ' aut in perpetuum arma bellumque oblivioni danda

¹ Another point ultimately gained, at least as far as pay was concerned, see c. 59, and most advantageous to the consolidation of the power of the commons.

² *His rebus actis* has no apparent reference to any thing going before, and Gronovius recommends that the words be deleted. Doering thinks that they simply mean, at that time.

³ See p. 200, note 4, where Dr Adam inaccurately gives the 15th for the 13th of December.

“jugumque accipiendum, aut iis cum quibus de imperio
 “certetur, nec virtute, nec patientiâ, nec disciplinâ rei mi-
 “litaris cedendum esse.” Haud vana attulere; sed nec
 perinde Patres moti sunt; et C. Sempronius, cui ea pro-
 vincia sorti evenit, tanquam constantissimâ re, fortunâ¹
 fretus, ‘quodd’ victoris populi adversus victos dux esset,
 omnia temere ac negligenter egit; adeo ut disciplinae Ro-
 manae plus in Volco exercitu quàm in Romano esset.
 Ergo fortuna, ut saepe aliàs, virtutem est secuta. Primo
 proelio, quod ab Sempronio incautè inconsultèque commis-
 sum est, non subsidiis firmatâ acie, non equite aptè locato
 concursus est. Clamor indicium primum fuit, quò res
 inclinatura esset, excitatio crebriorque ab hoste sublatus;
 ab Romanis dissonus, impar, segniùs saepe iteratus, incerto
 clamore² prodidit pavorem animorum. Eo ferocior illatus
 hostis urgere scutis, micare gladiis; alterâ ex parte nutant
 circumspectantibus galeae, et incerti trêpidant, applicantque
 se turbae. Signa nunc resistentia deseruntur ab antesig-
 nanis³, nunc inter suos manipulos recipiuntur. Nondum
 fuga certa, nondum victoria erat; tegi magis Romanus
 quàm pugnare; Volscus inferre signa, urgere aciem, plus
 caedis hostium videre quàm fugas.

XXXVIII. Jam omnibus locis ceditur, nequicquam Sem-
 pronio consule objurgante atque hortante; nihil nec impe-
 rium nec majestas valebat, dataque mox terga hostibus
 forent, ne Sex. Tempanius, decurio⁴ equitum, labente jam
 re, praesenti animo subvenisset. Qui quum magnâ voce

¹ The majority of the best MSS. have *constantissimas rei, fortunae*; others, *constantissima rei fortuna*. The reading adopted is that of Gronovius. It is not to be denied, however, that Livy sometimes joins *fretus* with the dative, and this violation of the common usage has been adduced as a specimen of Livy’s peculiar idiom, commonly called his Patavinity.

² What is the meaning of *clamor*, *incerto clamore*? Livy either forgot that he introduced the sentence with *clamor*, as he forgot in a sentence near the end of the 20th chapter, and has *Tertius annus . . habet; eodem anno, i. e. Tertius annus habet eodem anno*, or we must adopt some one of the proposed emendations. These are *tenore*, *clangore*, *sonore*, *canore*, *etiam ore*, *languore*, and *incertus* without *clamore*.

³ *Antesignanis*, ‘those standing before the standards,’ and assigned for their protection. ⁴ Doering here quotes Vegetius. *Habet una turma equites triginta duo, huic qui praest, decurio nominatur.*

exclamâsset ‘ut equites qui salvam rempublicam vellent ‘esse ex equis desilirent,’ omnium turmarum equitibus velut ad consulis imperium motis, ‘Nisi haec,’ inquit, ‘armata¹ cohors sistat impetum hostium, actum de imperio est. Sequimini pro vexillo cuspidem meam; ostendite Romanis Volscisque, neque equitibus vobis ullos equites, nec peditibus esse pedites pares.’ Quum clamore comprobata adhortatio esset, vadit altè cuspidem gerens. Quâcunque incedunt, vi viam faciunt; eò se inferunt objectis parmis, ubi suorum plurimum laborem vident. Restituitur omnibus locis pugna, in quae eos impetus tulit; nec dubium erat quin, si tam pauci simul obire omnia possent, terga daturi hostes fuerint.

XXXIX. Et quum jam parte nullâ sustinerentur, dat signum Volscus imperator, ‘ut parmatis, novae cohorti hostium, locus detur, donec impetu illati ab suis excludantur.’ Quod ubi est factum, interclusi equites nec percurrere eâdem, quâ transierant, posse, ibi maximè confertis hostibus, quâ viam fecerant; et consul legionesque Romanae, quum quod tegumen modò omnis exercitûs fuerat nusquam viderent, ne tot fortissimos viros interclusos opprimeret hostis, tendunt in quemcunque casum. Diversi Volsci, hinc consulem ac legiones sustinere, altera fronte instare Tempanio atque equitibus. Qui quum saepe conati nequissent perrumpere ad suos, tumulo quodam occupato, in orbem se tutabantur, nequaquam inulti. Nec pugnae finis ante noctem fuit. Consul quodque nusquam remisso certamine, dum quicquam superfuit lucis, hostem tenuit; nox incertos diremit; tantusque ab imprudentiâ eventûs² utraque castra tenuit pavor ut, relictis sauciis et magnâ parte impedimentorum, ambo pro victis exercitus se in montes proximos reciperent. Tumulus tamen circumsessus ultra mediam noctem est. Quò quum circumsedentibus nuntiâ tum esset ‘castra deserta esse,’ victos rati suos, et ipsi quâ quemque in tenebris pavor tulit fugerunt. Tempanius metu insidiarum suos ad lucem tenuit. Digressus deinde ipse cum paucis speculatum, quum ab sauciis hostibus sciscitando comperisset castra Volscorum deserta esse, laetus ab

¹ Gronovius approves of *parmata*. ² *Ab imprudentia eventus*, either, ‘from the impossibility of foreseeing the result,’ or more probably, ‘from ignorance of what had been the issue of the battle.’

tumulo suos devocat et in castra Romana penetrat. Ubi quum vasta desertaque omnia atque eandem quam apud hostes foeditatem invenisset, priùs quàm Volscos cognitus error reduceret, quibus poterat sauciis ductis secum ¹, ignarus quam regionem consul petisset, ad urbem proximis itineribus pergit.

XL. Jam eò fama pugnae adversae castrorumque desertorum perlata erat; et ante omnia deplorati erant equites, non privato magis quàm publico luctu; Fabiusque consul, terrore urbi quòque injecto, stationem ante portas agebat, quum equites, procul visi non sine terrore ab dubiis quinam essent, mox cogniti tantam ex metu laetitiam fecere, ut clamor urbem pervaderet gratulantium, 'salvos victoresque' redisse equites; et ex moestis paullo antè domibus, quae conclamaverant ² suos, procurreretur in vias; pavidaeque matres ac conjuges, oblitae prae gaudio decoris, obviàm agmini occurrerent, in suos quaeque, simul corpore atque animo vix prae gaudio compotes, effusae. Tribunis plebi, qui M. Postumio et T. Quinctio diem ³ dixerant 'quòd ad Vejos' eorum operà malè pugnatum esset ⁴, occasio visa est per recens odium Sempronii consulis renovandae in eos invidiae ⁵. Itaque advocatà concione, quum 'proditam Vejis rempublicam esse ab ducibus, proditum deinde, quia illis impune' fuerit, in Volscis ab consule exercitum, traditos ad caedem 'fortissimos equites, deserta foede castra' vociferati essent, C. Julius, unus ex tribunis, Tempanium equitem vocari jussit, coramque eis, 'Sexte Tempani,' inquit, 'quaero de' te, arbitrerisne C. Sempronium consulem aut in tempore 'pugnam inisse, aut firmasse subsidiis aciem, aut ullo boni' consulis functum officio? et tune ipse, victis legionibus 'Romanis, tuo consilio equitem ad pedes deduxeris restituerisque pugnam? excluso deinde ab acie nostrâ tibi atque equitibus num aut consul ipse subvenerit, aut miserit' praesidium? postero denique die ecquid praesidii usquam

¹ See p. 53, note 1.

² See p. 108, note 4.

³ See

p. 157, note 1.

⁴ See C. 31.

⁵ The question has been asked, why not accuse C. Furius likewise, and why renew the charge after an interval of three years? Probably Furius was dead, and the people were in no humour to listen to such charges, after their success at Fidenae, till their present disgrace recalled to their remembrance their former disaster.

‘habueris? an tu cohorsque in castra vestrâ virtute per-
 ‘ruperitis? ecquem in castris consulem, ecquem exerci-
 ‘tum inveneritis? an deserta castra, relictos saucios mi-
 ‘lites? Haec pro virtute tuâ fideque, quâ unâ hoc bello
 ‘respublica stetit, dicenda tibi sunt hodie. Denique¹, ubi
 ‘C. Sempronius, ubi legiones nostrae sint? desertus sis,
 ‘an deserueris consulem exercitumque? victi denique si-
 ‘mus, an vicerimus?’

XLI. Adversus haec Tempanii oratio incompta fuisse di-
 citur, ceterum militariter gravis, non suis vana laudibus, non
 crimine alieno laeta; ‘Quanta prudentia rei bellicae in C.
 ‘Sempronio esset non militis de imperatore existimationem
 ‘esse, sed populi Romani fuisse quum eum comitiis consu-
 ‘lem legeret². Itaque ne ab se imperatoria consilia neu
 ‘consulares artes exquirere, quae pensitanda quodque mag-
 ‘nis animis atque ingeniis essent; sed, quod viderit, referre
 ‘posse. Vidisse autem se prius quàm ab acie intercludere-
 ‘tur, consulem in primâ acie pugnantem, adhortantem, in-
 ‘ter signa Romana telaque hostium versantem; postea se
 ‘ab conspectu suorum ablatum, ex strepitu tamen et clamore
 ‘sensisse usque ad noctem extractum certamen; nec ad
 ‘tumulum,’ (quem ipse tenuerat,) ‘prae multitudine hos-
 ‘tium credere perrumpi potuisse. Exercitus ubi esset se
 ‘nescire; arbitrari, velut ipse in re trepidâ loci praesidio
 ‘se suosque sit tutatus, sic consulem, servandi exercitûs
 ‘causâ, loca tutiora castris cepisse. Nec Volscorum melio-
 ‘res res esse credere quàm populi Romani. Fortunam
 ‘noctemque omnia erroris mutui implêsse.’ ‘Precantemque
 ‘deinde ‘ne se fessum labore ac vulneribus tenerent,’ cum
 ‘ingenti laude non virtutis magis quàm moderationis dimis-
 ‘sum³.’ Quum haec agerentur, jam consul viâ Lavicanâ
 ad fanum Quietis erat. Eò missa plaustra jumenta alia
 ab urbe exercitum affectum proelio ac viâ nocturnâ exce-
 pere. Paullò pòst in urbem est ingressus consul, non ab se

¹ Quaero de te, understood.

² Quanta, &c. ‘As to the

‘skill in the art of war possessed by C. Sempronius, it was not the
 ‘province of a soldier to judge of his commander, but had been the
 ‘province of the Roman people, when they formally elected him
 ‘consul in the comitia.’

³ The infinitive under the influence
 of *dicatur* at the beginning of the chapter. See a similar change of
 construction alluded to p. 119, note 4, and end of v. 41.

magis enixè amovens culpam quàm Tempanium meritis laudibus ferens. Moestae civitati ab re malè gestâ et iratae ducibus M. Postumius reus objectus, qui tribunus militum pro consule ad Vejos fuerat, decem millibus aeris gravis¹ damnatur. T. Quinctium collegam ejus, quia et in Volscis consul auspicio dictatoris Postumii Tuberti et ad Fidenas legatus dictatoris alterius Mam. Aemilii res prosperè gesserat, totam culpam ejus temporis in praedamnatum collegam transferentem omnes tribus absolverunt. Profuisset ei Cincinnati patris memoria dicitur, venerabilis viri, et exactae jam aetatis Capitolinus Quinctius, suppliciter orans 'ne se, brevi reliquo vitae spatio, tam tristem nuncium ferre ad Cincinnatum² paterentur.'

XLII. Plebs tribunos plebi absentes Sex. Tempanium, A. Sellium, Sex. Antistium, et Sp. Icilium fecit, quos et pro centurionibus³ sibi praefecerant, Tempanio auctore, equites. Senatus, quum odio Sempronii consulare nomen offenderet, tribunos militum consulari potestate creare u. c. jussit. Creati sunt L. Manlius Capitolinus, Q. Antonius Merenda, L. Papirius Mugillanus⁴. Principio statim anni L. Hortensius tribunus plebis C. Sempronio consuli anni prioris diem dixit. Quem quum quatuor collegae, inspectante populo Romano, orarent 'ne imperatorem suum innoxium, in quo nihil praeter fortunam reprehendi posset, vexaret,' aegre Hortensius pati, 'tentionem eam' credens 'esse perseverantiae suae, nec precibus tribunorum, quae in speciem modò jactentur, sed auxilio confidere reum.' Itaque modò ad eum conversus, 'Ubi illi patricii spiritus, ubi subnisi et fidens innocentiae animus esset?' quaerebat; 'sub tribuniciâ umbrâ consularum virum delituisse;' modò ad collegas, 'Vos autem,

¹ *Aes grave*, money paid in coins, either old and heavy, or light and new, but making up the weight actually denoted by the name, not the conventional and depreciated weight. ² In the same way Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 548, makes Pyrrhus give tauntingly a message to Priam for his father Achilles. ³ As *centurionibus* is not an equestrian term, this must apply to the affair mentioned, c. 38, where the horsemen, on the suggestion of Tempanius, fought on foot. ⁴ As four military tribunes were elected for some years previously, and Livy writes in the 47th chapter of L. Servilius Structus being tribune *iterum*, Sigonius conjectures that his name should be inserted here.

‘ si rem perago ¹, quid acturi estis ? an erepturi jus populo
 ‘ et eversuri tribuniciam potestatem ?’ Quum illi ‘ et de
 ‘ Sempronio et de omnibus summam populi Romani potes-
 ‘ tatem esse’ dicerent, ‘ nec se iudicium populi tollere aut
 ‘ velle aut posse, sed si preces suae pro imperatore, qui sibi
 ‘ parentis esset loco, non valuissent, se vestem cum eo mu-
 ‘ tatos ²,’ tum Hortensius, ‘ Non videbit,’ inquit, ‘ plebs
 ‘ Romana sordidatos tribunos suos. C. Sempronium nihil
 ‘ moror ³, quando hoc est in imperio consecutus, ut tam
 ‘ carus esset militibus.’ Nec pietas quatuor tribunorum
 quàm Hortensii tam placabile ad justas preces ingenium pa-
 riter plebi Patribusque gratior fuit. Non diutius fortuna
 Aequis indulisit, qui ambiguum victoriam Volscorum pro
 suâ amplexi fuerant ⁴.

XLIII. Proximo anno N. Fabio Vibulano, T.
 v. c. Quinctio, Capitolini filio, Capitolino consulibus, ductu
 334. Fabii, cui sorte ea provincia evenerat, nihil dignum
 memoratu actum. Quum trepidam tantum ostendissent
 aciem Aequi, turpi fugâ funduntur, haud magno consulis
 decore; itaque triumphus negatur; ceterum ob Sempro-
 nianae cladis levatam ignominiam, ut ovans ⁵ urbem intra-
 ret concessum est. Quemadmodum bellum minore quàm
 timuerant dimicatione erat perfectum, sic in urbe ex tran-
 quillo nec opinata moles discordiarum inter plebem ac
 Patres exorta est, coepta ab duplicando quaestorum nu-
 mero. Quam rem, ‘ ut praeter duos urbanos quaestores,
 ‘ duo consulibus ad ministeria belli praesto essent,’ a con-
 sulibus relata quum et Patres summâ ope approbâssent,
 consulibus tribuni plebis certamen intulerunt, ut pars quae-
 storum (nam ad id tempus patricii creati erant) ex plebe
 fieret. Adversus quam actionem primò et consules et
 Patres summâ ope adnisi sunt; concedendo deinde ut,
 quemadmodum in tribunis consulari potestate creandis usi
 sunt, adaequè in quaestoribus liberum esset arbitrium
 populi, quum parum proficerent, totam rem de augendo
 quaestorum numero omittunt. Excipiunt omissam tribuni,
 aliaeque subinde, inter quas et agrariae legis, seditiosae

¹ *Rem peragere* in the time of Livy seems to denote simply ‘ to
 ‘ carry on an accusation;’ as noticed by Ruperti, in later writings, it
 means, ‘ to procure a conviction.’ ² See p. 181, note 1. ³ See
 p. 96, note 5. ⁴ See p. 317, note 2. ⁵ See p. 206, note 2.

actiones existunt. Propter quos motus quum senatus consules quàm tribunos creari mallet, neque posset per intercessionem tribunicias senatûs consultum fieri, respublica a consulibus ad interregnum, (neque id ipsum, nam coire patricios tribuni prohibebant, sine certamine ingenti,) redit. Quum pars major insequentis anni per novos tribunos plebi et aliquot interreges certaminibus extracta esset, modò prohibentibus tribunis patricios coire ad prodendum interregem, modò interregem interpellantibus, ne senatûs consultum de comitiis consularibus faceret; postremò L. Papirius Mugillanus, proditus interrex, castigando nunc Patres, nunc tribunos plebi, ‘desertam omissamque ab hominibus rempublicam Deorum providentiâ curâque exceptam,’ memorabat, ‘Vejentibus induciis et cunctatione Aequorum stare. Unde si quid increpet terroris, sine patricio magistratu placere rempublicam opprimi? non exercitum, non ducem scribendo exercitui esse? an bello intestino bellum externum propulsaturos? Quae si in unum convenient, vix Deorum opibus quin obruatur Romana res resisti posse. Quin illi, remittendo de summâ quisque juris, mediis¹ copularent concordiam; Patres, patiendò tribunos militum pro consulibus fieri; tribuni plebis, non intercedendo quominus quatuor quaestores promiscuè de plebe ac Patribus libero suffragio populi fierent.’

XLIV. Tribunicia primùm comitia sunt habita².

v. c. 335. Creati tribuni consulari potestate omnes patricii, L. Quinctius Cincinnatus tertium, L. Furius Medullinus iterum, M. Manlius, A. Sempronius Atratinus. Hoc tribuno comitia quaestorum habente petentibusque inter aliquot plebeios filio Antistii tribuni plebis, et fratre alterius tribuni plebis Sex. Pompilii, nec potestas nec suffragatio horum valuit quin, quorum Patres avosque consules viderant, eos nobilitate praeferrent. Furere omnes tribuni plebis, ante omnes Pompilius Antistiusque repulsâ suorum accensi, ‘Quidnam id rei esset? non suis beneficiis, non Patrum injuriis, non denique usurpandi³ libidine, quum liceat, quod antè non licuerit, si non tribunum militarem,

¹ *Mediis*, supply *consiliis*, ‘measures meeting each other half way.’

² *Tribunicia*, &c. ‘The comitia for the election of military tribunes were first held,’ i. e. before those for the election of quaestors.

³ See p. 286, note 1.

‘ ne quaestorem quidem quemquam ex plebe factum ¹. Non
 ‘ valuisse patris pro filio, fratris pro fratre preces, tribuno-
 ‘ rum plebis, potestatis sacrosanctae, ad auxilium libertatis
 ‘ creatae. Fraudem profectò in re esse, et A. Sempronium
 ‘ comitiis plus artis adhibuisse quàm fidei; ejus injuriâ
 ‘ queri ‘ suos honore dejectos.’ Itaque quum in ipsum et in-
 ‘ nocentiâ tutum et magistratu, in quo tunc erat, impetus
 ‘ fieri non posset, flexere iras in C. Sempronium, patruelem
 ‘ Atratinî; eique ob ignominiam Volsci ² belli, adjutore col-
 ‘ legâ M. Canuleio, diem dixere. Subinde ab eisdem tribu-
 ‘ nis mentio in senatu de agris dividendis illata est, (cui ac-
 ‘ tioni semper acerrimè C. Sempronius restiterat,) ratis, id
 ‘ quod erat, ‘ aut depositâ causâ leviolem futurum apud Pa-
 ‘ tres reum, aut perseverantem sub judicii tempus plebem
 ‘ offensurum.’ Adversae invidiae objici maluit et suae no-
 ‘ cere causae quàm publicae deesse, stetitque in eâdem sen-
 ‘ tentiâ, ‘ Ne qua largitio cessura in triumphum gratiam tribuno-
 ‘ rum fieret; nec tum agrum plebi, sed sibi invidiam quaeri.
 ‘ Se quòque subiturum eam tempestatem forti animo; nec
 ‘ senatui tanti se civem, aut quemquam alium debere esse,
 ‘ ut in parcendo uni malum publicum fiat.’ Nihilo demis-
 ‘ siore animo, quum dies venit, causâ ipse pro se ³ dictâ, ne-
 ‘ quicquam omnia expertis Patribus ut mitigarent plebem,
 ‘ quindecim millibus aeris damnatur. Eodem anno Postu-
 ‘ mia, virgo Vestalis de incestu causam dixit, crimine in-
 ‘ noxia, ab suspitione, propter cultum amoeniorem ingenium-
 ‘ que liberius quàm virginem decet, parum abhorrens ⁴. Eam

¹ *Non suis, &c.* ‘ That, not to speak of a tribune of the soldiers,
 ‘ not one of the quaestors even had been elected from the plebeians,
 ‘ notwithstanding the benefits conferred on the people by them’ (the
 ‘ tribunes of the commons,) ‘ notwithstanding the wrongs inflicted by
 ‘ the patricians, in opposition even to the natural desire of entering on
 ‘ the exercise of a right, when they had it in their power, and which
 ‘ before they had not the power to exercise.’ *Usurpare*, see p. 286,
 note 1.

² See C. 37, 38, 39. This is the same Sempronius who was threatened with impeachment by Hortensius, C. 42.

³ See p. 16, note 2.

⁴ This reading, which is adopted by Stroth, was first proposed by Gronovius on his own authority, except *Eam* for *famam*, resting on that of one MS. The old reading, which is preserved by several able critics of first authority, is, *ob suspicionem, propter—parum abhorrens famam*.

ampliatam¹, deinde absolutam pro collegii sententiâ pontifex maximus abstinere jociis, colique sanctè potiùs quàm acite² jussit. Eodem anno a Campanis Cumae, quam Graeci tum urbem tenebant, capiuntur. Insequens annus v. c. tribunos militum consulari potestate habuit, Agrippam Menenium Lanatum, P. Lucretium Tricipitinum, Sp. Nautium Rutilum³.

XLV. Annus felicitate populi Romani, periculo potiùs ingenti quàm clade insignis. Servitia urbem ut incenderent distantibus locis conjurârunt, populoque ad opem passim ferendam tectis intento, ut arcem Capitoliumque armati⁴ occuparent. Avertit nefanda consilia Jupiter, indicioque duorum comprehensi fontes poenas dederunt. Indicibus dena millia gravis aeris⁵, quae tum divitiae habebantur, ex aerario numerata et libertas praemium fuit. Bellum inde ab Aequis reparari coeptum; et 'novos hostes Lavicanos consilia cum veteribus jungere' haud incertis auctoribus Romam est allatum. Aequorum jam velut anniversariis armis assuerat civitas. Lavicos legati missi quum responsa inde retulissent dubia, quibus nec tum bellum parari nec diuturnam pacem fore appareret, Tusculanis negotium datum, 'adverterent animos ne quid novi tumultus Lavicis oriretur.' Ad insequentis anni tribunos militum

consulari potestate, inito magistratu, legati ab Tuscululo venerunt, L. Sergium Fidenatem, M. Papirium Mugillanum, C. Servilium, Prisci filium, quo dictatore Fidenae captae fuerant⁶. Nunciabant legati 'Lavicos arma cepisse, et cum Aequorum exercitu depopulatos agrum Tusculanum castra in Algido posuisse.' Tum Lavicanis bellum indictum; factoque senatus consulto 'ut

¹ *Ampliatam*. 'When there was any obscurity in the cause, and the judges were uncertain whether to condemn or acquit the criminal, which they expressed by giving in the tablets on which the letters N. L. (*non liquet*) were written, and the praetor, by pronouncing *amplius*, the cause was deferred to any day the praetor chose to name. This was called *ampliatio*, and the criminal or cause was said *ampliari*.' Dr ADAM. ² *Coli*, in the sense of a middle verb, 'to dress herself'; *scitè*, 'fashionably'; so with us, knowingly. ³ Sigonius, for the first reason mentioned p. 330, note 4, gives here, as a fourth tribune of the soldiers, C. Servilius. ⁴ *Servitia*. See p. 102, note 2. *Servitia armati*. See a similar construction, p. 126, note 6. ⁵ See p. 330, note 1. ⁶ See chap. 22.

‘ duo ex tribunis ad bellum proficiscerentur, unus¹ res Romae curaret,’ certamen subito inter tribunos exortum. Se quisque belli ducem potiolem ferre, curam urbis ut ingratam ignobilemque aspernari. Quum parum decorum inter collegas certamen mirabundi Patres conspicerent, Q. Servilius, ‘ Quando nec ordinis hujus ulla,’ inquit, ‘ nec reipublicae est verecundia, patria majestas altercationem istam dirimet. Filius meus extra sortem urbi praerit. Bellum utinam, qui appetunt, consideratiùs concordius-que quàm cupiunt, gerant.’

XLVI. Delectum haberi non ex toto passim populo placuit. Decem tribus sorte ductae sunt; ex his scriptos juniores duo tribuni ad bellum duxere. Coepta inter eos in urbe certamina cupiditate eadem imperii multo impensius in castris accendi; nihil sentire idem, pro sententiâ pugnare; sua consilia velle, sua imperia sola rata esse; contemnere in vicem, et contemni, donec, castigantibus legatis, tandem ita comparatum est, ut alternis diebus summam imperii haberent. Quae quum allata Romam essent, dicitur Q. Servilius, aetate et usu doctus, precatus ab Diis immortalibus, ‘ ne discordia tribunorum damnosior reipublicae esset quàm ad Vejos fuisset,’ et velut haud dubiâ clade imminente, instituisse filio ‘ ut milites scriberet et arma pararet.’ Nec falsus vates fuit. Nam ductu L. Sergii, cujus dies imperii erat, loco iniquo sub hostium castris, quum, quia simulato metu receperat se hostis ad vallum, spes vana expugnandi castra eò traxisset, repentino impetu Aequorum per supinam² vallem fusi sunt, multique in ruinâ majore³ quàm fugâ oppressi obtruncatique; castraque eo die aegrè tentata, postero die, circumfusus jam magna ex parte hostibus, per aversam portam fugâ turpi deseruntur. Duces legatique et quod circa signa roboris de exercitu fuit Tusculum petiêre. Palati alii per agros passim multis itineri-

¹ This is completely against the inference drawn by Sigonius, from the circumstance of there being now generally *four* military tribunes, that when three are mentioned, one name has been omitted by the transcriber. Here there is no doubt as to the reading, and three are expressly enumerated twice. ² *Supina vallis*, ‘ the valley at ‘ the back of the troops.’ ³ Doering unnecessarily supplies *potius* after *majore*. *Majore* is resolvable into *magis* or *potius magnâ*. See v. 44, *magna magis quam firma*.

bus, majoris quàm accepta erat cladis nuncii Romam contenderunt. Minus trepidationis fuit, quòd eventus timori hominum congruens fuerat, et quòd subsidia, quae respicerent in re trepidâ, praeparata erant ab tribuno militum; jussuque ejusdem, per minores magistratus sedato in urbe tumulto, speculatores properè missi nunciavere 'Tusculi duces exercitumque esse; hostem castra loco non movisse.' Et quod plurimum animorum fecit, dictator ex senatûs consulto dictus Q. Servilius Priscus, vir cujus providentiam in republicâ quum multis aliis tempestatibus antè experta civitas erat, tum eventu ejus belli, quòd uni certamen tribunorum suspectum ante rem malè gestam fuerat; magistro equitum creato, a quo ipse tribuno militum dictator erat dictus, filio suo, ut tradidere quidam, (nam alii 'Ahalam Servilium magistrum equitum eo anno fuisse' scribunt,) novo exercitu profectus ad bellum, accitis qui Tusculi erant, duo millia passuum ab hoste locum castris cepit.

XLVII. Transierat ex re bene gestâ superbia negligentiaeque ad Aequos, quae in Romanis ducibus fuerat. Itaque primo statim proelio quum dictator equitatu immisso antesignanos hostium turbâsset, legionum inde signa inferri properè jussit, signiferumque ex suis unum cunctantem occidit. Tantus ardor ad dimicandum fuit, ut impetum Aequi non tulerint; victique acie quum fugâ effusâ petissent castra, brevior tempore et certamine minor castrorum oppugnatio fuit quàm proelium fuerat. Captis direptisque castris, quum praedam dictator militi concessisset, secutique fugientem ex castris hostem equites renunciâsset 'omnes Lavicanos victos, magnam partem Aequorum Lavicos confugisse,' postero die ad Lavicos ductus exercitus, oppidumque coronâ¹ circumdatum scalis captum ac direptum est. Dictator, exercitu victore Romam reducto, die octavo quàm creatus erat magistratu se abdicavit; et opportunè senatus, priùs quàm ab tribunis plebi agrariae seditiones, mentione illatâ de agro Lavicano dividendo, fierent, censuit frequens² 'coloniam Lavicos deducendam.' Coloni ab urbe mille et quingenti missi bina jugera acceperunt. Cap-

¹ *Corona*, 'a close circle of soldiers.' So Ovid, *Consedere duces, et vulgi stante corona.* ² *Senatus frequens*, 'a full meeting' or 'quorum of the senate.'

u. c.
338. tis Lavicis, ac deinde tribunis militum consulari potestate, Agrippâ Menenio Lanato, et L. Servilio Structo, et P. Lucretio Tricipitino, iterum omnibus his, et Sp. Rutilio Crasso, et insequente anno A. u. c.
339. Sempronio Atratino tertium, et duobus iterum M. Papirio Mugillano, et Sp. Nautio Rutilo ¹, biennium tranquillae externae res, discordia domi ex agrariis legibus fuit.

XLVIII. Turbatores vulgi erant Spurii Maecilius quartum et Metilius tertium tribuni plebis, ambo absentes creati. Et quum rogationem promulgassent, 'ut ager ex hostibus captus viritim divideretur,' magnaeque partis nobilium eo plebiscito publicarentur fortunae, (nec enim ferme quicquam agri, ut in urbe alieno solo positâ, non armis partum erat, nec, 'quod venisset assignatumve publicè esset,' praeterquam plebs habebat ²), atrox plebi Patribusque propositum videbatur certamen; nec tribuni militum, nunc in senatu, nunc in consiliis privatis principum cogen-dis viam consilii inveniebant; quum Ap. Claudius, nepos

¹ Sigonius here again inserts a fourth military tribune, Q. Fabius Vibulanus, for the reason already shewn to be groundless, p. 335, note 1, and another of greater weight, that Livy afterwards (c. 49.) mentions him as military tribune, *iterum*. ² *Nec, quod, &c.*

Doering and Ruperti both explain this clause as meaning, 'Nor had the plebeians had any other land, but what had been sold or publicly assigned.' But this seems erroneous; 1. Because it violates the natural order of the words. 2. Because it weakens the inference drawn by the nobility from the proposed law. The division of the enemy's land affected them, because their right to all their lands was that of conquest; this applied to them all, or nearly all, *magnae partis*. And the reason given is, that it was almost impossible to have land, not subject to the law, from the position of Rome, whilst nobody could be exempted from its operation on the plea of public sanction, except plebeians, as they alone had so obtained it. 3. Both critics have neglected the subjunctive, which seems to indicate that an exception was made in the law of favour of those who had acquired lands in the manner mentioned in the clause. The sentence then seems to have this import, Nor did any except the plebeians possess land, 'which' (came under the excepting clause of the law, on the ground that it) 'had been sold or publicly assigned to them.' Such was, doubtless, the real nature of the law, and the position in which the parties relatively stood. See Index, *Lex Agraria*.

ejus qui decemvir legibus scribendis fuerat, minimus natu ex Patrum consilio¹ dicitur dixisse 'Vetus se ac familiare consilium domo afferre. Proavum² enim suum Ap. Claudium ostendisse Patribus viam unam dissolvendae tribuniciae potestatis per collegarum intercessionem. Facile homines novos auctoritate principum de sententiâ deduci, si temporum interdum potius quàm majestatis memor adhibeatur oratio; pro fortunâ illis animos esse³. Ubi videant collegas principes agenda rei gratiam omnem ad plebem praeoccupâsse, nec locum in eâ relictum sibi, haud gravatè acclinaturos se ad causam senatûs, per quam univ⁴erso ordini cum primoribus se Patrum concilient.' Approbantibus cunctis, et ante omnes Q. Servilio Prisco, 'quod non degenerâset ab stirpe Claudiâ' collaudante juvenem, negotium datur ut, quos quisque posset ex collegio tribunorum, ad intercessionem perlicerent. Misso senatu, prensantur ab principibus tribuni; suadendo, monendo, pollicendoque 'gratum id singulis privatim, gratum universo senatui fore,' sex ad intercessionem comparavere; posteroque die quum ex composito relatum ad senatum esset de seditione, 'quam Maecilius Metiliusque largitione pessimi exempli concirent,' eae⁴ orationes a primoribus Patrum habitae sunt, ut pro se quisque 'jam nec consilium sibi suppetere' diceret, 'nec se ullam opem cernere aliam usquam praeterquam in tribunicio auxilio. In ejus potestatis fidem circumventam rempublicam, tanquam privatum inopem, confugere. Praeclarum ipsis potestatique esse, non ad vexandum senatum discordiamque ordinum movendam plus in tribunatu virium esse quàm ad resis-

¹ *Consiliis, consilio*, see p. 97, note 1. ² The order of ascent is given by Plautus. Pater, avus, proavus, abavus, atavus, tritavus. If Ap. Claudius was the grandson of the decemvir, he must have been the *abavus* of the Claudius who gives this counsel, ii. 44. Glarean thinks that *filius* should be substituted for *nepos*. It is possible, however, that Livy used the word *proavus* loosely. ³ *Pro*, &c. 'That their aspirations were ever guided by circumstances.' That is, power was what they aimed at; influence with the commons was pre-occupied by the older tribunes, such as Maecilius and Metilius, (in comparison with whom they are called *novi*, not in the sense mentioned p. 63, note 3,) and that, therefore, they would easily be gained over by the hope of patrician favour. ⁴ *Eae*. 'Such.'

'tendum improbis collegis.' Fremitus deinde universi senatûs ortus, quum ex omnibus partibus curiae tribuni appellarentur; tum silentio facto, ii qui praeparati erant gratiâ principum, 'quam rogationem a collegis promulgatam' senatus censeat dissolvendae reipublicae esse, ei se intercessuros ostendunt. Gratiae intercessoribus ab senatu actae. Latores rogationis concione advocatâ, 'proditores plebis commodorum ac servos consularium' appellantes, aliâque truci oratione in collegas invecti, actionem deposuere.

XLIX. Duo assidua bella insequens annus habuisset, quo P. Cornelius Cossus, C. Valerius Potitus, v. c. 340.

Q. Quinctius Cincinnatus, N. Fabius Vibulanus, tribuni militum consulari potestate fuerunt, ni Vejens bellum religio¹ principum distulisset, quorum agros Tiberis super ripas effusus maximè ruinis villarum vastavit. Simul Aequos triennio antè accepta clades² prohibuit Bolanis, suae gentis populo, praesidium ferre; excursiones inde in confinem agrum Lavicanum factae erant, novisque colonis³ bellum illatum. Quam noxam quum se consensu omnium Aequorum defensuros sperâssent, deserti ab suis, ne memorabili quidem bello, per obsidionem levemque unam pugnam et oppidum et fines amisere. Tentatum⁴ ab L. Sextio tribuno plebis ut rogationem ferret, quâ 'Bolas quòque, si cut Lavicos, coloni mitterentur,' per intercessionem collegarum, qui 'nullum plebiscitum nisi ex auctoritate senatûs passuros se perferri' ostenderunt, discussum est. Bolis insequente anno receptis, Aequi, coloniâque eò deductâ⁵,

novis viribus oppidum firmârunt, tribunis militum v. c. 341. Romae consulari potestate Cn. Cornelio Cosso, L.

Valerio Potito, Q. Fabio Vibulano iterum, M. Postumio Regillensi. Huic bellum adversus Aequos permisum est, pravae mentis homini; quam tamen victoria magis quàm bellum ostendit. Nam exercitu impigre scripto ductoque ad Bolas, quum levibus proeliis Aequorum animòs

¹ *Religio*, 'religious fears.' See p. 56, note 4. ² v. c. 337. See chap. 47. ³ *Inde*, from Bolae—*novis colonis*, those who had been sent to Lavici. See chap. 47. ⁴ See p. 302, note 3. *Tentatum* may agree with the remainder of the sentence to *mitterentur*, or, independently, 'the attempt made,' is the nominative to *discussum est*.

⁵ A striking instance of the arrangement mentioned p. 16, note 3.

fregisset, postremò in oppidum irrupit. Deinde ab hostibus in cives certamen vertit, et quum inter oppugnationem 'praedam militis fore' edixisset, capto oppido, fidem mutavit. Eam, magis adducor, ut credam irae causam exercitui fuisse, quàm quòd in urbe nuper direptâ coloniâque novâ minus praedicatione tribuni praedae fuerit. Auxit eam iram, postquam ab collegis arcessitus propter seditiones tribunicias in urbem revertit, audita vox ejus in concione stolidi ac prope vecors, quâ Sextio tribuno plebis legem agrariam ferenti, simul 'Bolas quòque ut mitterentur coloni latum se' dicenti, 'dignos enim esse qui armis cepissent, eorum urbem agrumque Bolanum esse¹, 'Malum quidem militibus meis,' inquit, 'nisi quieverint.' Quod auditum non concionem magis quàm mox Patres offendit. Et tribunus plebis, vir acer nec infacundus, nactus inter adversarios superbum ingenium immodicamque linguam, quam irritando agitandoque in eas impelleret voces quae invidiae non ipsi tantum sed causae atque universo ordini essent, neminem ex collegio tribunorum militum saepius quàm Postumium in disceptationem trahebat. Tum verò secundum tam saevum atque inhumanum dictum, 'Auditis,' inquit, 'Quirites, sicut servis malum² minantem militibus? 'Tamen haec bellua dignior vobis tanto honore³ videbitur, quàm qui⁴ vos, urbe agrisque donatos, in colonias mittunt, qui sedem senectuti vestrae prospiciunt, qui pro vestris commodis adversus tam crudeles superbosque adversarios depugnant! Incipite deinde mirari cur pauci jam vestram suscipiant causam. Quid ut a vobis sperent? an honores, quos adversariis vestris potius quàm populi Romani propugnatoribus datis? Ingemuistis modò voce hujus auditâ. Quid id refert⁵? Jam si suffragium detur, hunc qui malum vobis minatur, iis qui agros sedesque ac fortunas stabilire volunt praeferetis.

¹ *Dignos, &c.* 'For that they deserved to possess the city and land of Bolae who had gained them by arms.' An uncommon construction, and probably borrowed from the Greek. Three MSS. have *dignum*. ² *Malum*, as observed by Stroth, a common threat held out to slaves. Thus Plutus, Persa, III. 1. 33. Herus si minatus est malum servo suo.

³ The military tribuneship. ⁴ The plebeian aspirants after the military tribuneship. ⁵ *Quid id refert?* 'Of what avail is that?' viz. your indignant groaning.

L. Perlata haec vox Postumii ad milites multo in castris majorem indignationem movit. ‘Praedaene interceptorem¹ ‘frandatoremque etiam malum minari militibus?’ Itaque quum fremitus apertè esset, et quaestor P. Sestius eâdem violentiâ coërceri putaret seditionem posse quâ mota erat, misso ad vociferantem quendam militem lictore, quum inde clamor et jurgium oriretur, saxo ictus turbâ excedit, insuper increpante qui vulneraverat, ‘habere quaestorem, quod ‘imperator esset militibus minatus.’ Ad hunc tumultum accitus Postumius asperiora omnia fecit acerbis quaestionibus, crudelibus suppliciis. Postremò quum modum irae nullum faceret, ad vociferationem eorum quos necari sub crate² jusserat concursu facto, ipse ad interpellantes poenam vecors de tribunali decurrit. Ibi quum submoventes passim lictores centurionesque vexarent turbam, eò indignatio erupit ut tribunus militum ab exercitu suo lapidibus cooperiretur. Quod tam atrox facinus postquam est Romam nunciatum, tribunis militum de morte collegae per senatum quaestiones decernentibus, tribuni plebis intercedebant. Sed ea contentio ex certamine alio pendebat; quòd cura incenserat Patres, ne metu quaestionum plebs irâque³ tribunos militum ex plebe crearet; tendebantque summâ ope ut consules crearentur. Quum senatûs consultum fieri tribuni plebis non paterentur, iidem intercederent consularibus comitiis, res ad interregnum rediit; victoria deinde penes Patres fuit.

LI. Q. Fabio Vibulano interrege comitia habente,
 U. C. 342. consules creati sunt A. Cornelius Cossus, L. Furius Medullinus. His consulibus principio anni senatûs consultum factum est, ‘ut de quaestione Postumianae caedis tribuni primo quoque tempore ad plebem ferrent, plebesque praeficeret quaestioni, quem vellet.’ A plebe consensu populi⁴ consulibus negotium mandatur. Qui summâ

¹ *Interceptor*, a person appointed to regulate claims, who steps in between the persons claiming and the property claimed, (inter), and takes it himself, (captor.) Here applied to Postumius stepping in between the soldiers and the plunder of Bolae; in the 72d chapter of the 3d book, to the Romans stepping in between the Ardeates and the land claimed by them. ² See p. 94, note 3. ³ Some editions have *irata*. ⁴ Crevier deletes *populi*. But the passage means, according to Doering, by the plebeians in the comitia *tributa*,

moderatione ac lenitate per paucorum supplicium, quos sibi met ipsos conscisse mortem¹ satis creditum est, transactâ re, nequivere tamen consequi ut non aegerrimè id plebs ferret; 'Jacere tamdiu irritas sanctiones, quae de suis com-
' modis ferrentur, quum interim de sanguine et supplicio
' suo latam legem confestim exerceri, et tantam vim habere.' Aptissimum tempus erat, vindicatis seditionibus, delenimentum animis Bolani agri divisionem objici; quo facto minuis-
sent desiderium agrariae legis, quae possessore per injuriam agro publico Patres pellebat². Tunc haec ipsa indignitas angebat animos, 'non in retinendis modò publicis agris, quos vi
' teneret, pertinacem nobilitatem esse, sed ne vacuum qui-
' dem agrum nuper ex hostibus captum plebi dividere; mox
' paucis ut cetera, futurum praedae.' Eodem anno adversus Volscos populantes Hernicorum fines, legiones ductae a Furio consule, quum hostem ibi non invenissent, Ferentinum, quò magna multitudo Volscorum se contulerat, cepere. Minus praedae quàm speraverant fuit, quòd Volsci, postquam spes tuendi exigua erat, sublatis rebus nocte oppidum reliquerunt; postero die prope desertum capitur. Hernicis ipse ager dono datus.

LII. Annus modestiâ tribunorum quietum exce-
v. c. pit tribunus plebis, L. Icilius, Q. Fabio Ambusto, C.
343. Furio Pacilo consulibus. Is quum principio statim anni, velut pensum nominis familiaeque, seditiones agrariis

with the sanction of the whole people in the comitia *centuriata*. And this may have been Livy's interpretation of the annalists. The following, however, are Dr Arnold's remarks upon it, vol. i. p. 369, 'A remarkable passage, which Niebuhr, as may be supposed, has not forgotten to appeal to as a proof of the identity of the populus of old times with the patricians. It would seem as if the murder of Posthumius was regarded as a crime committed by the plebeians against the patrician order; it was then an act of moderation in the senate to allow the offending party to name the judge, and the patricians, to whom the injury had been done, would at any rate require that the nomination should be submitted to them for their approval.'

¹ There is a nice distinction betwixt the phrases *ipse conscivit mortem sibi*, and *conscivit mortem sibi ipsi*, which has been noticed by critics. The former answers to the question, Who killed him? The latter to, Whom did he kill?

² Niebuhr, vol. ii. p. 366, while he denounces the conduct of the patricians, regards the language of Livy as unjust and false, the exclusive right of usufruct (*possessio*) in the public lands being unquestionably theirs legally.

legibus promulgandis cieret, pestilentia coorta, minacior tamen quàm perniciosior¹, cogitationes hominum a foro certaminibusque publicis ad domum curamque corporum nutriendorum avertit; 'minùsque eam damnosam fuisse quàm 'seditio futura fuerit' credunt, defunctâ civitate plurimo-

rum morbis, perpaucis funeribus². Pestilentem annum inopia frugum neglecto cultu agrorum (ut plerumque fit) excepit, M. Papirio Atriatino, C. Nautio

Rutilo consulibus. Jam fames quàm pestilentia tristior erat; ni dimissis circa omnes populos legatis, qui Etruscum mare quique Tiberim accolunt ad frumentum mercandum, annonae foret subventum. Superbè ab Samnitibus, qui Capuam habebant Cumasque, legati prohibiti commercio sunt; contra ea benignè ab Siculorum tyrannis adjuti. Maximos commeatus summo Etruriae studio Tiberis devexit. Solitudinem in civitate aegrâ experti consules sunt, quum, in legationes non plus singulis senatoribus invenientes, coacti sunt binos equites adjicere. Praeterquam ab morbo annonae³, nihil eo biennio intestini externive incommodi fuit; at ubi hae sollicitudines discessere, omnia quibus turbari solita erat civitas, domi discordia, foris bellum exortum.

U. C. 345. LIII. M. Aemilio, C. Valerio Potito consulibus, bellum Aequi parabant, Volscis quanquam non publico consilio capessentibus arma, voluntariis mercede secutis militiam. Ad quorum famam hostium (jam enim in Latinum Hernicumque transcenderant agrum) delectum habentem Valerium consulem M. Maenius tribunis plebis, legis agrariae lator, quum impediret, auxilioque tribuni nemo invitum sacramento diceret⁴, repentè nunciatur 'arcem Car-ventanam ab hostibus occupatam esse.' Ea ignominia accepta quum apud Patres invidiae Maenio fuit, tum ceteris tribunis, jam antè praeparatis intercessoribus legis agrariae,

¹ Observe the Latin idiom of a double comparative. It may be elliptically accounted for thus: *minacior* quam *perniciosa*, potius quam *perniciosior* quam *minax*. ² *Defunctâ*, &c. 'The state

'having passed through the pestilence, with very numerous seizures, 'but very few deaths.' I have slightly altered the punctuation of these sentences. Before, there was a full stop before *defuncta*, and a comma after *funeribus*. ³ In addition to the uses of *annona*, given p. 156, note 2, we have here another, 'the scarcity of corn.'

⁴ See p. 144, note 2.

praebuit justiore causam resistendi collegae. Itaque quum res diu ducta per altercationem esset, consulibus Deos hominesque testantibus 'quicquid ab hostibus cladis ignominiaeque aut jam acceptum esset aut immineret, culpam penes Maenium fore, qui delectum impediret,' Maenio contra vociferante 'si injusti domini possessione agri publici cederent, se moram delectui non facere;' decreto interposito, novem tribuni sustulerunt certamen, pronunciaveruntque ex collegii sententiâ 'C. Valerio consuli se, damnum aliamque coërcitionem, adversus intercessionem collegae, delectûs causâ detrectantibus militiam inhibenti¹, auxilio futuros esse.' Hoc decreto consul armatus quam paucis appellantis tribunum collum torisisset², metu ceteri sacramento dixerunt. Ductus exercitus ad Carventanam arcem quanquam invisus infestusque consuli erat, impigre primo statim adventu, dejectis qui in praesidio erant, arcem recepit; praedatores ex praesidio per negligentiam dilapsi occasionem aperuere ad invadendum. Praedae ex assiduis populationibus, quod omnia in locum tutum congesta erant, fuit aliquantum; venditum sub hastâ consul in aerarium redigere quaestores jussit, 'tum' praedicans 'participem praedae fore exercitum, quum militiam non abnuisset.' Auctae inde plebis ac militum in consulem irae. Itaque quum ex senatûs consulto urbem ovans introiret, alternis inconditi versus militari licentiâ jactati, quibus consul increpitus, Maenii celebre nomen laudibus fuit, quum ad omnem mentionem tribuni favor circumstantis populi plausuque et assensu cum vocibus militum certaret. Plusque ea res quam prope solennis militum lascivia in consulem curae Patribus injecit; et tanquam haud dubius inter tribunos militum honos Maenii, si peteret, consularibus comitiis³ est exclusus.

LIV. Creati consules sunt Cn. Cornelius Cossus, u. c. 346. L. Furius Medullinus iterum. Non aliâs aegriûs plebs tulit tribunicia sibi comitia non commissa. Eum dolorem quaestoriis comitiis simul ostendit et ulta est, tunc primûm plebeiis quaestoribus creatis, ita ut, in quatuor cre-

¹ See p. 239, note 4. ² *Collum torquere*, 'to seize by the neck,—to collar.' ³ *Et tanquam*, &c. 'And advancement to the military tribuneship was closed against him by consular comitia, as if his election was otherwise undoubted, if he stood as a candidate.'

andis, uni patricio K. Fabio Ambusto relinqueretur locus, tres plebei, Q. Silius, P. Aelius¹, P. Pupius clarissimarum familiarum juvenibus praeferrentur. 'Auctores fuisse tam liberi populo suffragii Icilius' accipio, 'ex familiâ infestissimâ Patribus tres in eum annum tribunos plebis creatos, multarum magnarumque rerum molem avidissimo ad eum populo ostentantes,' quum affirmâssent 'nihil se moturos, si ne quaestoriis quidem comitiis, quae sola promiscua plebi Patribusque reliquisset senatus, satis animi populo esset ad id quod tamdiu vellent et per leges liceret.' Pro ingenti itaque victoriâ id fuit plebi; quaesturamque eam non honoris ipsius fine aestimabant, sed patefactus ad consulatum ac triumphos locus novus² hominibus videbatur. Patres contrâ non pro communicatis sed pro amissis honoribus fremere; negare 'Si ea ita sint, liberos tollendos³ esse, qui pulsi majorum loco cernentesque alios in possessione dignitatis suae, Salii Flaminesque nusquam aliò⁴ quàm ad sacrificandum pro populo, sine imperiis ac potestatibus relinquuntur.' Irritatis utriusque partis animis, quum et spiritus plebes sumpsisset, et tres ad popularem causam celeberrimi nominis haberet duces, Patres omnia quaestoriis comitiis, ubi utrumque plebi liceret, similia fore cernentes, tendere ad consulum comitia 'quae nondum promiscua essent.' Icilius contrâ 'tribunos militum creandos' dicere, 'et tandem aliquando impartiendos plebi honores.'

LV. Sed nulla erat consularis actio⁵, quam impediendo id quod petebant exprimerent, quum mirâ opportunitate, 'Volsco et Aequo praedatum extra fines exisse in agrum Latinum Hernicumque' affertur. Ad quod bellum ubi ex senatûs consulto consules delectum habere occipiunt, obstare

¹ See p. 291, note 5.

² See p. 63, note 3, and p. 338, note 3.

Here simply, 'plebeians.'

³ Children, immediately after their birth, were laid down at the door, to receive the acknowledgment of the father. If he lifted them up, it was understood as a pledge to educate them. Hence, passing from the act to that of which it was a pledge, such words as *tollere*, are taken to signify, 'to educate.'

⁴ The *Salii* and *Flamines* seem to be mentioned here, rather than other sacerdotal officers, because they alone and the *Rex sacrorum* were exclusively patricians in Livy's own time. *Alio*; ad nullam aliam rem. Raschig.

⁵ *Consularis actio*, any thing requiring the consul to treat with (*agere cum*) the people.

tunc enixè tribuni, 'sibi plebique eam fortunam oblatam' memorantes. Tres erant, et omnes acèrrimi viri, generosique jam, ut inter plebeios¹. Duo, singuli singulos, sibi consules asservandos assiduâ operâ desumunt²; uni concionibus data nunc detinenda, nunc concienda plebs. Nec delectum consules, nec comitia quae petebant tribuni expediebant³. Inclinate deinde se fortunâ ad causam plebis, nuncii veniunt, 'arcem Carventanam, dilapsis ad praedam 'militibus' (qui in praesidio erant) 'Aequos interfectis paucis custodibus arcis invasisse; alios recurrentes in arcem, 'alios palantes in agris caesos.' Ea adversa civitati res vires tribuniciae actioni adjecit. Nequicquam enim tentati, ut tum denique desisterent impediendo bello, postquam non cessere nec publicae tempestati nec suae invidiae, pervincunt ut senatûs consultum fiat de tribunis militum creandis; certo tamen pacto, 'ne cujus ratio haberetur, qui eo anno 'tribunus plebis esset, neve quis reficeretur in annum tribunus plebis;' haud dubiè Icilius denotante senatu, 'quos 'mercedem seditiosi tribunatûs petere consulatum'⁴ insimulabant. Tum delectus haberi, bellumque omnium ordinum consensu apparari coeptum. Consules ambo profecti sint ad arcem Carventanam, an⁵ alter ad comitia habenda substituterit incertum diversi auctores faciunt; illa pro certo habenda in quibus non dissentiant, 'ab arce Carventanâ 'quum diu nequicquam oppugnata esset, recessum, Verruginem in Volscis eodem exercitu⁶ receptam, populatio- 'nesque et praedas et in Aequis et in Volscis agro ingentes 'factas.'

LVI. Romae sicut plebis victoria fuit in eo, ut quae mal-

¹ *Generosique*, &c. 'And of families already distinguished for their birth, considering that they were plebeians.' ² *Duo*, &c. 'Two of them, choosing each his man, undertake the task of watching, 'with unceasing vigilance, the motions of the consuls.' ³ *Expedire*, (ex, pes,) 'to deliver feet from entanglement, to extricate, carry 'through in spite of difficulties.' The opposite notion is conveyed by *impedire*, (*impediendo bello*,) a few sentences below. ⁴ *Consulatus*, either a mistake of Livy's, as the consulship was not yet open to plebeians, or simply meaning the consular power possessed by the tribunes of the soldiers, or probable attempts to open up the consulship; *petere* used in the sense not of seeking, but of 'aiming at.'

⁵ See p. 124, note 3.

⁶ A rare construction, a passive verb with the ablative of a collective noun, without the preposition.

lent comitia haberent, ita eventu comitiorum Patres vicere. Namque tribuni militum consulari potestate contra spem omnium tres patricii creati sunt, C. Julius Iulus, P. Cornelius Cossus, C. Servilius Ahala. ‘Artem adhibitam’
 U. C. 347. ferunt ‘a patriciis’ (cujus eos Icilius tum quodque insimulabant) ‘quod turbam indignorum candidatorum intermiscendo dignis, taedio sordium in quibusdam insignium¹, populum a plebeiis avertissent.’ ‘Volscos deinde et Aequos, seu Carventana arx retenta in spem, seu Verugine amissum praesidium ad iram compulisset,’ fama affertur, ‘summâ vi ad bellum coortos; caput rerum Antiaties esse; eorum legatos utriusque gentis populos circumcuisse, castigantes ignaviam, ‘quod abditi intra muros populabundos in agris vagari Romanos priore anno, et opprimi Verruginis praesidium passi essent. Jam non exercitus modò armatos sed colonias etiam in suos fines mitti, nec ipsos modò Romanos sua divisa habere, sed Ferentinum etiam de se captum Hernicis donâsse.” Ad haec quum inflammarentur animi, ut ad quosque ventum erat, numerus juniorum conscribatur. Ita omnium populorum juvenus Antium contracta, ibi castris positis, hostem opperiebantur. Quae ubi tumultu majore etiam quàm res erat nunciantur Romam, senatus extemplo (quod in rebus trepidis ultimum consilium erat) dictatorem dici jussit. ‘Quam rem aegre passos Julium Corneliumque’ ferunt, ‘magnoque certamine animorum rem actam; quum primores Patrum, nequicquam conquesti ‘non esse in auctoritate senatûs tribunos militum,’ postremò etiam tribunos plebei appellarent, et ‘consulibus quodque ab eâ potestate vim super tali re inhibitam’ referrent; tribuni plebei, laeti discordiâ Patrum, ‘nihil esse in his auxilii dicerent, qui non civium, non denique hominum numero essent; si quando promiscui honores, communicata respublica esset, tum se animadversuros, ne qua, superbiâ magistratuum, irrita senatûs consulta essent; interim patricii, soluti legum magistratuumque verecundiâ, per se quodque tribuniciam potestatem agerent.”

LVII. Haec contentio minimè idoneo tempore, quum

¹ *Taedio*, &c. ‘From disgust at the notoriously disreputable character of certain individuals among them,’—among the candidates.

tantum belli in manibus¹ esset, occupaverat cogitationes hominum, donec, ubi diu alternis Julius Corneliusque, 'quum ad id bellum ipsi satis idonei duces essent, non esse 'aequum mandatum sibi a populo eripi honorem,' disseruere; tum Ahala Servilius² tribunus militum, 'Tacuisse se tam- 'diu,' ait, 'non quia incertus sententiae fuerit, (quem enim 'bonum civem secernere sua a publicis consilia?) sed quia 'maluerit collegas suâ sponte cedere auctoritati senatûs 'quàm tribuniciam potestatem adversus se implorari pate- 'rentur. Tum quòque, si res sineret, libenter se daturum 'tempus iis fuisse ad receptum nimis pertinacis sententiae. 'Sed quum belli necessitates non expectant humana consi- 'lia, potior sibi collegarum gratiâ rempublicam fore, et 'si maneat in sententiâ senatus, dictatorem nocte proximâ 'dicturum; ac si quis intercedat senatûs consulto, auctori- 'tate³ se fore contentum.' Quo facto quum haud immeri- tam laudem gratiamque apud omnes tulisset, dictatore P. Cornelio dicto, ipse ab eo magister equitum creatus exem- plo fuit collegas eumque intuentibus, quàm gratia atque ho- nos opportuniora interdum non cupientibus essent. Bellum haud memorabile fuit; uno atque eo facili proelio caesi ad Antium hostes. Victor exercitus depopulatus Volscum agrum; castellum ad lacum Fucinum vi expugnatum; at- que in eo tria millia hominum capta, ceteris Volscis intra moenia compulsis, nec defendentibus agros. Dictator bello ita gesto ut tantum non defuisse fortunae videretur, felici- tate quam gloriâ major in urbem rediit, magistratuque se abdicavit. Tribuni militum, mentione nullâ comitiorum consularium habitâ, (credo ob iram dictatoris creati,) tribu- norum militum comitia edixerunt. Tum verò gravior cura Patribus incessit, quippe quum prodi causam ab suis cerne- rent. Itaque sicut priore anno per indignissimos ex ple- beis candidatos omnium, etiam dignorum, taedium fecerant, sic tum, primoribus Patrum splendore gratiâque ad peten- dum praeparatis, omnia loca obtinere, ne cui plebeio adi-

¹ So we say, in hand; the Greeks, *ἐν χειρὶ*.

² In the previous chapter he is called Servilius Ahala. This inversion is not uncommon in Livy.

³ 'If any person interceded, 'the sentence of the senate was called *Senatus auctoritas*, their judg- 'ment or opinion, and not *Senatus consultum*, or *decretum*, their com- 'mand.' Dr ADAM.

tus esset. Quatuor creati sunt, omnes jam functi eo honore,

u. c. L. Furius Medullinus, C. Valerius Potitus, N. Fa-
348. bius Vibulanus, C. Servilius Ahala. Hic refectus

continuato honore, quum ob alias virtutes, tum ob recentem favorem unicâ moderatione partum.

LVIII. Eo anno, quia tempus induciarum cum Vejenti populo exierat ¹, per legatos facialesque res repeti coeptae; quibus venientibus ad finem legatio Vejentium obviâ fuit. Petière 'ne, priûs quàm ipsi senatum Romanum adissent, 'Vejos iretur.' Ab senatu impetratum 'quia discordiâ in-
'testinâ laborarent Vejentes' ne res ab iis repeterentur; tantum afuit ut ex incommodo alieno sua occasio peteretur. Et in Volscis accepta clades, amisso Verrugine praesidio. Ubi tantum in tempore fuit momenti, ut, quum precantibus opem militibus qui ibi a Volscis obsidebantur succurri, si maturatum esset, potuisset, ad id venerit exercitus subsidio missus, ut ab recenti caede palati ad praedandum hostes opprimerentur. Tarditatis causa in senatu magis fuit quàm in tribunis; qui, quia summâ vi restare nunciabantur, parum cogitaverunt, nullâ virtute superari humanarum virum modum ². Fortissimi milites non tamen, nec vivi nec post mortem, inulti fuere. Insequenti anno, P. et Cn.

u. c. Corneliis Cossis, N. Fabio Ambusto, L. Valerio
349. Potito, tribunis militum consulari potestate, Vejens

bellum motum ob superbum responsum Vejentis senatûs, qui legatis repetentibus res, 'ni facerent propere urbe
'finibusque, duros, quod Lars Tolumnius dedisset ³, re-

¹ See p. 180, note 2, and page 323, note 4. Thus (c. 35) this truce began in the year 330, and it is here expressly said that the time *had expired* in eighteen years. Twenty ten-month or lunar years, give 200 months, equal to 16½ solar years; the truce, therefore, had expired in the end of 346, or more probably the beginning of 347. I have only space to mention that Dr Arnold disputes the application of the cyclic or lunar year to those treaties; and to notice that Niebuhr's views seem to me to be well founded, as long as he applies them to Etrurian cities, but that he has committed an oversight in one instance, in extending it to the treaty referred to p. 317, note 2.

² *Qui*. The antecedent, as is evident from the context, is *senatu*; hence Gronovius recommends that *qui* should be cancelled, which has been done by Bekker. *Parum*, &c. 'Did not sufficiently reflect, that no valour can go beyond the limits of human strength.'

³ See C. 17.

sponderi jussit. Id Patres aegre passi decrevere ' ut tribuni ' militum de bello indicendo Vejentibus primo quoque die ' ad populum ferrent.' Quod ubi primò promulgatum est, fremere juvenus ' nondum debellatum¹ cum Volscis esse; ' modò duo praesidia occisione occisa, et cum periculo retineri². Nullum annum esse, quo non acie dimicetur: ' et tanquam poeniteat laboris³ novum bellum cum finitimo ' populo et potentissimo parari, qui omnem Etruriam sit ' concitaturus.' Haec suâ sponte agitata. Insuper tribuni plebis accendunt; ' Maximum bellum Patribus cum plebe ' esse' dictitant; ' eam de industriâ vexandam militiâ, trucidandamque hostibus objici; eam procul urbe haberi atque ' ablegari, ne domi per otium memor libertatis coloniarum- ' que, aut agri publici aut suffragii libere ferendi⁴ consilia ' agitet;' prensantesque veteranos, stipendia cujusque et vulnera ac cicatrices numerabant, ' quid jam integri esse in ' corpore loci ad nova vulnera accipienda? quid super sanguinis qui dari pro republicâ posset?' rogitantes. Haec quum in sermonibus concionibusque interdum agitates avertissent plebem ab suscipiendo bello, profertur tempus ferundae legis; quam, si subjecta invidiae esset, antiquari⁵ apparebat.

LIX. Interim tribunos militum in Volscum agrum ducere exercitum placuit. Cn. Cornelius unus Romae relictus. Tres tribuni, postquam nullo loco castra Volscorum esse, nec commissuros se proelio apparuit, tripartitò ad devastandos fines discessere. Valerius Antium petit, Cornelius Ecetras; quâcunque incessere, latè populati sunt tecta agrosque, ut distinerent Volscos; Fabius, quod maximè

¹ See p. 145, note 2. ² *Praesidium*, either a place garrisoned, or the garrison itself. It is here used in both senses; in the first clause, the latter meaning applies; in the latter clause, it means the place. The two garrisons were in Verrugo and Carventum.

³ *Poeniteat laboris*, ' they were ' ashamed of the littleness of their labour.'

⁴ *As agri publici* refers to *coloniarum* and *suffragii libere ferendi* to *libertatis*, this is an instance of what is mentioned p. 188, note 2.

⁵ ' If ' a law was to be passed, or any thing to be ordered, as in a trial, ' or declaring war, &c. they received two tablets; on the one were ' the letters U. R., i. e. *uti rogas*, I am for the law; and on the ' other A. for *antiquo*, I like the old way, I am against the law. ' Hence *antiquare legem*, To reject it.' Dr ADAM.

petebatur, ad Anxur oppugnandum sine ullâ populatione accessit. Anxur fuit, quae nunc Tarracinae sunt, urbs prona in paludes; ab eâ parte Fabius oppugnationem ostendit. Circummissae quatuor cohortes cum C. Servilio Ahâlâ quum imminetent urbi collem cepissent, ex loco altiore quâ nulum erat praesidium, ingenti clamore ac tumultu moenia invasere; ad quem tumultum obstupefacti, qui adversus Fabium urbem infimam tuebantur, locum dedere scalas admovendi, plenaque hostium cuncta erant, et immitis diu caedes pariter fugientium ac resistentium armatorum atque inermium fuit. Cogebantur itaque victi, quia cedentibus spei nihil erat, pugnam inire; quum pronunciatum repente 'Ne quis praeter armatos violaretur'¹ reliquam omnem

¹ *Quum pronunciatum*, &c. Without attempting an account of the *rationale* of verbs used impersonally, having failed after repeated attempts at due compression, I shall content myself with briefly stating the facts which bear upon such expressions as this. By verbs used impersonally, I understand verbs where the bare existence of the attribute is predicated. I. All verbs *may* be used impersonally in the third person singular of the passive voice,—thus, *amatur* may signify not only *he*, some particular person, is loved, but, as a general proposition, may predicate the existence of love. In the same way, *abstinebatur* may signify not only *he*, some particular person, was kept away from, but there existed generally abstinence or a keeping away from, as iii. 36, *abstinebatur* a patribus. *Adjutum esse* may not only help to record the fact that some particular person was assisted, but may be used to state merely that assistance was given, as ii. 5, *credo manu adjutum* (esse.) II. Transitive verbs, not governing the accusative in the active voice, *must*, conformably with the usage of the Latin language, be used impersonally when the passive is employed. III. Intransitive verbs have, properly, no passive; because as no action passes, no impression can be received from them, but, conformably with the usage of the Latin language, they may be used in the passive voice, and if so used it *must*, from their very nature, be impersonally, as ita quum *pugnatum esset*, ii. 7. IV. Verbs used impersonally are resolvable into the cognate noun expressing the attribute, and a verb *est*, *fit*, or what you will, predicative of the existence of the attribute,—the existence, of course, being duly modified—as *quum pugnatum esset*, equivalent to *quum pugna fuisset* or *finita esset*, and so with the others, though the resolution of them may be difficult to express consistently with classical Latinity. From this we infer that one use of the Latin passive voice in *all* verbs is to denote generally the existence of the attribute involved in the verb: hence the transition is easy to this peculiar use of the perfect participle. Compare iv. 25, *cautum* (est) ne quod ante concilium fieret, with *cautum*, the participle,

multitudinem voluntariam exiit armis; quorum ad duo millia et quingenti vivi capiuntur. A ceterâ praeda Fabius militem abstinuit, donec collegae venirent, 'ab illis quodque exercitibus captum Anxur' dictitans 'esse, qui ceteros Volscos a praesidio ejus loci avertissent.' Qui ubi venerunt, oppidum vetere fortunâ opulentum tres exercitus dripuere; eaque primûm benignitas imperatorum plebem Patribus conciliavit. Additum deinde omnium maximè tempestivo principum in multitudinem munere, ut ante mentionem ullam¹ plebis tribunorumve decerneret senatus, ut stipendium

p. 302, note 3; in the former, 'a provision *existed*,' in the latter, 'a provision *having existed*.' It is hardly necessary to notice that the neuter singular only is used. Thus in the passage referred to, p. 95, note 2, *degeneratum*,—the participle of a verb, which must, if used at all in the passive, be used impersonally by the 3d §, is equivalent to *degeneratio facta*; *cautum* (p. 302, note 3,) is equivalent to *cautio facta*; *tentatum*, the participle of a verb which may be used impersonally in the passive voice, by the 2d §, (p. 339, note 4,) is equivalent to *tentatio facta*; and in this passage *pronunciatum* is equivalent to *pronunciatio facta*. In these cases we may construe the participle as an adjective agreeing with the clause of the sentence to which it immediately refers; but it is more philosophical to consider it as an independent nominative to the verb—as *pronunciatum* exiit, i. e. *pronunciatio facta* exiit,—of course in apposition with 'ne quis,' &c. And this view is strengthened by finding the perfect participle not only used absolutely, as in the passage adverted to p. 95, note 4, where *palam facto* is equivalent to *re palam facta*, but also that it occurs without any clause that it can be supposed to agree with, as vii. 8, *diu non perlitatum tenuerat dictatorem*, i. e. *diu perlitatio non facta* tenuerat.

¹ This must mean 'any mention' at this time, as we find that eighteen years before, p. 325, note 1, an effort was made by the tribunes of the commons to obtain pay for the soldiers. It is true that in that passage the tribunes proposed the pay to be defrayed from the rents of the public lands due by the patricians who held them of the state, (*vectigal*) whereas it is evident, (see next chapter, *ex censu contulisset*,) contrary to what Dr Arnold states, vol. i. 371, that the pay was actually provided for from the property tax (*tributum*); and in reference to this source there had been no mention made of any provision for the pay of the soldiers. But the fact of payment at all seems uppermost in the mind of Livy. Niebuhr, vol. ii. 222, is of opinion that the armies received pay, in the time of the kings, from the regal share of the produce of the captured domains, and the *vectigal* paid by the patricians; that thereafter, when the patricians, in addition to other advantages, had freed themselves from the vec-

miles de publico acciperet, quum ante id tempus de suo quisque functus eo munere esset.

LX. 'Nihil acceptum unquam a plebe tanto gaudio' traditur; 'concursum itaque ad curiam esse, prensatasque 'exeuntium manus, et Patres verè appellatos, 'effectum "esse' fatentibus, 'ut nemo pro tam munificâ patriâ, donec "quicquam virium superesset, corpori aut sanguini suo parceret." Quum commoditas juvaret, 'rem familiarem saltem acquiescere eo tempore, quo corpus addictum atque 'operatum reipublicae esset,' tum, 'quod ultro sibi oblatum 'esset, non a tribunis plebis unquam agitatam, non suis 'sermonibus efflagitatum,' id efficiebat multiplex gaudium cumulationemque gratiam rei. Tribuni plebis, communis ordinum laetitiae concordiaeque soli expertes ¹, negare 'Tam 'id laetum Patribus universis nec prosperum fore quàm 'ipsi crederent. Consilium specie primâ melius fuisse 'quàm usu appariturum. Unde enim eam pecuniam confici posse, nisi tributo populo indicto? ex alieno igitur 'aliis largitos. Neque, id etiamsi ceteri ferant, passuros 'eos, quibus jam emerita stipendia essent, meliore conditione alios militare quàm ipsi militassent; et eosdem in 'sua stipendia impensas fecisse, et in aliorum facere.' His vocibus moverunt partem plebis. Postremò, indicto jam tributo, edixerunt etiam tribuni 'auxilio se futuros, si quis 'in militare stipendium tributum non contulisset.' Patres bene coeptam rem perseveranter tueri; conferre ipsi primi; et quia nondum argentum signatum erat, aes grave ² plaus-

tigal, pay may have been supplied by a *tributum*, the oppressive nature of which contributed to the secession to Mons Sacer; that thereafter till now pay ceased, the *tributum* being expended in the purchase of corn, and that the abolition of military pay was a surrender, perhaps necessary, of the essential means of recovering the greatness of the state. ¹ 'Nothing is more likely than that when

'pay was unexpectedly promised to the army, the tribunes disturbed 'the joy of the people by warning them, that this was a gift by the 'senate from means not their own, and would fall heavily enough on 'the plebeians; and the assertion was sober truth, and not malicious 'insensibility in the midst of universal joy, because the impost on 'the public lands was not re-established. At the end of the war 'the people were utterly impoverished by the incessant levying of 'the tax. (See v. 20.)' Niebuhr, vol. ii. p. 223. ² See p. 317, note 3, and p. 330, note 1.

tris quidam ad aerarium convehentes speciosam etiam collationem faciebant. Quum senatus summâ fide ex censu contulisset, primores plebis, nobilium amici, ex composito conferre incipiunt. Quos quum et a Patribus collaudari, et a militari aetate tanquam bonos cives conspici vulgus hominum vidit, repente spreto tribunicio auxilio, certamen conferendi est ortum. Et lege perlatâ de indicendo Vejentibus bello, exercitum magnâ ex parte voluntarium novi tribuni militum consulari potestate Vejos duxere.

LXI. Fuere autem tribuni T. Quinctius Capit-
 u. c. linus, Q. Quinctius Cincinnatus, C. Julius Iulus ite-
 350. rum, A. Manlius, L. Furius Medullinus tertium, M. Aemilius Mamercinus. Ab his primùm circumsessi Veji sunt; sub cujus initium obsidionis quum Etruscorum concilium ad fanum Voltumnae frequenter habitum esset, parum constitit bellone publico gentis universae tuendi Vejentes essent. Ea oppugnatio segnior insequenti anno fuit,

parte tribunorum exercitûsque ad Volscum advocatâ
 u. c. bellum. Tribunos militum consulari potestate is
 351. annus habuit C. Valerium Potitum tertium, M. Sergium Fidenatem, P. Cornelium Maluginensem, Cn. Cornelium Cossum, K. Fabium Ambustum, Sp. Nantium Rutilum iterum. Cum Volscis inter Ferentinum atque Ecetram signis collatis dimicatum. Romanis secunda fortuna pugnae fuit. Artena inde, Volscorum oppidum, ab tribunis obsideri coepta. Inde inter eruptionem tentatam, compulso in urbem hoste, occasio data est Romanis irrumpendi, praeterque arcem cetera capta. In arcem munitam naturâ globus armatorum concessit; infra arcem caesi captique multi mortales. Arx deinde obsidebatur; nec aut vi capi poterat, quia pro spatio loci satis praesidii habebat, aut spem dabat deditionis, omni publico frumento, prius quàm urbs caperetur, in arcem convecto. Taedioque recessum inde foret, ni servus arcem¹ Romanis prodidisset; ab eo milites per locum arduum accepti cepere, a quibus quum custodes trucidarentur, cetera multitudo, repentino pavore oppressa, in deditionem venit. Dirutâ et arce et urbe Artenâ, reductae legiones ex Volscis omnisque vis Romana Vejos

¹ Gronovius is justly displeased at the repetition of *arx*, which occurs six times in four sentences. He suggests *eam* munitam—*ipsa* deinde—servus Romanis.

conversa est. Proditori, praeter libertatem, duarum familiarum bona in praemium data; Servius Romanus vocitatus. Sunt, qui 'Artenam Vejentium, non Volscorum fuisse' credant. Praebet errorem, quodd ejusdem nominis urbs inter Caere atque Vejos fuit, sed eam reges Romani delevere, Caeretumque, non Vejentium fuerat. Altera haec nomine eodem in Volsco agro fuit, cujus excidium est dictum.

LIBER QUINTUS.

EPITOME.

II, &c. *IN obsidione Vejorum hibernacula militibus facta sunt. Ea res, quum esset nova, indignationem tribunorum plebis movit, querentium 'non dari plebi nec 'per hiemem militiae requiem.'* VII. *Equites tum primum equis suis merere coeperunt.* XV. *Quum inundatio ex lacu Albano facta esset, vates, qui eam rem interpretaretur, de hostibus captus est.* XIX, XX, XXI. *Furius Camillus dictator decem annos obsessos Vejos cepit;* XXII. *Simulacrum Junonis Romam transtulit;* XXIII. *Decimam partem praedae Delphos Apollini misit.* XXVII. *Idem tribunus militum, quum Faliscos obsideret, proditos hostium filios parentibus remisit; statimque deditione factâ, Faliscorum victoriâ justitiâ consecutus est.* XXXI. *Quum alter ex censoribus C. Julius decessisset, in locum ejus M. Cornelius suffectus est, nec id postea factum est, quoniam eo lustro a Gallis Roma capta est.* XXXII. *Furius Camillus, quum ei dies a L. Appuleio tribuno plebis dicta esset, in exilium abiit.* XXXIII, &c. *Quum Senones Galli Clusium obsiderent, et legati a senatu missi ad componendam inter eos et Clusinos pacem pugnantes contra Gallos in acie Clusinorum stetissent, hoc facto eorum concitati Senones urbem infesto exercitu petiêrunt, XXXVIII, XXXIX, &c. fusisque ad Alliam flumen Romanis, cepere urbem, praeter Capitolium, in quod se juventus contulerat.*

XLI. *Majores natu, cum insignibus honorum quos quisque gesserat, in vestibulis aedium sedentes occiderunt;*
XLVII. *Et quum per aversam partem Capitolii jam in summum evasisent, proditi clangore anserum, M. Manlii praecipue operâ dejecti sunt.* **XLVIII.** *Coactis deinde propter famem Romanis descendere, ut mille pondo auri darent, et hoc pretio finem obsidionis emerent,*
XLIX. *Furius Camillus, dictator absens creatus, interpendendum aurum cum exercitu venit, et Gallos post sextum mensem urbe expulit ceciditque.* **L.** *Aedes Ajo Locutio facta, quo loco ante urbem captam vox audita erat, 'adventare Gallos.' Dictum est, ad Vejos migrandum esse propter incensam et dirutam urbem.* **LI, &c.** *Quod consilium Camillo auctore discussum est.* **LV.** *Movit populum vocis quodque omen ex centurione audita, qui, quum in forum venisset, manipulariis suis dixerat, 'Sta miles; hâc optime manebimus.'*

I. **PACE** alibi partâ, Romani Veji que in armis
 u. c. erant tanta irâ odioque, ut victis finem adesse appar-
 352. reret. Comititia utriusque populi longè diversâ ratione facta sunt. Romani auxere tribunorum militum consulari potestate nufnerum. Octo, quot nunquam antea, creati, M. Aemilius Mamercinus iterum, L. Valerius Potitus tertium, Ap. Claudius Crassus, M. Quinctilius Varus, L. Julius Iulus, M. Furius Camillus, M. Postumius Albinus¹. Vejentes contrâ taedio annuae ambitionis, quae interdum discordiarum causa erat, regem creavere. Offendit ea res populorum Etruriae animos, non majore odio regni quàm ipsius regis. Gravis jam is antea genti fuerat opibus superbiâque, 'quia solennia ludorum,' quos intermitteri nefas est, 'violenter diremisset,' quum ob iram repulsae 'quod suffragio duodecim populorum alios sacerdos ei praelatus 'esset,' artifices², quorum magna pars ipsius servi erant,

¹ Livy, in asserting that there were eight military tribunes in this year, is opposed to all other authorities. Sigonius takes no notice of this, but argues, that this Camillus cannot have been the great Camillus who delivered Rome from the Gauls. Perizonius maintains, that the two last were censors, and that Livy, reading the old annals incorrectly, is mistaken in giving their names. ² *Artifices*, supply scenicos, players.

ex medio ludicro repenti abduxit. Gens itaque, ante omnes alias eo magis dedita religionibus, 'quod excelleret arte colendi eas,' 'auxilium Vejentibus negandum, donec sub rege essent' decrevit. Cujus decreti suppressa fama est Vejis propter metum regis, qui, a quo tale quid dictum referretur, pro seditionis eum principe, non vani sermonis auctorem habebat. Romanis etsi quietae res ex Etruriâ nunciabantur, tamen, quia 'omnibus conciliis eam rem agitari' afferebatur, ita muniebant, ut ancipitia munimenta essent; alia in urbem et contra oppidanorum eruptiones versa, aliis¹ frons in Etruriam spectans auxiliis, si qua fortè inde venirent, obstruebatur².

II. Quum spes major imperatoribus Romanis in obsidione quàm in oppugnatione esset, hibernacula etiam, res nova militi Romano, aedificari coepta; consiliumque erat, hiemando continuare bellum³. Quod postquam tribunis plebis, jamdiu nullam novandi res causam invenientibus, Romam est allatum, in concionem prosiliunt, sollicitant plebis animos 'Hoc illud esse' dictitantes, 'quod aera militibus sint constituta, nec se fefellisse, id donum inimicorum veneno illitum fore. Venisse⁴ libertatem plebis; remotam in perpetuum et ablegatam ab urbe et ab republicâ juventutem, jam ne hiemi quidem aut tempori anni cedere, ac domos et res invisere suas. Quam putarent

¹ *Muniebant*, supply castra adversus Veios posita; *aliis*, supply munimentis, 'by means of other works.'

² 'But,' objects Dr Arnold, vol. i. 389, following Niebuhr, 'the circuit of the walls of Veii, according to Sir W. Gell's measurement, was above five miles; the besiegers' line, therefore, must have embraced a still larger space, and the deep valleys with rocky sides, between which the small streams of this district always flow, would have afforded formidable interruptions to the work. Besides, it is manifest, that if such a circumvallation had been completed, Veii must have been starved out within a year, instead of resisting for seven years, and not being even at last reduced by famine. It appears rather, that the two Roman armies employed in the siege, established themselves in two separate camps, and secured the communication between them as well as they could by detached forts, intending to carry on their circumvallation on each side from their camps, as the Athenians did at Syracuse, till it should meet and effectually inclose the city.'

³ *Continuare bellum*, 'to carry on the war uninterruptedly.' See p. 53, note 1.

⁴ From *veneo*.

‘continuatae militiae causam esse? nullam profectò aliam
 ‘inventuros, quàm ne quid per frequentiam juvenum eorum,
 ‘in quibus vires omnes plebis essent, agi de commodis
 ‘eorum posset. Vexari praeterea et subigi multo acriùs
 ‘quàm Vejentes. Quippe illos hiemem sub tectis suis
 ‘agere, egregiis muris situque naturali urbem tutantes;
 ‘militem Romanum in opere ac labore, nivibus pruinisque
 ‘obrutum, sub pellibus durare¹, ne hiemis quidem spatio,
 ‘quae omnium bellorum terrâ marique sit quies, arma de-
 ‘ponentem. Hoc neque reges, neque ante tribuniciam
 ‘potestatem creatam superbos illos consules, neque triste
 ‘dictatoris imperium, neque importunos decemviros in-
 ‘junxisse servitutis, ut perennem militiam facerent, quod
 ‘tribuni militum in plebe Romanâ regnum exercerent.
 ‘Quidnam illi consules dictatoresve facturi essent, qui pro-
 ‘consularem imaginem² tam saevam ac trucem fecerint?
 ‘Sed id accidere haud immeritò. Non fuisse, ne in octo
 ‘quidem tribunis militum, locum ulli plebeio. Antea trina
 ‘loca cum contentione summâ patricios explere solitos;
 ‘nunc jam octojuges ad imperia obtinenda ire; et ne in
 ‘turbâ quidem haerere plebeium quemquam, qui, si nihil
 ‘aliud³, admoneat collegas; liberos et cives eorum, non
 ‘servos militare, quos hieme saltem in domos ac tecta re-
 ‘duci oporteat, et aliquo tempore anni parentes liberosque
 ‘ac conjuges invisere, et usurpare⁴ libertatem, et creare
 ‘magistratus.’ Haec taliaque vociferantes, adversarium
 haud imparem nacti sunt Ap. Claudium, relictum a collegis
 ad tribunicias seditiones comprimendas, virum imbutum
 jam ab juventâ certaminibus plebeiis, ‘quem auctorem ali-
 ‘quot annis antè fuisse’ memoratum est, ‘per collegarum
 ‘intercessionem, tribuniciae potestatis dissolvendae⁵.’

III. Is tum jam, non promptus ingenio tantùm sed usu
 etiam exercitatus, talem orationem habuit; ‘Si unquam du-
 ‘bitatum est, Quirites, utrùm tribuni plebis vestrâ an suâ
 ‘causâ seditionum semper auctores fuerint, id ego hoc anno
 ‘desisse dubitari certum habeo. Et quum laetor tandem
 ‘longi erroris vobis finem factum esse, tum, quòd secundis

¹ *Sub pellibus durare*, ‘spent the winter exposed to hardships, in
 ‘tents covered with hides.’ ² *Proconsularem imaginem*, ‘the

‘substituted resemblance of the consular power,’ viz. the military
 tribuneship. ³ See p. 148, note 3, and p. 153, note 2. ⁴ See

p. 286, note 1. ⁵ See iv. 48.

‘ potissimùm vestris rebus hic error est sublatus, et vobis
 ‘ et propter vos reipublicae gratulor. An est quisquam qui
 ‘ dubitet, nullis injuriis vestris, si quae fortè aliquando fue-
 ‘ runt, unquam aequè quàm munere Patrum in plebem,
 ‘ quum aera militantis constituta sunt, tribunos plebis of-
 ‘ fensos ac concitados esse? quid illos aliud aut tum timuisse
 ‘ creditis, aut hodie turbare velle, nisi concordiam ordinum,
 ‘ quam dissolvendae maximè tribuniciae potestatis rentur
 ‘ esse? Sic, hercule, tanquam artifices improbi, opus quae-
 ‘ runt; qui et ¹ semper aegri aliquid esse in republicâ vo-
 ‘ lunt, ut sit, ad cujus curationem a vobis adhibeantur.
 ‘ Utrùm ² enim defenditis, an impugnatis plebem? utrùm
 ‘ militantium adversarii estis, an causam agitis? Nisi fortè
 ‘ hoc dicitis, ‘ Quicquid Patres faciunt displicet, sive illud
 ‘ pro plebe, sive contra plebem est.’ Et quemadmodum
 ‘ servis suis vetant domini quicquam rei cum alienis homi-
 ‘ nibus esse, pariterque in iis beneficio ac maleficio abstineri
 ‘ aequum censent; sic vos interdicitis Patribus commercio
 ‘ plebis, ne nos comitate ac munificentia nostrâ provocemus
 ‘ plebem, nec plebs nobis dicto audiens atque obediens sit.
 ‘ Quanto tandem, si quicquam in vobis, non dico civilis, sed
 ‘ humani esset, favere vos magis, et, quantum in vobis esset,
 ‘ indulgere potiùs comitati Patrum atque obsequio plebis
 ‘ oportuit ³? quae si perpetua concordia sit, quis non spon-
 ‘ dere ausit, maximum hoc imperium inter finitimos brevi
 ‘ futurum esse?

IV. ‘ Atque ego, quàm hoc consilium collegarum meo-
 ‘ rum quo abducere infectâ re a Vejis exercitum noluerunt,
 ‘ non utile solùm sed etiam necessarium fuerit, postea dis-
 ‘ seram; nunc de ipsâ conditione dicere militantium libet.
 ‘ Quam orationem, non apud vos solùm sed etiam in cas-
 ‘ tris si habeatur, ipso exercitu disceptante, aequam arbitror
 ‘ videri posse; in quâ si mihi ipsi nihil, quod dicerem, in
 ‘ mentem venire posset, adversariorum certè orationibus
 ‘ contentus essem. Negabant nuper danda esse aera mili-
 ‘ tibus, ‘ quia nonquam data essent.’ Quonam modo igitur
 ‘ nunc indignari possunt, quibus aliquid novi adjectum com-
 ‘ modi sit, eis laborem etiam novum pro portione injungi?

¹ *Artifices improbi*, supply medici. *Et*, ‘also’ i. e. imitating the conduct of worthless physicians, *also*. ² Addressing the tribunes.

³ For the construction of *oportuit* see p. 59, note 5.

' Nusquam nec opera sine emolumento, nec emolumentum
 ' ferme sine impensâ operâ est. Labor voluptasque, dissi-
 ' millima naturâ, societate quâdam inter se naturali sunt
 ' juncta. Molestè antea ferebat miles se suo sumptu ope-
 ' ram reipublicae praeberere; gaudebat idem partem anni se
 ' agrum suum colere, quaerere unde domi militiaeque se
 ' ac suos tueri posset. Gaudet nunc fructui sibi rempubli-
 ' cam esse, et laetus stipendium accipit. Aequo igitur animo
 ' patiatur, se ab domo, ab re familiari, cui gravis impensa
 ' non est, paullo diutius abesse. An, si ad calculos¹ eum
 ' respublica vocet, non meritò dicat? ' Annua aera habes,
 ' annuam operam ede. An tu aequum censes, militiâ seme-
 ' tri solidum te stipendium² accipere?' Invitus in hâc
 ' parte orationis, Quirites, moror; sic enim agere debent,
 ' qui mercenario milite utuntur. At nos tanquam cum
 ' civibus agere volumus; agique tanquam cum patriâ nobis-
 ' cum aequum censemus. Aut non suscipi bellum oportuit,
 ' aut geri pro dignitate populi Romani, et perfici quàm pri-
 ' mum oportet. Perficietur autem, si urgemus obsessos,
 ' si non antè abscedimus quàm spei nostrae finem captis
 ' Vejis imposuerimus. Si, Hercule, nulla alia causa, ipsa
 ' indignitas perseverantiam imponere debuit. Decem quon-
 ' dam annos urbs oppugnata est ob unam mulierem ab uni-
 ' versâ Graeciâ, quàm procul ab domo? quot terras, quot
 ' maria distans? Nos intra vicesimum lapidem, in conspectu
 ' prope urbis nostrae, annuam oppugnationem perferre piget?
 ' Scilicet, quia levis causa bellis est, nec satis quidquam justi
 ' doloris est, quod nos ad perseverandum stimulet! Septies
 ' rebellârunt, in pace nunquam fidi fuerunt; agros nos-
 ' tros millies depopulati sunt; Fidenates deficere a nobis coë-
 ' gerunt; colonos nostros ibi interfecerunt; auctores fuere
 ' contra jus gentium caedis impiae legatorum nostrorum;
 ' Etruriam omnem adversus nos concitare voluerunt, hodie-
 ' que id moliuntur; res repetentes legatos nostros haud
 ' procul afuit quin violarent.

V. ' Cum his molliter et per dilationes bellum geri oportet?
 ' Si nos tam justum odium nihil movet, ne illa qui-

¹ *Calculus*, 'a pebble used in computation.' *Vocare ad calculos*.
 'to call to the use of these pebbles, to call to account.' Hence our
 English, to calculate. ² *Solidum stipendium*, 'pay for the whole
 'year.'

‘dem, oro vos, movent? Operibus ingentibus septa urbs
 ‘est, quibus intra muros coërcetur hostis; agrum non co-
 ‘luit, et culta evastata sunt bello. Si reducimus exerci-
 ‘tum, quis est qui dubitet illos non a cupiditate solùm ul-
 ‘ciscendi sed etiam necessitate impositâ ex alieno praedan-
 ‘di, quum sua amiserint, agrum nostrum invasuros? Non
 ‘differimus igitur bellum isto consilio, sed intra fines nos-
 ‘tros accipimus¹. Quid? illud, quod propriè ad milites
 ‘pertinet, quibus, boni tribuni plebis quum stipendium ex-
 ‘torquere voluerint, nunc consultum repentè volunt, quale
 ‘est? Vallum fossamque, ingentis utramque rem operis,
 ‘per tantum spatii duxerunt; castella² primò pauca, pos-
 ‘tea, exercitu aucto, creberrima fecerunt; munitiones non
 ‘in urbem modò sed in Etruriam etiam spectantes, si qua
 ‘inde auxilia veniant, opposuere. Quid turres, quid vineas
 ‘testudinesque et alium oppugnandarum urbium apparatus
 ‘loquar? Quum tantum laboris exhaustum sit, et ad finem
 ‘jam operis tandem perventum, relinquendane haec cense-
 ‘tis, ut ad aestatem rursus novus de integro his instituen-
 ‘dis exsudetur labor? Quanto est minus opera tueri facta,
 ‘et instare, et perseverare, defungique curâ? Brevis enim
 ‘profectò res est, si uno tenore peragitur, nec ipsi per in-
 ‘termisiones has intervallaque lentiolem spem nostram fa-
 ‘cimus. Loquor de opere, et de temporis jacturâ. Quid?
 ‘periculi, quod differendo bello adimus, num oblivisci nos
 ‘haec tam crebra Etruriae concilia de mittendis Vejos auxi-
 ‘liis patiuntur? Ut nunc res se habet, irati sunt, oderunt,
 ‘negant missuros; quantum in illis est, capere Vejos licet.
 ‘Quis est qui spondeat eundem, si differtur bellum, animum
 ‘postea fore, quum, si laxamentum dederis, major frequen-
 ‘tiorque legatio itura sit, quum id, quod nunc offendit
 ‘Etruscos, rex creatus Vejis spatio interposito mutari pos-
 ‘sit vel consensu civitatis, ut eo reconcilient Etruriae ani-
 ‘mos, vel ipsius voluntate regis qui obstare regnum suum

¹ *Differimus*, &c. ‘By following that advice of the tribunes then,
 ‘we do not put off the war, but receive it within our own territo-
 ‘ries.’

² The use of the *castella* is thus described by Cæsar: *Castra opportunis locis erant posita, ibique castella xxiii. facta; quibus in castellis interdum stationes disponebantur, ne qua subito eruptio fieret; haec eadem noctu excubitoribus ac firmis praesidiis tenebantur.* B. G. VII. 69.

‘saluti civium nolit? Videte quot res, quàm inutiles sequantur illam viam consilii, jactura operum tanto labore factorum, vastatio imminens finium nostrorum, Etruscum bellum pro Vejente concitatum. Haec sunt, tribuni, consilia vestra, non, hercule, dissimilia, ac si quis aegro, qui curari se fortiter passus extemplo convalescere possit, cibi gratiâ praesentis aut potionis longinquum et forsitan insanabilem morbum efficiat.

VI. ‘Si, me Dius Fidius¹, ad hoc bellum nihil pertinet, ad disciplinam certè militiae plurimum intererat, insuescere militem nostrum, non solùm paratâ victoriâ frui, sed si res etiam lentior sit, pati taedium, et quamvis serae spei exitum expectare, et si non sit aestate perfectum bellum, hiemem opperiri, nec sicut aestivas aves, statim autumno tecta ac recessum circumspicere. Obsecro vos, venandi studium ac voluptas homines per nives ac pruinas in montes silvasque rapit; belli necessitatibus eam patientiam non adhibebimus, quam vel lusus ac voluptas elicere solet? Adeòne effeminata corpora militum nostrorum esse putamus, adeò molles animos, ut hiemem unam durare in castris, abesse ab domo non possint? ut tanquam navale bellum, tempestatibus captandis et observando tempore anni gerant, non aestus, non frigora pati possint? Erubescant profectò, si quis eis haec objiciat, contendantque ‘et animis et corporibus suis virilem patientiam inesse, et se juxtâ hieme atque aestate bella gerere posse, nec se patrocinium molliitiae inertiaeque mandâsse tribunis, et meminisse hanc ipsam potestatem non in umbrâ nec in tectis majores suos creâsse².’ Haec virtute militum vestrorum, haec Romano nomine sunt digna, non Vejoes tantùm nec hoc bellum intueri quod instat, sed famam et ad alia bella et ad ceteros populos in posterum quaerere. An mediocre discrimen opinionis secuturum ex hâc re putatis, utrùm tandem finitimi populum Romanum eum esse putent, cujus si qua urbs primum illum brevissimi temporis sustinuerit impetum, nihil deinde timeat, an hic sit terror nominis nostri, ut exercitum Romanum non taedium longinquae oppugnationis, non vis hiemis ab urbe circumsessâ semel amovere possit, nec finem ullum alium belli

¹ See p. 152, note 2.

² Alluding to the secession of the plebeians to Mons Sacer, ii. 32, 33.

‘quam victoriam noverit, nec impetu potiùs bella quàm per-
 ‘severantiâ gerat? quae in omni quidem genere militiae,
 ‘maximè tamen in obsidendis urbibus necessaria est, qua-
 ‘rum plerasque munitionibus ac naturali situ inexpugna-
 ‘biles fame sitique tempus ipsum vincit atque expugnat,
 ‘sicut Vejos expugnabit; nisi auxilio hostibus tribuni ple-
 ‘bis fuerint, et Romae invenerint praesidia Vejentes, quae
 ‘nequicquam in Etruriâ quaerunt. An est quicquam, quod
 ‘Vejentibus optatum aequè contingere possit, quàm ut se-
 ‘ditionibus primùm urbs Romana, deinde velut ex conta-
 ‘gione castra impleantur? At, hercule, apud hostes tanta
 ‘modestia est, ut non obsidionis taedio, non denique regni,
 ‘quicquam apud eos novatum sit, non negata auxilia ab
 ‘Etruscis irritaverint animos. Morietur enim extemplo,
 ‘quicumque erit seditionis auctor, nec cuiquam dicere ea
 ‘licebit, quae apud vos impune dicuntur. Fustiarium¹
 ‘meretur, qui signa relinquit aut praesidio decedit; aucto-
 ‘res signa relinquendi et deserendi castra, non uni aut al-
 ‘teri militi sed universis exercitibus, palàm in concione
 ‘audiuntur. Adeò quicquid tribunus plebi loquitur, etsi
 ‘prodendae patriae dissolvendaeque reipublicae est, assuês-
 ‘tis aequi audire; et dulcedine potestatis ejus capti, quae-
 ‘libet sub eâ scelera latere sinitis. Reliquum est ut, quae
 ‘hìc vociferantur, eadem in castris et apud milites agant, et
 ‘exercitus corrumpant, ducibusque parere non patiantur;
 ‘quoniam ea demum Romae libertas est, non senatum, non
 ‘magistratus, non leges, non mores majorum, non instituta
 ‘patrum, non disciplinam vereri militiae.’

VII. Par jam etiam in concionibus erat Appius tribunis
 plebis; quum subitò, unde minimè quis crederet, accepta
 calamitas apud Vejos et superiorem Appium in causâ, et
 concordiam ordinum majorem ardoremque ad obsidendos
 pertinaciùs Vejos fecit. Nam quum agger promotus ad
 urbem, vineaeque tantùm non jam² injectae moenibus es-

¹ ‘When a soldier was to suffer this punishment, the tribune first
 ‘struck him gently with a staff, on which signal, all the soldiers of the
 ‘legion fell upon him with sticks and stones, and generally killed him
 ‘on the spot. If he made his escape, for he might fly, he could not
 ‘however return to his native country, because no one, not even
 ‘his relations, durst admit him into their houses.’ Dr ADAM.
² *Tantum non jam*, ‘only not quite, almost.’

sent, dum opera interdiu fiunt intentiùs quàm nocte custodiuntur, patefactâ repentè portâ, ingens multitudo, facibus maximè armata, ignes coniecit; horaeque momento simul aggerem ac vineas, tam longi temporis opus, incendium hausit; multique ibi mortales, nequicquam opem ferentes, ferro ignique absumpti sunt. Quod ubi Romam est nunciatum, moestitiam omnibus, senatui curam metumque iniecit, ne tum verò sustineri nec in urbe seditio, nec in castris posset, et tribûni plebis velut ab se victae reipublicae insultarent; quum repentè, quibus census equester erat, equi publici non erant assignati, consilio priùs inter sese habito, senatum adeunt, factâque dicendi potestate, 'equis 'se suis stipendia facturos' promittunt. Quibus quum amplissimis verbis gratiae ab senatu actae essent, famaue ea forum atque urbem pervasisset, subitò ad curiam concursus fit plebis. 'Pedestris ordinis se,' aiunt, 'nunc esse¹, operamque reipublicae extra ordinem polliceri, seu Vejos seu 'quò aliò ducere velint. Si Vejos ducti sint,' negant 'se 'inde priùs quàm captâ urbe hostium redituros esse.' Tum verò jam superfundenti se laetitiae vix temperatum est. Non enim, sicut equites, dato magistratibus negotio, laudari jussi; neque aut in curiam vocati, quibus responsum daretur, aut limine curiae continebatur senatus; sed pro se quisque ex superiore loco ad multitudinem, in comitio stantem, voce manibusque significare publicam laetitiam. 'Beatam 'urbem Romanam, et invictam, et aeternam illâ concordia' dicere; laudare equites, laudare plebem, diem ipsum laudibus ferre; 'victam esse' fateri 'comitatem benignitatem- 'que senatûs.' Certatim Patribus plebique manare gaudii lacrimae; donec, revocatis in curiam Patribus, senatûs consultum factum est, 'Ut tribuni militares, concione advocatâ 'peditibus equitibusque gratias agerent, memorem pietatis 'eorum erga patriam dicerent senatum fore. Placere autem, omnibus his voluntariam extra ordinem professis militiam aera procedere;' et equiti certus numerus aeris est

¹ Various emendations of this passage are proposed, on the ground that these men were not only *nunc*, but had always been *pedestris ordinis*. Some omit the *esse* and *que*, whilst Doering proposes *ad-esse*. The common reading is intelligible on the explanation of Gronovius, 'that they were now ready to join the ranks of the foot soldiers.'

assignatus. Tum primum equis merere equites coeperunt¹. Voluntarius ductus exercitus Vejos non amissa modò restituit opera, sed nova etiam instituit. Ab urbe commeatus intentiore quàm antea subvehi curâ, ne quid tam bene merito exercitui ad usum deesset.

VIII. Insequens annus tribunos militum consulari potestate habuit C. Servilium Ahalam tertium, Q. Servilium, L. Virginium, Q. Sulpicium, A. Manlium iterum, Manium Sergium iterum. His tribunis, dum cura omnium in Vejens bellum intenta est, neglectum Anxuri praesidium vacationibus militum et Volscos mercatores vulgò receptando, proditis repentè² portarum custodibus oppressum est. Minus militum periit, quia praeter aegros lixarum in modum omnes per agros vicinasque urbes negotiabantur. Nec Vejis meliùs gesta res, quod tum caput

¹ Drakenborch, with the approbation of several commentators, understands *aera procedere* and *certus numerus aeris* to mean that years of regular service were to be imputed to the volunteers, partly from the words *procedere* and *numerus*, and partly from the seeming repetition in the next clause, stating twice that the cavalry were paid. This interpretation seems forced. It is true that Livy, xxv. 5, seems to use *procedere* in the sense contended for by Drakenborch; but the noun there is *stipendia*. Indeed, in both passages, the meaning seems to be primarily that pay should run on from the date of the enlistment; of course leading to the inference that the service was to be held regular service. Again in the sentence, *tum primum*, some propose to omit *equis* as unnecessary, others read *equis suis* or *equo suo* on the faith of the epitome, and the offer recorded in this chapter. But these instances render it the less likely that it should have been omitted here in the MSS., if used by Livy. The reference, as has been maintained by most able critics, seems to be; The *Equites*, so called up to this time, not only served on horseback, when required, but formed part of the civil constitution, being arranged into eighteen centuries, (I. 43,) and enrolled as such in the censor's books on the ground of some qualification, birth, or the *census equestris*, combined with a good character. But Livy here alludes to the introduction of a new kind of *equites*, possessing no civil distinction, and simply a department of the army. The startling at the passage seems to me to have arisen from conceiving that *equis* is contrasted with *pedibus*; it is tacitly contrasted with *censu*. Before the equites were so from the censor's registration, *censu*; 'then for the first time there began to be *equites* entitled to this name, merely from their serving on horseback.'² *Repente*, according to most commentators, qualifies *oppressum est*.

omnium curarum publicarum erat. Nam et duces Romani plus inter se irarum quàm adversus hostes animi habuerunt, et auctum est bellum adventu repentino Capenatium atque Faliscorum. Hi duo Etruriae populi, quia proximi regione erant, 'devictis Vejjs, bello quòque Romano se proximos 'fore' credentes; Falisci propriâ etiam causâ infesti, quòd Fidenati bello se jam antea immiscuerant, per legatos ultrò citròque missos jurejurando inter se obligati, cum exercitibus necopinatò ad Vejjos accessere. Fortè eâ regione, quâ M. Sergius tribunus militum praeerat, castra adorti sunt, ingentemque terrorem intulere, quia 'Etruriam omnem 'excitam sedibus magnâ mole adesse' Romani crediderant. Eadem opinio Vejentes in urbe concitavit. Ita ancipiti proelio castra Romana oppugnabantur; concursantesque quum huc atque illuc signa transferrent, nec Vejentem satis cohibere intra munitiones, nec suis munimentis arcere vim ac tueri se ab exteriori poterant hoste. Una spes erat si ex majoribus castris subveniretur, ut diversae legiones, aliae adversus Capenatem ac Faliscum, aliae contra eruptionem oppidanorum pugnarent. Sed castris praeerat Virginus, privatim Sergio invisus infestusque. Is, quum 'pleraque castella oppugnata, superatas munitiones, utrin-' 'que invehi hostem' nunciaretur, in armis milites tenuit, 'si opus foret auxilio, collegam' dictitans 'ad se missurum.' Hujus arrogantiam pertinacia alterius aequabat; qui, ne quam opem ab inimico videretur petisse, vinci ab hoste quàm vincere per civem maluit. Diu in medio caesi milites; postremò, desertis munitionibus, perpauci in majora castra, pars maxima atque ipse Sergius Romam pertenderunt. Ubi quum omnem culpam in collegam inclinaret, 'acciri Virginium ex castris, interea praeesse legatos' placuit. Acta deinde in senatu res est, certatumque inter collegas maledictis. Pauci reipublicae, huic atque illi, ut quosque studium privatim aut gratia occupaverunt, adsunt ¹.

IX. Primores Patrum, sive culpâ sive infelicitate imperatorum tam ignominiosa clades accepta esset, censuere

¹ *Pauci*, &c. 'Few of the senators have an eye to the interest of 'the state, most have an eye to the interest of one or other of the 'parties, as each has been actuated by private affection or influence.' The common nominative to both clauses (*senatores*) is involved in *adsunt*.

' non expectandum justum tempus comitiorum, sed ex-
 ' templo novos tribunos militum creandos esse, qui Kalendis
 ' Octobribus magistratum occiperent.' In quam senten-
 tiam quum pedibus iretur¹, ceteri tribuni militum nihil
 contradicere. At enimvero Sergius Virginusque, propter
 quos poenitere magistratum ejus anni senatum apparebat,
 primò deprecari ignominiam, deinde intercedere senatûs
 consulto; negare ' se ante Idus Decembres², solennem
 ' ineundis magistratibus diem, honore abituros esse.' Inter
 hæc tribuni plebis, quum in concordia hominum secundis-
 que rebus civitatis inviti silentium tenuissent, feroces re-
 pentè minari tribunis militum, ' nisi in auctoritate³ senatûs
 ' essent, se in vincula eos duci jussuros esse.' Tum C.
 Servilius Ahala tribunus militum; ' Quod ad vos attinet,
 ' tribuni plebis, minasque vestras, nae ego libenter experi-
 ' rer, quàm non plus in his juris quàm in vobis animi esset⁴;
 ' sed nefas est tendere adversus auctoritatem senatûs.
 ' Proinde et vos desinite inter nostra certamina locum in-
 ' juriae quaerere; et collegæ aut facient quod censet sena-
 ' tus, aut si pertinaciùs tendent, dictatorem extemplo dicam,
 ' qui eos abire magistratu cogat.' Quum omnium assensu
 comprobata oratio esset, gauderentque Patres ' sine tribu-
 ' niciae potestatis terriculis inventam esse aliam vim majo-
 ' rem ad coërcendos magistratus,' victi consensu omnium
 comitia tribunorum militum habuere, qui Kalendis Octo-
 bribus magistratum occiperent; seque ante eam diem magis-
 tratu abdicavere.

X. L. Valerio Potito quartum, M. Furio Camillo
 u. c. iterum⁵, M'. Aemilio Mamercino tertium, Cn. Cor-
 354. nelio Cosso iterum, K. Fabio Ambusto, L. Julio
 Iulo, tribunis militum consulari potestate, multa domi mili-
 tiaque gesta. Nam et bellum multiplex fuit eodem tempore,

¹ See p. 57, note 3, only there is no metaphorical allusion here, but a literal statement. ² See p. 325, note 3. ³ See

p. 221, note 1, and the incident referred to p. 313, note 4.

⁴ *Quam, &c.* 'How far these threats are as deficient in right as
 ' you are in courage,' i. e. how far the want of rightful warrant for
 their threats is equalled by your want of courage to execute
 them.

⁵ Sigonius, to reconcile Livy with other writers,
 rashly deletes *iterum*, and wherever the number of his magistracies
 is mentioned deletes one. It is more probable that the mistake,
 (if there be any,) is in Livy himself.

ad Vejos, et ad Capenam, et ad Falerios, et in Volscis, ut Anxur ab hostibus recuperaretur; et Romae simul delectu, simul tributo conferendo laboratum est; et de tribunis plebei cooptandis¹ contentio fuit; et haud parvum motum duo judicia eorum, qui paullo antè consulari potestate fuerant, excivere². Omnium primum tribunis militum fuit, delectum haberi; nec juniores modò conscripti, sed seniores etiam coacti nomina dare, ut urbis custodiam agerent. Quantum autem augebatur militum numerus, tanto majore pecuniâ in stipendium opus erat; eaque tributo conferebatur, invitis conferentibus, qui domi remanebant, quia tuentibus urbem operâ quòque militari laborandum, serviendumque reipublicae erat. Haec per se gravia, indigniora ut viderentur, tribuni plebis seditiosis concionibus faciebant, 'ideo aera militibus constituta esse' arguendo, 'ut plebis partem militiâ, partem tributo conficerent. Unum bellum annum jam tertium³ trahi, et consultò malè geri, ut diutius gerant. In quatuor deinde bella uno delectu exercitus scriptos, et pueros quòque ac senes extractos. Jam non aestatis nec hiemis discrimen esse, ne ulla quies unquam miserae plebi sit, quae nunc etiam vectigalis⁴ ad ultimum facta sit; ut, quum confecta labore, vulneribus, postremò aetate corpora retulerint incultaque omnia diutino dominorum desiderio domi invenerint, tributum ex affectâ re familiari pendant, aeraque militaria, velut foenore accepta, multiplicia reipublicae reddant.' Inter delectum tributumque et occupatos animos majorum rerum curis, comitiis tribunorum plebis numerus expleri nequii.

¹ See p. 272, note 4.

² Livy takes up these three points of contention in their order.

³ From the date of the first formation of a winter camp. This was the fifth year of the war itself.

⁴ *Vectigalis* is here the adjective referring to *quae* (plebs.) Properly speaking it applies to those who paid to the state, as rent, a portion of the annual fruits of lands held of the state. (See p. 352, note 1.) Here the tribunes do not mean to say that the plebeians were made directly *vectigales*, for what lands they possessed were allodial or freehold. It is an indirect subjection to this payment, that the tribunes urge against the patricians. The plebeians not only paid the *tributum*, or war tax, they say, but, by being forced to neglect the cultivation of their lands, paid their loss, as it were, to the state, becoming *vectigales*, and from their property thus diminished in value paying *tributum* also.

Pugnatum inde, in loca vacua ut patricii cooptarentur. Postquam obtineri non poterat, tamen labefactandae legis Treboniae¹ causâ effectum est, ut cooptarentur tribuni plebis C. Lacerius et M. Acutius, haud dubiè patriciorum opibus.

XI. Fors ita tulit, ut eo anno tribunus plebis Cn. Trebonius esset, qui nomini ac familiae debitum praestare videretur Treboniae legis patrociniū. Is, ‘quod petissent Patres quidam, primo incepto repulsi, tamen tribunos militum expugnâsse’ vociferans, ‘legem Treboniam sublatam, et cooptatos tribunos plebis non suffragiis populi, sed imperio patriciorum; et eò revolvī rem, ut aut patricii, aut patriciorum asseclae habendi tribuni plebis sint; eripi sacratas leges, extorqueri tribuniciam potestatem; id fraude patriciorum, scelere ac proditione collegarum factum’ arguere. Quum arderent invidiâ² non Patres modò, sed etiam tribuni plebis, cooptati pariter et qui cooptaverant, tum ex collegio tres, P. Curatius, M. Metilius, et M. Minucius, trepidi rerum suarum, in Sergium Virginiumque, prioris anni tribunos militares, incurrunt; in eos ab se iram plebis invidiamque die dictâ avertunt. ‘Quibus delectus, quibus tributum, quibus diutina militia longinquitasque belli sit gravis, qui clade acceptâ ad Vejos doleant, qui amissis liberis, fratribus, propinquis, affinibus, lugubres domos habeant; iis publici privatiue doloris exsequendi jus potestatemque ex duobus noxiis capitibus datam ab se’ memorant. ‘Omnium namque malorum in Sergio Virginioque causas esse; nec id accusatorem magis arguere, quàm fateri reos; qui, noxii ambo, alter in alterum causam conferant, fugam Sergii Virginii, Sergius proditionem increpans Virginii. Quorum aded incredibilem amentiam fuisse, ut multo verisimilius sit, compacto eam rem et communi fraude patriciorum actam. Ab his et prius datum locum Vejentibus ad incendenda opera, belli trahendi causâ, et nunc proditum exercitum, tradita Faliscis Romana castra. Omnia fieri, ut consenescat ad Vejos juvenus, nec de agris, nec de aliis commodis plebis ferre ad populum tribuni, frequentiaque urbanâ celebrare actiones, et resistere conspirationi patriciorum possint.

¹ See iii. 65. ² *Invidia*, used passively. See p. 93, note 4

‘ Praejudicium jam de reis et ab senatu, et ab populo Romano, et ab ipsorum collegis factum esse. Nam et senatûs consulto eos ab republicâ remotos esse¹, et recusantes abdicare se magistratu, dictatoris metu ab collegis coërcitos esse; et populum Romanum tribunos creâsse, qui non Idibus Decembribus die solenni, sed extemplo Kalendis Octobribus magistratum occiperent, quia stare diutius respublica, his manentibus in magistratu, non posset. Et tamen eos, tot judiciis confossos praedamnatosque, venire ad populi judicium, et existimare defunctos se esse, satisque poenarum dedisse, quòd duobus mensibus citiùs privati facti sint, neque intelligere nocendi sibi diutius tum potestatem ereptam esse, non poenam irrogatam, quippe et collegis abrogatum imperium, qui certè nihil deliquissent. Illos repeterent animos Quirites, quos recenti clade acceptâ habuissent, quum fugâ trepidum, plenum vulnerum ac pavore² incidentem portis exercitum viderint, non fortunam aut quemquam Deorum, sed hos duces accusantem. Pro certo se habere, neminem in concione stare, qui illo die non caput, domum, fortunasque L. Virginii ac M. Sergii sit execratus detestatusque. Minimè convenire, quibus iratos quisque Deos precatus sit, in iis suâ potestate, quum liceat et oporteat, non uti. Nunquam Deos ipsos admoveere nocentibus manus; satis esse, si occasione ulciscendi laesos arment.’

XII. His orationibus incitata plebs denis millibus aeris gravis³ reos condemnat, nequicquam Sergio Martem communem belli fortunamque accusante, Virginio deprecante, ‘ ne infelicior domi, quàm militiae esset.’ In hos versa ira populi, cooptationis tribunorum fraudisque contra legem Treboniam factae memoriam obscuram fecit. Victores tribuni, ut praesentem mercedem judicii plebes haberet, legem agrariam promulgant, tributumque conferri prohibent, quum tot exercitibus stipendio opus esset, resque militiae ita prospere gererentur, ut nullo bello veniretur ad exitum spei⁴. Namque Vejis castra, quae amissa erant, recuperata

¹ *Ab republica remotos esse*, ‘ have been deposed from the direction of public affairs.’

² Some read *pavoris*, as governed by *plenum*; others account for it as a change of construction. It seems to be the ablative of the manner.

³ See p. 330, note 1.

⁴ *Resque*, &c. ‘ And the military enterprises were conducted with

castellis praesidiisque firmantur. Praeerant tribuni militum M'. Aemilius et K. Fabius. M. Furio in Faliscis, et Cn. Cornelio in Capenate agro hostes nulli extra moenia inventi; praedae actae, incendiisque villarum ac frugum vastati fines; oppida nec oppugnata, nec obsessa sunt. At in Volacis, depopulato agro, Anxur nequicquam oppugnatum, loco alto situm; et, postquam vis irrita erat, vallo fossâque obsideri coeptum. Valerio Potito Volsci provincia¹ evenerat. Hoc statu militarium rerum, seditio intestina majore mole coorta quàm bella tractabantur. Et quum tributum conferri per tribunos non posset, nec stipendium imperatoribus mitteretur, aeraque militaria flagitaret miles, haud procul erat quin castra quòque urbanae seditionis contagione turbarentur. Inter has iras plebis in Patres, quum tribuni plebis 'nunc illud tempus esse' dicerent 'stabiliendae libertatis, et ab Sergiis Virginiisque ad plebeios viros 'fortes ac strenuos transferendi summi honoris,' non tamen ultrà processum est, quàm ut unus² ex plebe, usurpandi juris causâ, P. Licinius Calvus tribunus militum consulari potestate crearetur; ceteri patricii creati P. Maenius, L. Titinius, P. Maelius, L. Furius Medullinus, L. Publilius Volscus. Ipsa plebes mirabatur 'se tantam rem obtinuisse;' non is modò qui creatus erat, vir nullis antè honoribus usus, vetus tantùm senator³ et aetate jam gravis; nec satis constat, cur primus ac potissi-

'success, but yet so, that in none of the wars were their expectations brought to an issue.' ¹ See p. 163, note 3. ² For Maenius, which is a suggestion of Sigonius, the MSS. have Manlius. It seems certain that four, not one, as Livy states, out of the six were plebeians, the first fruits of the seed sown by the plebeian leaders. There is a tribune of the commons, therefore, a plebeian, of the name of Titinius, iii. 54, and another of the same name, iv. 16. P. Maelius is, in the *Fasti Capitolini*, surnamed *Capitolinus*, and described as the son of Sp. Maelius; he was, therefore, says Arnold, probably the son of that Sp. Maelius, avowedly a plebeian, killed by Abala, iv. 14. Publilius has, in the *Fasti*, the surname of Philo, and is styled 'Voleronis Nepos,' rendering it probable that he was a descendant of the celebrated plebeian tribune of that name, ii. 56. But see p. 236, note 5, and p. 291, note 5. Perizonius, c. 8, thinks that the mistake may have arisen from Licinius having been foremost in the list of successful candidates. ³ It has been doubted when plebeians obtained admission into the senate, (see p. 278, note 1,) but this passage proves that it was previous to this date.

mus ad novum delibandum honorem sit habitus. Alii 'Cn. 'Cornelii fratris¹, qui tribunus militum priore anno fuerat, triplexque stipendium equitibus dederat, 'gratiâ extractum 'ad tantum honorem' credunt; alii 'orationem ipsum tempestivam de concordia ordinum, Patribus plebique gratam 'habuisse.' Hâc victoria comitiorum exsultantes tribuni plebis, quod maximè rempublicam impediēbat, de tributo remiserunt. Collatum obedienter missumque ad exercitum est.

XIII. Anxur in Volscis brevi receptum est, neglectis die festo custodiis urbīs. Insignis annus hieme gelidâ ac nivosa fuit, adēd ut viae clausae, Tiberis innavigabilis fuerit. Annona ex antè convectâ copiâ nihil mutavit². Et quia P. Licinius, ut ceperat haud tumultuosè magistratum, majore gaudio plebis quàm indignatione Patrum, ita etiam gessit, dulcedo invasit proximis comitiis tribunorum militum plebeios creandi. Unus M. Veturius ex patriciis candidatis locum tenuit; plebeios alios tribunos militum consulari potestate omnes fere centuriae dixerunt, M. Pomponium,

U. C. 356. C. Duilium, Voleronem Publilium, Cn. Genucium,

L. Atilium. Tristem hiemem, sive ex intemperie coeli, raptim mutatione in contrarium factâ, sive aliâ quâ de causâ, gravis pestilensque omnibus animalibus aestas excepit. Cujus insanabili perniciē³ quando nec causa nec finis inveniebatur, libri Sibyllini ex senatûs consulto aditi sunt. Duumviri sacris faciundis, lectisternio⁴ tunc primùm in urbe Romana facto, per dies octo Apollinem, Latonamque et Dianam, Herculem, Mercurium atque Neptunum tribus, quàm amplissimè tum apparari poterat, stratis lectis placavere. Privatim quodque id sacrum celebratum est. 'Totâ urbe 'patentibus januis, promiscuoque usu rerum omnium in 'propatulo posito, notos ignotosque passim advenas in hospitium ductos' ferunt; 'et cum inimicis quodque benignè

¹ Cornelius must either have been only his brother by the mother's side, or must have been a plebeian adopted into the patrician family of the Cornelii. ² *Mutavit*, supply *se*. See p. 49, note 2.

³ The more ordinary form is *perniciē*. ⁴ 'In the *lectisternium*, (lectus sterno) 'couches were spread for the gods as if about to 'feast, and their images taken down from their pedestals, and placed 'upon their couches round the altars, which were loaded with the 'richest dishes.' Dr ADAM.

‘ ac comiter sermones habitos, jurgiis ac litibus temperatum ; vinctis quòque dempta in eos dies vincula ; religioni deinde fuisse, quibus eam opem Dii tulissent, vinciri.’ Interim ad Vejos terror multiplex fuit, tribus in unum bellis collatis. Namque eodem, quo antea, modo circa munimenta quum repentè Capenates Faliscique subsidio venissent, adversus tres exercitus ancipiti proelio pugnatum est. Ante omnia adjuvit memoria damnationis Sergii ac Virginii. Itaque majoribus castris, unde antea cessatum fuerat, brevi spatio circumductae copiae Capenates in vallum Romanum versos ab tergo aggrediuntur. Inde pugna coepta et Faliscis intulit terrorem, trepidantesque eruptio ex castris opportunè facta avertit. Repulsos deinde insecuti victores ingentem ediderunt caedem. Nec ita multo pòst jam palantes, veluti fortè oblatis, populatores Capenatis agri reliquias pugnae absumpsere ; et Vejentium refugientes in urbem multi ante portas caesi, dum prae metu ne simul Romanus irrumperet, objectis foribus extremos suorum excludere.

XIV. Haec eo anno acta. Et jam comitia tribunorum militum aderant, quorum prope major Patribus quàm belli cura erat, quippe non communicatum modò cum plebe sed prope amissum cernentibus summum imperium. Itaque clarissimis viris ex composito praeparatis ad petendum, quos praetereundi verecundiam crederent fore, nihilominus ipsi, perinde ac si omnes candidati essent, cuncta experientes, non homines modò sed Deos etiam excipiebant, in religionem vertentes comitia biennio habita ; ‘ priore anno intolerandam hiemem prodigiisque divinis similem coortam ; proximo non prodigia, sed jam eventus, pestilentiam agris ubique illatam haud dubià irâ Deùm ; quos pestis ejus arcendae causâ placandos esse, in libris fatalibus inventum sit. Comitii auspiciatò quae fierent indignum Diis visum honores vulgari, discriminaque gentium confundi ¹.’ Praeterquam majestate petentium, religione etiam attoniti homines patricos omnes, partem magnam honoratissimum quemque, tribunos militum consulari potestate creavere, L. Valerium Potitum quintum, M. Valerium Maximum, M. Furium Camillum tertium ², L. Fu-

v. c.
357.

¹ See p. 283, note 3.

² See p. 367, note 5.

rium Medullinum tertium, Q. Servilium Fidenatem iterum, Q. Sulpicium Camerinum iterum. His tribunis ad Vejos nihil admodum memorabile actum est; tota vis in populationibus fuit. Duo summi imperatores, Potitus a Faleriis, Camillus a Capenâ praedas ingentes egere, nullâ incolumi relictâ re cui ferro aut igni noceri posset.

XV. Prodigia interim multa nunciari; quorum pleraque, et quia singuli auctores erant, parum credita spretaque, et quia, hostibus Etruscis, per quos ea procurarent aruspices non erant. In unum omnium curae versae sunt, quod lacus¹ in Albano nemore sine ullis coelestibus aquis, causâve quâ aliâ quae rem miraculo eximeret, in altitudinem insolitam crevit. Quidnam eo Dii portenderent prodigio, missi sciscitatum oratores ad Delphicum oraculum; sed propior interpretes fati oblati senior quidam Vejens, qui inter cavillantes in stationibus ac custodiis milites Romanos Etruscosque, vaticinantis in modum cecinit², 'Prius quàm ex lacu Albano aqua emissa foret, nunquam potiturum Vejis Romanum.' Quod primò, velut temere jactum, sperni, agitari deinde sermonibus coeptum est; donec unus ex statione Romanâ percunctatus proximum oppidanorum, jam per longinquitatem belli commercio sermonum facto, 'quisnam is esset, qui per ambages de lacu Albano jaceret³?' postquam audivit aruspitem esse, vir haud intacti religione animi, causatus 'de privati portenti procuratione, si operae illi esset, consulere velle,' ad colloquium vatem elicit⁴. Quumque progressi ambo a suis longius essent inermes sine ullo metu, praevalens juvenis Romanus senem infirmum, in conspectu omnium raptum, nequicquam tumultuantibus Etruscis, ad suos transtulit. Qui quum perductus ad imperatorem, inde Romam ad senatum missus esset, sciscitantibus, quidnam id esset quod de lacu Albano docuisset, respondit; 'Profectò iratos Deos Vejenti populo illo fuisse die, quo sibi eam mentem objecissent, ut excidium patriae fatale proderet. Itaque, quae tum cecinerit

¹ See Index, *Lacus Albanus*.
note 5.

² *Jaceret*, supply verba.

³ See p. 82,

⁴ *Causatus*, &c. 'Having pretended that he wished to consult the prophet, 'if he would grant him that favour, regarding the expiation of a portent affecting his own private interests, enticed him to a conference.'

‘divino spiritu instinctus, ea se nec, ut indicta sint, revocare posse, et tacendo forsitan, quae Dii immortales vulturi velint, haud minus quam celanda effando nefas contrahi. Sic igitur libris fatalibus, sic disciplinâ Etruscâ traditum esse, ut ¹ quando aqua Albana abundasset, tum si eam Romanus ritè emisisset, victoriam de Vejentibus dari; antequam id fiat, Deos moenia Vejentium deserturos non esse.’ Exsequebatur inde, quae solennis derivatio esset ². Sed ‘auctorem levem, nec satis fidum super tantâ re’ Patres rati, decrevere ‘legatos sortesque oraculi Pythici exspectandas.’

XVI. Priùs quàm a Delphis oratores redirent, Albanive prodigii piacula invenirentur, novi tribuni militum consulari potestate, L. Julius Iulus, L. Furius Medullinus ^{U. C.} ^{358.} quartum, L. Sergius Fidenas, A. Postumius Regillensis, P. Cornelius Maluginensis, A. Manlius magistratum inièrunt. Eo anno Tarquinienses novi hostes exorti. Quia simul multis bellis, Volscorum ad Anxur, ubi praesidium obsidebatur, Aequorum ad Lavicos, qui Romanam ibi coloniam oppugnabant, ad hoc Vejenti quòque et Falisco et Capenati bello occupatos videbant Romanos, nec intra muros quietiora negotia esse certaminibus Patrum ac plebis; inter haec locum injuriae rati esse, praedatum in agrum Romanum cohortes expeditas mittunt; ‘aut enim passuros inultam eam injuriam Romanos, ne novo bello se onerarent, aut exiguo, eòque parum valido, exercitu persecuturos.’ Romanis indignitas major quàm cura populationis Tarquiniensium fuit. Eò nec magno conatu suscepta, nec in longum dilata res est. A. Postumius et L. Julius non justo delectu, etenim ab tribunis plebis impediabantur, sed propè voluntariorum, quos adhortando incitaverant, coactâ manu, per agrum Caeretem obliquis tramitibus egressi, redeuntes a populationibus gravesque praedâ Tarquinienses oppressere. Multos mortales obtruncant, omnes exuunt impedimentis, et receptis agrorum suorum spoliis, Romam revertuntur. Biduum ad recognoscendas res datum dominis; tertio incognita (erant autem ea pleraque hostium ipsorum) sub hastâ veniere; quodque inde re-

¹ *Ut dari.* Is this a mistake of Livy's, or of the transcribers?

² *Exsequebatur*, &c. ‘Then he proceeded to detail the solemn mode of leading away the water in streams.’

dactum, militibus est divisum. Cetera bella, maximèque Vejens incerti exitûs erant. Jamque Romani, desperatâ ope humanâ, fata et Deos spectabant, quum legati ab Delphis venerunt, sortem oraculi afferentes congruentem responso captivi vatis. 'Romane, aquam Albanam cave lacu 'contineri, cave in mare manare suo flumine sinas. Emis- 'sam per agros rigabis, dissipatamque rivis exstingues. 'Tum tu insiste audax hostium muris, memor, quam¹ per 'tot annos obsides urbem, ex eâ tibi his, quae nunc panduntur, fatis victoriam datam. Bello perfecto, donum 'amplum victor ad mea templa portato; sacraque patria 'quorum omissa cura est, instaurata, ut assolet, facito.'

XVII. Ingens inde haberi captivus vates coeptus, eumque adhibere tribuni militum Cornelius Postumiusque ad prodigii Albani procurationem ac Deos ritè placandos coepere. Inventumque tandem est, ubi neglectas ceremonias intermissumve solenne Dii arguerent; nihil profectò aliud esse, quàm magistratus vitio creatos Latinas² sacrumque in Albano monte non ritè concepisse³; unam expiationem eorum esse, ut tribuni militum abdicarent se magistratu, auspicia de integro repeterentur, et interregnum iniretur. Ea ita facta sunt ex senatûs consulto. Interreges tres deinceps fuere, L. Valerius, Q. Servilius Fidenas, M. Furius Camillus. Nunquam desitum interim turbari, comitia interpellantibus tribunis plebis donec convenisset prius, 'ut major pars tribunorum militum ex plebe crearetur.' Quae dum aguntur, concilia Etruriae ad fanum Voltumnae habita, postulantibusque Capenatibus ac Faliscis 'ut Vejos 'communi animo consilioque omnes Etruriae populi ex ob- 'sidione eriperent' responsum est, 'antea se id Vejentibus 'negâsse, quia, unde consilium non petissent super tantâ

¹ It is hardly necessary to notice that the relative is an adjective, agreeing with its substantive, sometimes expressed, but much oftener understood. In this sentence, for the purpose of strengthening the part of the sentence containing the relative, *quam* comes first, and has the substantive, *urbem*, expressed; *eâ*, the antecedent in sense, but not in position, has the substantive understood. ² *Latinas*,

supply *ferias*, celebrated annually on the Alban mount, at first for one, afterwards for several days.

³ Doering here quotes Macrobius, Sat. i. 16. *Feriae conceptivae sunt, quae quotannis a magistratibus vel a sacerdotibus concipiuntur in dies certos, vel etiam incertos: ut sunt Latinae, Sementivae, Paganalia, Compitalia.*

're, auxilium petere non deberent. Nunc jam pro se fortunam suam illis negare, maximè in eâ parte Etruriae. Gentem invisitatam, novos accolas Gallos esse, cum quibus nec pax satis fida, nec bellum pro certo sit; sanguini tamen nominique et praesentibus periculis consanguineorum id dari, ut, si qui juventutis suae voluntate ad id bellum eant, non impediant.' 'Eum magnum advenisse hostium numerum,' fama Roma erat. Eoque mitescere discordiae intestinae metu communi, ut fit, coeptae.

XVIII. Haud invitis Patribus P. Licinium Calvum v. c. 359. praerogativa¹ tribunum militum non petentem creant, moderationis expertae in priore magistratu virum, ceterum jam tum exactae aetatis; omnesque deinceps ex collegio ejusdem anni refici apparebat, L. Titinium, P. Maenium, P. Maelium, Cn. Genucium, L. Atilium²; qui prius quam renunciarentur jure vocatis tribubus,³ permissu interregis P. Licinius Calvus ita verba fecit; 'Omen concordiae, Quirites, rei maximè in hoc tempus utilis, memoriâ nostri magistratûs vos his comitiis petere in insequentem annum video, si collegas eosdem reficitis, etiam usu meliores factos. Me⁴ jam non eundem, sed umbram nomenque P. Licinii relictum videtis; vires corporis affectae, sensus oculorum atque aurium hebetes, memoria labat, vigor animi obtusus.

¹ See p. 256, note 2. ² All these were not the former colleagues of Licinius Calvus, nor is the remark of Sigonius sufficient to account for this discrepancy, when he says that they were only said *refici*, not *refectos esse*, for we have Genucius immediately after mentioned as actually elected. Livy has evidently confounded the tribunes of two successive years, 355, 356. See p. 371, note 2. Dr Arnold thinks, on the authority of the *Fasti Capitolini*, that for P. Moenius we should read Q. Manlius, a patrician; besides, that as the surname of Genucius is ascertained from the *Fasti* to have been Angurinus, he belonged to the patrician family of that name, one of whom was elected consul, and was afterwards decemvir with Appius Claudius, iii. 33. ³ See p. 256, note 2. Some put the comma after *renunciarentur*, thereby making Licinius speak only to the tribes *jure vocatis*. Sigonius has the reading here given, but supposes *tribubus* to have the force of *a tribubus*. It evidently means 'to the tribes' as an omen for their guidance. It has been a subject of discussion, why *tribubus*, and not *centuriis*? ⁴ Another and more general mode of pointing is a full stop after *video*, and a comma after *factos*. But that destroys the inference *omen*, &c. drawn from *si*, &c. whilst there is no connection betwixt *si*, &c. and *me*, &c.

‘En vobis,’ inquit, ‘juvenem,’ filium tenens, ‘effigiem atque imaginem ejus, quem vos antea tribunum militum ex plebe primum fecistis. Hunc ego, institutum disciplinâ meâ, vicarium pro me reipublicae do dicoque. Vosque quaeso, Quirites, delatum mihi ultro honorem huic petenti, meisque pro eo adjectis precibus mandetis.’ Datum id petenti patri; filiusque ejus P. Licinius tribunus militum consulari potestate cum iis, quos suprâ scripsimus, declaratus. Titinius Genuciusque tribuni militum, profecti adversus Faliscos Capenatesque, dum bellum majore animo gerunt quàm consilio, praecipitavere¹ in insidias. Genucius morte honestâ temeritatem luens ante signa inter primores cecidit. Titinius, in editum tumulum ex multâ trepidatione militibus collectis, aciem restituit; nec se tamen aequo loco hosti commisit. Plus ignominiae erat quàm cladis acceptum; quae prope in cladem ingentem vertit; tantum inde terroris non Romae modò, quò multiplex fama pervenerat, sed in castris quòque fuit ad Vejos. Aegre ibi miles retentus a fugâ est, quum pervasisset castra rumor ‘ducibus exercituque caeso, victorem Capenatem ac Faliscum Etruriaeque omnem juventutem haud procul inde abesse.’ His tumultuosiora Romae, ‘jam castra ad Vejos oppugnari, jam partem hostium tendere ad urbem agmine infesto,’ crediderant; concursumque in muros est, et matronarum, quas ex domo conciverat publicus pavor, obsecrationes² in templis factae; precibusque ab Diis petitis, ‘ut exitium ab urbis tectis templisque ac moenibus Romanis arcerent, Vejosque eum averterent terrorem, si sacra renovata ritè, si procurata prodigia essent.’

XIX. Jam ludi Latinaeque³ instauratae erant, jam ex lacu Albano aqua emissa in agros, Vejosque fata appetebant. Igitur, fatalis dux ad excidium illius urbis servandaeque patriae⁴ M. Furius⁵ Camillus dictator dictus ma-

¹ See p. 49, note 2.

² The generic term is *supplicatio*, including *obsecrationes*, and *gratulationes*.

³ See p. 376, note 2.

⁴ A change of construction, of which Livy is fond: dux ad,—dux patriae.

⁵ ‘The stories told of them,’ (the Furii,) ‘were so popular, that they were not merely engrafted upon the brief notions contained in the genuine records of the time, but took the place of these altogether; so that it is through the Greek writers only that we can learn the real is-

gistrum equitum P. Cornelium Scipionem dixit. Omnia repente mutaverat imperator mutatus. Alia spes, alius animus hominum, fortuna quodque alia urbis videri. Omnium primum in eos, qui a Vejis in illo pavore fugerant, more militari animadvertit, effecitque ne hostis maxime timendus militi esset. Deinde, indicto delectu in diem certam, ipse interim Vejos ad confirmandos militum animos intercurrit; inde Romam ad scribendum novum exercitum redit, nullo detrectante militiam. Peregrina etiam juvenus, Latini Hernicique operam suam pollicentes ad id bellum venere; quibus quum gratias in senatu egisset dictator, satis jam omnibus ad id bellum paratis, 'ludos mag-
' nos¹ ex senatûs consulto' vovit 'Vejis captis se facturum, 'aedemque Matutae matris² refectam dedicaturum, jam 'antè ab rege Ser. Tullio dedicatam.' Profectus cum exercitu ab urbe expectatione hominum majore quàm spe³, in agro primum Nepesino cum Faliscis et Capenatibus signa confert. Omnia ibi summâ ratione consilioque acta fortuna etiam, ut fit, secuta est. Non proelio tantum fudit hostes, sed castris quodque exuit ingentique praedâ est potitus; cujus pars maxima ad quaestorem redacta est, haud ita multum militi datum. Inde ad Vejos exercitus ductus, densioraque castella facta; et a procursationibus, quae multae temere inter murum ac vallum fiebant, edicto⁴ 'ne quis 'injussu pugnaret,' ad opus milites traducti. Operum fuit omnium longè maximum ac laboriosissimum, cuniculus in

'sue of the Gaulish invasion, and the history of the taking of Veii
'has not been preserved at all. That the beautiful and romantic
'story of the fall of Veii belongs entirely to the traditions and funeral orations of the Furian family is plain from this, that the
'events, even of the very last year of the war, are related historically down to the very time of the appointment of Camillus to the
'dictatorship; but then the history suddenly vanishes, and a mere
'romance succeeds in its place, wherever the actions of Camillus are
'the subject, interspersed here and there with fragments of authentic history, when the story relates to the actions of other persons.'
Dr Arnold, vol i. 394. ¹ See Index. *Ludi.* ² Quoted by Stroth; Quid? Ino, Cadmi filia, nonne Leucothoe nominata a Graecis, Matuta habetur a nostris? Cicero, Tusc. Quaest. i. 12. ³ *Expectatione*, &c. 'With confident expectations on the part of his
'countrymen, rather than simple hope,' *major*, resolvable as in p. 335, note 2. ⁴ See p. 351, note 1.

arcem hostium agi coeptus. Quod ne intermitteretur opus, neu sub terrâ continuus labor eosdem conficeret, in partes sex munitorum numerum divisit; senae horae in orbem operi attributae sunt; nocte ac die nunquam antè omissum quàm in arcem viam facerent.

XX. Dictator, quum jam in manibus videret victoriam esse, urbem opulentissimam capi, tantumque praedae fore quantum non omnibus in unum collatis antè bellis fuisset, ne quam inde aut militum iram ex malignitate praedae paritae, aut invidiam apud Patres ex prodigâ largitione caperet, literas ad senatum misit; 'Deum immortalium benignitate, suis consiliis, potentiâ militum, Vejos jam fore in potestate populi Romani. Quid de praedâ faciendum censerent?' Duae senatum distinebant sententiae¹; senis P. Licinii, 'quem primum dixisse a filio interrogatum' ferunt, 'edici palam placere populo, 'ut qui particeps esse praedae "vellet, in castra Vejos iret;" altera Ap. Claudii, qui, 'largitionem novam, prodigam, inaequalem, inconsultam' arguens, 'si semel nefas ducerent, captam ex hostibus in aërio exhausto bellis pecuniam esse,' auctor erat stipendii ex eâ pecuniâ militi numerandi, ut eo minus tribuni plebes conferret. 'Ejus enim doni societatem sensuras aequaliter omnium domos; non avidas in direptiones manus otiosorum urbanorum praerepturas fortium bellatorum praemia esse; quum ita ferme eveniat, ut segnior sit praedator, 'ut quisque laboris periculique praecipuam petere partem soleat².' Licinius contrà 'suspectam et invisam semper

¹ Some MSS. have *una* before *senis*, which is approved of by Sigonius.

² According to Niebuhr, (vol. ii. p. 233,) this fear put in the mouth of Claudius, is attributable to ignorance or forgetfulness on the part of Livy, of the early usage in the dividing of spoils, which had ceased to be observed in the time of Augustus. According to former Roman usage, half of the conquering army was employed, under the sanction of a solemn oath to subtract nothing, in collecting the spoil, which was then partly divided by lot, partly sold, and the proceeds, if promised to the soldiers, disbursed to them man by man, if otherwise, it was brought into the treasury. Both schemes mentioned here by Livy, it will be observed, contemplated compensation to the people for the war tax which they had so long paid; but that of Licinius was more favourable, especially to the poor, as the ordinary citizens would receive equal shares, and the compensation would be direct and immediate.

‘eam pecuniam fore’ aiebat, ‘causasque criminum ad plebem, seditio-
num inde ac legum novarum, praebituram. Sati-
us igitur esse, reconciliari eo dono plebis animos, exhaustis
atque exinanitis tributo tot annorum succurri, et sentire
praedae fructum ex eo bello, in quo prope consenuerint.
Gratius id fore laetiusque, quod quisque suâ manu ex hoste
captum domum retulerit, quàm si multiplex alterius arbi-
trio accipiat. Ipsum dictatorem fugere invidiam ex eo
criminaque; eò delegâsse ad senatum. Senatum quòque
debere rejectam rem ad se permittere plebi, ac pati habere,
quod cuique fors belli dederit.’ Haec tutior visa senten-
tia est, quae¹ popularem senatum faceret. Edictum itaque
est, ‘ad praedam Vejentem, quibus videretur, in castra ad
dictatorem proficiscerentur.’

XXI. Ingens profecta multitudo replevit castra. Tum
dictator auspicatò egressus, quum edixisset ‘ut arma mi-
lites caperent,’ ‘Tuo ductu,’ inquit, ‘Pythice Apollo,
tuoque numine instinctus pergo ad delendam urbem Ve-
jos, tibi-que hinc decumam partem praedae voveo². Te
simul, Juno Regina, quae nunc Vejos colis, precor, ut nos
victores in nostram, tuamque mox futuram urbem sequare;
ubi te dignum amplitudine tuâ templum accipiat.’ Haec
precatus, superante multitudine, ab omnibus locis urbem ag-
greditur, quo minor ab cuniculo ingruentis periculi sensus
esset. Vejentes se jam ab suis vatibus, jam ab externis
oraculis proditos, jam in partem praedae suae vocatos
Deos, alios votis ex urbe suâ evocatos³ hostium templa
novasque sedes spectare, seque ultimum illum diem agere;
nihil minùs timentes quàm subrutis cuniculo moenibus ar-
cem jam plenam hostium esse, in muros pro se quisque ar-
mati discurrunt, mirantes ‘quidnam id esset quòd, quum
tot per dies nemo se ab stationibus Romanis movisset,
tum velut repentino icti furore, improvidi currerent ad
muros.’ Inseritur huic loco fabula; immolante rege Ve-

¹ Quae—quippe ea. ² ‘This vow frequently occurs in Grecian
history, like that made of the Persian booty; but this is the only
instance in the history of Rome.’ Niebuhr, vol. ii. p. 239. ³ Jam
in partem, alluding to the vow to Apollo; alios,—evocatos to the in-
vitation to Juno. ‘When the Romans besieged a town, and thought
themselves sure of taking it, they used solemnly to call out of it
(evocare) the gods under whose protection the place was supposed
to be.’ Dr ADAM.

jentium, 'vocem aruspiciis dicentis, "qui ejus hostiae exta "prosecuisset, ei victoriam dari," exauditam in cuniculo "movisse Romanos milites, ut adaperto cuniculo exta rape-
rent et ad dictatorem ferrent.' Sed in rebus tam antiquis, si quae similia veri sint, pro veris accipiantur satis habeam. Haec ad ostentationem scenae gaudentis miraculis aptiora ¹ quàm ad fidem, neque affirmare neque refellere est operae pretium. Cuniculus delectis militibus eo tempore plenus, in aede Junonis, quae in Vejentanâ arce erat ², armatos repente edidit. Et pars aversos in muris invadunt hostes; pars claustra portarum revellunt; pars, quum ex tectis saxa tegulaeque a mulieribus ac servitiis jacerentur, inferunt ignes. Clamor omnia variis terrentium ac paventium vocibus, mixto mulierum ac puerorum ploratu, complet. Momento temporis dejectis ex muro undique armatis, patefactisque portis, quum alii agmine irruerent, alii desertos scanderent muros, urbs hostibus impletur, omnibus locis pugnatur. Deinde, multâ jam editâ caede, senescit pugna; et dictator praecones edicere jubet, 'ut ab inermi abstinenceatur.' Is finis sanguinis fuit. Dedi inde inermes coepti; et ad praedam miles permissu dictatoris discurrit. Quae quum ante oculos ejus aliquantum spe atque opinione major, majorisque pretii rerum ferretur, dicitur manus ad coelum tollens precatus esse, 'ut si cui deorum hominumque nimia sua 'fortuna populique Romani videretur, ut eam invidiam lenire 'quàm minimo suo privato incommodo publicoque populi 'Romani liceret ³.' 'Convertentem se inter hanc venera-

¹ *Haec, &c.* 'Stories such as these, fitter for display on the "stage, which takes delight in extraordinary events.'

² Niebuhr deems this incident of the mine as a clear proof of the boundless fiction that pervades the whole story of the capture of Veii, considering the siege, in its ten years' duration, and the passage with armed men leading into the citadel, as an imitation of the Ilion of the old Roman poetry, with its ten years, and the horse of Epeus brought into the citadel. He ridicules the idea of the Romans working a mine, even through the tufa soil of Veii, so as to be sure of reaching not only the town but the citadel, and not it only, but the temple.

³ *Ut eam, &c.* 'That it might be allowed to lighten that odium, 'by the least possible injury to his own private interest, and to the 'public interests of the Roman people.' This is the reading of the best MSS. and of Sigonius. Glarean, on the other hand, and after him a host of commentators, founding on the sentiments imputed to Camillus by Plutarch and Valerius Maximus, read *Suo privato incom-*

'tionem,' traditur memoriae, 'prolapsum cecidisse;' idque omen pertinuisse postea eventu rem conjectantibus visum ad damnationem ipsius Camilli, captae deinde urbis Romanae, quod post paucos accidit annos, cladem. Atque ille dies caede hostium ac direptione urbis opulentissimae est consumptus.

XXII. Postero die libera corpora dictator sub coronâ vendidit. Ea sola pecunia in publicum redigitur, haud sine irâ plebis. Et quod retulere secum praedae, nec duci, 'qui ad senatum, malignitatis auctores quaerendo, rem arbitrii sui rejecisset,' nec senatui, sed Liciniae familiae, 'ex quâ filius ad senatum retulisset, pater tam popularis sententiae auctor fuisset,' acceptum referebant. Quum jam humanae opes egestae a Vejis essent, amoliri tum Deum dona ipsosque Deos, sed colentium magis quàm rapientium modo coepere; namque delecti ex omni exercitu juvenes, purè lautis corporibus, candidâ veste, quibus deportanda Romam regina Juno assignata erat, venerabundi templum iniêre, primò religiosè admoventes manus, quòd id signum, more Etrusco, nisi certae gentis sacerdos, attrectare non esset solitus. Dein quum quidam, seu spiritu divino tactus, seu juvenili joco, 'Visne Romam ire Juno?' dixisset, 'annuisse' ceteri 'Deam' conclamaverunt; inde fabulae adjectum est, 'vocem quòque dicentis, 'Velle,' auditam.' Motam certè sede suâ parvi molimenti adminiculis, sequentis modo' accepimus 'levem ac facilem translatu fuisse, integramque in Aventinum, aeternam sedem suam,' quòd vota Romani dictatores vocaverant, 'perlatam,' ubi templum ei postea idem, qui voverat, Camillus dedicavit. Hic Vejorum occasus fuit, urbi opulentissimae Etrusci nominis, magnitudinem suam vel ultimâ clade indicantis; quòd de-

modo, quam minimo publico P. R., giving him the patriotic wish to render light the odium, by his own private loss, rather than the least public loss; or, by his own private loss, but if not, by as small a public loss as possible; or, by his own private loss, for the smallest possible public loss. But we have no right to adapt Livy to suit the language of Plutarch and Valerius, and, throughout, reference is made doubly to himself and the public, in the invidia, the incommodum, and the eventus. Populi Romani on this account seems preferable to Populo Romano, as liceret would, in the latter case, apply only to one of the parties; in the former both are understood. ¹ See p. 100, note 1.

cem aestates hiemesque continuas circumssessa ¹, quum plus aliquanto cladium intulisset quàm accepisset, postremò jam fato tum denique urgente, operibus tamen, non vi expugnata est ².

XXIII. Romam ut nunciatum est 'Vejos captos,' quam et prodigia procurata fuerant, et vatum responsa, et Pythicae sortes notae; et quantum humanis adjuvari consiliis potuerat res, ducem M. Furium, maximum imperatorum omnium legerant; tamen quia tot annis variè ibi bellatum erat, multaeque clades acceptae, velut ex insperato immensum gaudium fuit; et priùs quàm senatus decerneret, plena omnia templa Romanarum matrum grates Diis agentium erant. Senatus in quatrimum, quot dierum nullo antè bello, supplicationes ³ decernit. Adventus quòque dictatoris, omnibus ordinibus obviàm effusis, celebratior quàm ullius unquam antea fuit, triumphusque omnem consuetum honorandi diei illius modum aliquantum excessit. Maximè conspectus ipse est, curru equis albis juncto urbem invecus; parumque id non civile modò, sed humanum etiam, visum. 'Jovis Solisque equis aequiparari dictatorem,' in religionem etiam trahebant ⁴, triumphusque ob eam unam maximè rem clarior quàm gravior fuit. Tum Junoni reginae templum in Aventino locavit ⁵, dedicavitque Matutae matri; atque his divinis humanisque rebus gestis, dictaturà se abdicavit. Agi deinde de Apollinis dono coeptum; 'cui se decumam vo-
'visse praedae partem' quum diceret Camillus, pontifices 'solvendum religione populum' censerent, haud faciliè inibat ratio jubendi referre praedam populum, ut ex eà pars debita in sacrum secerneretur. Tandem eò quod levissimum

¹ Veii had only been besieged for nine years, the siege commencing v. c. 350, see iv. 61; and only for seven years uninterruptedly in summer and winter, the first winter camp being formed 352. See C. 2.

² The siege of Veii introduced three novelties into the Roman military service of great importance: 1. Winter encampments. 2. Military pay. 3. Lines of circumvallation and contravallation; the one round the besieged city, the other turned against any force assailing from without the besieging army, (C. 1.) ³ See p. 270, note 4.

⁴ According to Stroth *dictatorem* is equivalent to *equos dictatoris*, and *equis* is the dative. Is it not rather *dictatorem equis*, (by having the horses peculiar to) Jovis et Solis, *aequiparari Jovi et Soli*?

⁵ *Locare*, 'to give out an edifice to be built on contract;' *conducere, redimere*, 'to undertake the contract;' hence *locator, conductor, redemptor*.

videbatur decursum est, 'ut qui se domumque religione exsolvere vellet, quum sibimet ipse praedam aestimâset suam, decumae pretium partis in publicum deferret; ut ex eo donum aureum, dignum amplitudine templi ac numine Dei, ex dignitate populi Romani fieret.' Ea quodque collatio plebis animos a Camillo alienavit. Inter haec pacificatum legati a Volscis et Aequis venerunt; impetrataque pax, magis ut fessa tam diutino bello acquiesceret civitas, quàm 'quod digni peterent.'

XXIV. Vejis captis, sex tribunos militum consulari potestate insequens annus habuit, duos P. Cornelios, Cossum et Scipionem, M. Valerium Maximum iterum, K. Fabium Ambustum tertium, L. Furium Medullinum quintum, Q. Servilium tertium. Cornelius Faliscum bellum, Valerio ac Servilio Capenas sorte evenit. Ab iis non urbes vi aut operibus tentatae, sed ager est depopulatus, praedaeque rerum agrestium actae; nulla felix¹ arbor, nihil frugiferum in agro relictum. Ea clades Capenatem populum subegit; pax petentibus data. In Faliscis bellum restabat. Romae interim multiplex seditio erat; cujus leniendae causâ 'coloniam in Volscos, quod tria millia civium Romanorum scriberentur, deducendam' censuerant, triumvirque ad id creati terna jugera et septunces viritim dividerant. Ea largitio sperni coepta, quia 'spei majoris avetendae solatium objectum' censebant. 'Cur enim relegari plebem in Volscos, quum pulcherrima urbs Veji agerque Vejentanus in conspectu sit, uberior ampliorque Romano agro.' Urbem quodque urbi Romae, vel situ, vel magnificentia publicorum privatorumque tectorum ac locorum praeponabant. Quin illa quodque actio movebatur, quae post captam utique Romam a Gallis celebratior fuit, transmigrandi Vejos. Ceterum partim plebi partim senatui destinabant habitandos Vejos, 'duasque urbes communis reipublicae incolae a populo Romano posse².' Adversus

¹ See p. 46, note 5. ² 'A proposal so absurd would have justified the most vehement opposition of the senate. But it is much more probable that the scope of the proposition was, that on this occasion the whole of the conquered land should be divided, but amongst the whole nation, so that the patricians also and their clients should receive a share as absolute property.' Niebuhr, vol. ii. p. 248.

quae quum optimates ita tenderent, ut 'morituros se citiùs' dicerent 'in conspectu populi Romani, quàm quicquam earum rerum rogaretur. Quippe nunc in unâ urbe tantum dissensionum esse, quid in duabus fore? Victamne ut¹ quisquam victrici patriae praeferret, sineretque majorem fortunam captis esse Vejis quàm incolumibus fuerit? Postremò, se relinqui a civibus in patriâ posse; ut relinquant patriam atque cives, nullam vim unquam subacturam, et T. Sicinium' (is enim ex tribunis plebis rogationis ejus lator erat) 'conditorem Vejos sequantur, relicto Deo Romulo, Dei filio, parente et auctore urbis Romae;—

XXV. Haec quum foedis certaminibus agerentur, (nam partem tribunorum plebis Patres in suam sententiam traxerant,) nulla res alia manibus temperare plebem cogeat quàm quòd, ubi rixae committendae causâ clamor ortus esset, principes senatûs primi turbæ offerentes se, peti, feriri, atque occidi jubebant. Ab horum aetatibus dignitatibusque et honoribus violandis dum abstinebatur, et ad reliquos similes conatus verecundia iræ obstabat, Camillus identidem omnibus locis concionabatur; 'Haud mirum id quidem esse, furere civitatem, quae damnata voti² omnium rerum potiore curam quàm religione se exsolvendi habeat. Nihil de collatione dicere stipis³ veriùs quàm decumae, quando eâ se quisque privatim obligaverit, liberatus sit populus. Enimvero, illud se tacere, suam conscientiam non pati, quòd ex eâ tantum praedâ, quae rerum morientium⁴ sit, decuma designetur; urbis atque agri capti, quae et ipsa voto contineatur⁵, mentionem nullam fieri.' Quum ea disceptatio, anceps senatui visa, delegata ad pontifices esset, adhibito Camillo, visum collegio, 'quod ejus

¹ See p. 18, note 6. ² As every vow was regarded as a bargain between the supplicant and the divine power, in which the one agreed to perform a certain act, provided the other granted a certain favour, the bestowal of the favour made the performance of the vowed act a debt. Hence such expressions as *obligare votis*, *damnare votis*, to grant the desired favour, and thus to render the vower liable in the performance of his part of the bargain. ³ 'This word is usually put for a small coin, as we say a penny or farthing, offered to the gods, at games or the like, or given as an alms to a beggar.' Dr ADAM.

⁴ Quae moveri possunt. Nepos, Themistocles, 2. ⁵ Some read *contineantur*. Others refer *contineatur* to *urbis* alone. May it not refer to *mentionem*?

'ante conceptum votum Vejentium fuisset, et post votum in potestatem populi Romani venisset, ejus partem de-cumam Apollini sacram esse.' Ita in aestimationem urbs agerque venit; pecunia ex aerario prompta, et tribunis militum consularibus 'ut aurum ex eâ coëmerent' negotium datum. Cujus quum copia non esset, matronae, coetibus ad eam rem consultandam habitis, et communi decreto pollicitae¹ tribunis militum aurum et omnia ornamenta sua, in aerarium detulerunt. Grata ea res, ut quae maximè senatui unquam², fuit; 'honoremque ob eam munificentiam' ferunt 'matronis habitum, ut pilento ad sacra ludosque, carpentis festo profestoque uterentur.' Pondere ab singulis auri accepto aestimatoque ut pecuniae solverentur³, 'crateram auream fieri' placuit, 'quae donum Apollini Delphos portaretur.' Simul ab religione animos remiserunt, integrant seditionem tribuni plebis; incitatur multitudo in omnes principes, ante alios in Camillum; 'eum praedam Vejentanam publicando sacrandoque ad nihilum redegisse.' Absentes ferociter increpant; praesentium, quum se ultro iratis offerrent, verecundiam habent. Simul extrahi rem ex eo anno viderunt, tribunos plebis latores legis in annum eosdem reficiunt; et Patres hoc idem de intercessoribus legis annisi. Ita tribuni plebis magnâ ex parte iidem re-
fecti.

XXVI. Comitibus tribunorum militum Patres summâ ope evicerunt, ut M. Furius Camillus crearetur. 'Propter bella' simulabant 'parari ducem,' sed largitioni tribuniciae adversarius quaerebatur. Cum Camillo creati tribuni militum consulari potestate, L. Furius Medullinus sextum, C. Aemilius, L. Valerius Publicola, Sp. Postumius, P. Cornelius iterum. Principio anni tribuni plebis nihil moverunt, donec M. Furius Camillus in Faliscos, cui id bellum mandatum erat, proficisceretur.

¹ *Coetibus habitis et pollicitae.* An instructive example of the difference between the perfect participle of active and of deponent verbs. Grammatically *et* is incorrect, (one MS. wants it, and several have *et e*,) but the logical notion refers both *habitis* and *pollicitae* to the matrons, hence *et*; as if it were, not 'meetings having been held,' but 'having held meetings, and.'

² Such elliptical expressions, which are not infrequent, may be filled up, *ut ulla res quae unquam fuit maxime grata senatui.*

³ Of course this repayment was in the current copper coin.

Differendo deinde elanguit res, et Camillo, quem adversarium maximè metuebant, gloria in Faliscis crevit. Nam quum primò moenibus se hostes tenerent, tutissimum id rati, populatione agrorum atque incendiis villarum coëgit eos egredi urbe; sed timor longiùs progredi prohibuit. Mille fere passuum ab oppido castra locant, nullâ re aliâ fidentes ea satis tuta esse quàm difficultate aditûs, asperis confragosisque circà, et partim arctis, partim arduis viis. Ceterùm Camillus captivum indicem ex agris secutus ducem, castris multâ nocte motis, primâ luce aliquanto superioribus locis se ostendit. Trifariam Romani muniebant. Alius exercitus proelio intentus stabat. Ibi impedire opus conatos hostes fundit fugatque; tantumque inde pavoris Faliscis injectum est ut, effusâ fugâ castra sua, quae propiora erant, praelati¹, urbem peterent. Multi caesi vulneratique, priùs quàm paventes portis inciderent. Castra capta; praeda ad quaestores redacta cum magnâ militum irâ; sed severitate imperii victi, eandem virtutem² et oderant et mirabantur. Obsidio inde urbis, et munitiones, et interdum per occasionem impetus oppidanorum in Romanas stationes, proeliaque parva fieri; et teri tempus, neutrò inclinâtâ spe quum frumentum copiaeque aliae ex antè convecto largiùs obsessis quàm obsidentibus suppeterent. Videbaturque aequè diuturnus futurus labor ac Vejis fuisset; ni fortuna imperatori Romano simul et cognitae rebus bellicis virtutis³ specimen et maturam victoriam dedisset.

¹ See p. 132, note 1. ² *Virtus* seems to be derived from *vir*, and to signify that quality which best becomes a man. In the early ages of every nation, valour in war is the one which most commands admiration; hence the notions of valour originally attached by the Romans to *virtus*, by the Greeks to *ἀνδρα*, (*ἀνδρ*), and our own Highlanders to a *pretty man*. As skill in war, and the quality which secure conquest by policy as well as force, came next into high esteem, *virtus* acquired that meaning. Ultimately it came to signify that combination of moral excellence which we denominate *virtue*. All those meanings abound in the classics.

³ Founding on this, that fortune might give victory, but could not give *specimen virtutis*, Gronovius proposes, imperatoris Romani simul et cognitae re non in bellica virtutis specimen, ei, which last word, for *et*, is found in some MSS. Others, with the same view, considering *specimen* as the nominative, take the second *et* to signify *even*, whilst

XXVII. Mos erat Faliscis, eodem magistro liberorum et comite uti ; simulque plures pueri, quod hodie quodque in Graeciâ manet, unius curae demandabantur. Principum liberos ¹, sicut fere fit, qui scientiâ videbatur praecellere, erudiebat. Is quum in pace instituisset pueros ante urbem lusûs exercendique causâ producere, nihil eo more per belli tempus intermisso, tum modò brevioribus, modò longioribus spatiis trahendo eos a portâ lusu sermonibusque variatis longiùs solito, ubi res dedit progressus, inter stationes eos hostium castraque inde Romana in praetorium ad Camillum perduxit. Ibi scelesto facinori scelestiorem sermonem addidit ; ‘ Falerios se in manus Romanis tradidisse, quando eos pueros, quorum parentes capita ibi rerum sint, in potestatem dediderit.’ Quae ubi Camillus audivit, ‘ Non ad similem,’ inquit, ‘ tui nec populum, nec imperatorem, scelestus ipse cum scelesto munere venisti. Nobis cum Faliscis, quae pacto fit humano, societas non est. Quam ingeneravit natura, utrisque est eritque. Sunt et belli, sicut pacis, jura, justèque ea, non minùs quàm fortiter, didicimus gerere. Arma habemus, non adversus eam aetatem, cui etiam captis urbibus parcitur ; sed adversus armatos, et ipsos, qui nec laesi, nec lacerassiti a nobis castra Romana ad Vejos oppugnârunt. Eos tu, quantum in te fuit, novo scelere vicisti, ego Romanis artibus, virtute, opere, armis, sicut Vejos, vincam.’ Denudatum deinde eum, manibus post tergum illigatis reducendum Falerios pueris tradidit, virgasque eis, quibus proditorem agerent in urbem verberantes, dedit. Ad quod spectaculum concursu populi primùm facto, deinde a magistratibus de re novâ vocato senatu, tanta mutatio animis est injecta ut, qui modò efferati odio irâque Vejentium exitum penè quàm Căpenatium pacem mallent, apud eos pacem uni-

some delete the last *et*. In the view of two of the meanings mentioned in the last note, used by a logical Zeugma, all these suggestions are unnecessary. The sentence means, ‘ Had not fortune presented the Roman general at once with an opportunity of displaying ‘ true manliness,’ (in a manner different from that in which this quality had been,) ‘ already tested in warlike affairs, and,’ in consequence, ‘ a speedy victory.’ This double view of *virtus* is strongly supported by a passage in Horace, C. ar. iii., 2. 17, where the transition is not so complete as is commonly supposed. The best school for *virtus*, so deemed by the ancients, was the hardships of war. ¹ Livy, xlii. 47, calls the schoolmaster, *proditorem liberum regis*.

versa posceret civitas. Fides Romana, justitia imperatoris, in foro et curiâ celebrantur; consensuque omnium legati ad Camillum in castra, atque inde permissu Camilli Romam ad senatum, qui dederent Falerios, proficiscuntur. Introducti ad senatum ita locuti traduntur; 'Patres conscripti, victoriâ cui nec Deus, nec homo quisquam invideat, victi a vobis et imperatore vestro, dedimus nos vobis, rati, quod nihil victori pulchrius est, melius nos sub imperio vestro, quàm legibus nostris victuros. Eventu hujus belli duo salutaria exempla prodita humano generi sunt. Vos fidem in bello quàm praesentem victoriam maluistis; nos, fide provocati, victoriam ultro detulimus. Sub ditione vestrâ sumus. Mittite, qui arma, qui obsides, qui urbem patentibus portis accipiant. Nec vos fidei nostrae, nec nos imperii vestri poenitebit.' Camillo et ab hostibus et a civibus gratiae actae. Faliscis in stipendium militum ejus anni, ut populus Romanus tributo vacaret, pecunia imperata. Pace datâ, exercitus Romam reductus.

XXVIII. Camillus meliore multo laude quàm quum triumphantem albi per urbem vexerant equi¹, insignis justitiâ fideque, hostibus victis, quum in urbem redisset, tacitè² ejus verecundiam non tulit senatus, quin sine morâ voti liberaretur; crateramque auream donum Apollini Delphos legati qui ferrent, L. Valerius, L. Sergius, A. Manlius, missi longâ unâ nave, haud procul freto Siculo a piratis Liparensium excepti, devehuntur Liparas. Mos erat civitatis, velut publico latrocinio partam praedam dividere. Fortè eo anno in summo magistratu erat Timasitheus quidam, Romanis vir similior quàm suis. Qui 'legatorum nomen, donumque, et Deum, cui mitteretur, et doni causam' veritus ipse, multitudinem quòque, quae semper ferme regi est similis, religionis justae implevit; adductosque in publicum hospitium legatos, cum praesidio etiam navium Delphos prosecutus, Romam inde sospites restituit. Hospitium cum eo senatûs consulto est factum, donaque publicè data. Eodem anno in Aequis variè bellatum; adeò ut in incerto fuerit et apud ipsos exercitus et Romae, vicissent victine essent. Imperatores Romani fuere ex tribunis mi-

¹ See C. 23. ² Gronovius proposes *taciti*, as referring to *gens*. Might *tacite* not be referred to *redisset*, as contrasting his present quiet return with his former triumph?

litum C. Aemilius, Sp. Postumius. Primò rem communiter gesserunt; fusis inde acie hostibus, 'Aemilium prae-' 'sidio Verruginem obtinere' placuit, 'Postumium fines vas-' 'tare.' Ibi eum in composito agmine negligentius ab re bene gestâ euntem adorti Aequi, terrore injecto, in proximos compulere tumultos; pavorque inde Verruginem etiam ad praesidium alterum est perlatus. Postumius, suis in tutum receptis, quum concione advocatâ terrorem increparet ac fugam, 'fusus esse ab ignavissimo et fugacissimo 'hoste,' conclamat universus exercitus, 'meritò se ea audire, 'et fateri admissum flagitium; sed eosdem correcturos esse, 'neque diuturnum id gaudium hostibus fore.' Poscentes 'ut 'confestim inde ad castra hostium duceret,' (in conspectu erant posita in plano,) nihil poenae recusabant, ni ea ante noctem expugnâssent. Collaudatos 'corpora curare, para-' 'tosque esse quartâ vigiliâ' jubet. Et hostes, nocturnam fugam ex tumultu Romanorum ut ab eâ viâ, quae ferebat Verruginem, excluderent, fuere obvii; proeliumque ante lucem (sed luna pernox erat) commissum est, et hand incertius¹ diurno proelio fuit. Sed clamor Verruginem perlatus, quum castra Romana crederent oppugnari, tantum injectit pavoris ut, nequicquam retinente atque obsecrante Aemilio, Tusculum palati fugerent. Inde fama Romam perlata est, 'Postumium exercitumque occisum.' Qui, ubi prima lux metum insidiarum effusè sequentibus sustulit, quum perequâtasset aciem, promissa repetens tantum injectit ardoris, ut non ultrâ sustinuerint impetum Aequi. Caedes inde fugientium, qualis ubi irâ magis quàm virtute res geritur, ad perniciem hostium facta est; tristemque ab Tusculo nuncium, nequicquam exterritâ civitate, literae a Postumio laureatae² sequuntur, 'victoriam populi Romani 'esse; Aequorum exercitum deletum.'

XXIX. Tribunorum plebis actiones quia nondum invenerant finem, et plebs continuare latoribus legis tribunatum, et Patres reficere intercessores legis annisi sunt. Sed plus suis comitiis plebs valuit. Quem dolorem ultri Patres

¹ *Incertum proelium*, either 'a battle of which the result is doubtful,' or, as here, 'which cannot be fought with distinct movements,' on account of the darkness.

² *Litterae laureatae*, letters wrapped round with laurel, a custom commonly observed by generals announcing a victory.

U. C. 362. sunt, senatûs consulto facto 'ut consules,' invisus plebi magistratus, 'crearentur.' Annum post quintum decimum creati consules¹ L. Lucretius Flavius, Ser. Sulpicius Camerinus. Principio hujus anni, ferociter, quia nemo ex collegio intercessurus erat, coortis ad perfrendam legem tribunis plebis, nec segniùs ob id ipsum consulibus resistentibus, omnique civitate in unam eam curam conversâ, Vitelliam coloniam Romanam in suo agro Aequi expugnant. Colonorum pars maxima incolumis, quia nocte proditione oppidum captum liberam per aversa urbis fugam dederat, Romam perfugere. L. Lucretio consuli ea provincia evenit. Is cum exercitu profectus acie hostes vicit; victorque Romam ad majns aliquanto certamen rediit. Dies dicta erat tribunis plebis biennii superioris A. Virginio et Q. Pomponio, quos defendi Patrum consensu ad fidem senatûs pertinebat. Neque enim eos aut vitae ullo crimine alio aut gesti magistratûs quisquam arguebat, praeterquam 'quòd, gratificantes Patribus, rogationi tribuniciae intercessissent².' Vicit tamen gratiam senatûs plebis ira, et, pessimo exemplo, innoxii denis millibus gravis aeris³ condemnati sunt. Id aegre passi Patres. Camillus palàm sceleris plebem arguere, 'quae jam in suos versa non intelligeret, se pravo judicio de tribunis intercessionem sustulisse, intercessione sublatâ, tribuniciam potestatem evertisse. Nam quòd illi sperarent, effrenatam licentiam ejus magistratûs Patres laturos, falli eos. Si tribunicia vis tribunico auxilio repelli nequeat, aliud telum Patres inventuros esse.' Consulesque increpabat, 'quòd fide publicâ decipi tribunos eos taciti tulissent, qui senatûs auctoritatem secuti essent.' Haec propalam concionabundus in dies magis augebat iras hominum.

XXX. Senatum verò incitare adversus legem haud desistebat; 'ne aliter descenderent in forum, quum dies ferendae legis venisset, quàm ut qui meminissent, sibi pro aris focusque et Deum templis ac solo, in quo nati essent, dimicandum fore. Nam quod ad se privatim attineat, si

¹ *Annum post quintum decimum*, after the fifteenth year had expired, that is, fifteen free years after the last consuls, who were C. Cornelius Cossus and L. Furius Medullinus, 246. See iv. 54.

² See beginning of chap. 25. The bill was for a portion of the people to emigrate to Veii.

³ See p. 336, note 1.

‘suae gloriae sibi inter dimicationem patriae meminisse sit
 ‘fas, sibi amplum quòque esse, urbem ab se captam fre-
 ‘quentari, quotidie se frui monumento gloriae suae, et an-
 ‘te oculos habere urbem latam in triumpho suo ¹, insistere
 ‘omnes vestigiis laudum suarum. Sed nefas ducere, deser-
 ‘tam ac relictam ab Diis immortalibus incolì urbem; et in
 ‘captive solo habitare populum Romanum, et victricem patriam
 ‘victam mutari ².’ His adhortationibus principis concitati
 Patres, senes juvenesque, quum ferretur lex, agmine facto
 in forum venerunt; dissipatique per tribus, suos quisque
 tribules prensantes, orare cum lacrimis coepere, ‘Ne eam
 ‘patriam, pro quâ fortissimè felicissimèque ipsi ac patres
 ‘eorum dimicassent, desererent,’ Capitolium, aedem Vestae,
 cetera circà templa Deorum ostentantes. ‘Ne exsulem,
 ‘extorrem populum Romanum ab solo patrio ac diis penati-
 ‘bus in hostium urbem agerent, eòque rem adducerent, ut
 ‘melius fuerit, non capi Vejos, ne Roma desereretur.’ Quia
 non vi agebant, sed precibus, et inter preces multa Deorum
 mentio erat, religiosum parti maximae fuit, et legem unâ
 plures tribus antiquârunt quàm jusserunt ³. Adeòque ea
 victoria laeta Patribus fuit ut postero die, referentibus con-
 sulibus, senatûs consultum fieret, ‘ut agri Vejentani sep-
 ‘tena jugera plebi dividerentur; nec patribus familiae tan-
 ‘tàm, sed ut omnium in domo liberorum capitum ratio habe-
 ‘retur, vellentque in eam spem liberos tollere.’

¹ Alluding to the practice of carrying, on wooden frames, repre-
 sentations of the cities taken by the triumphing general.

² *Et victricem*, &c. ‘And the vanquished to be taken in exchange for
 ‘the victorious country.’ The original meaning of *muto* (*movito*)
 is *to move*, and this is its force in the 46th chapter; *mutari finibus*,
 ‘to move himself from his place of residence.’ Motion implies change,
 hence *muto*, ‘to change.’ The original meaning implies a motion to
 the object sought, and from the object left. Hence *muto*, with the
 accusative of the thing, to which the change (motion *to*) is made,
 and the ablative of the thing changed, (motion *from*), as in Horace,
Car. iii. l. 48. Cur valle permutem Sabinâ Divitias operosiores?
 Sometimes with a more immediate reference to its secondary mean-
 ing, *to change*, it governs the accusative of the object left, and the
 ablative (as of *price*) of that for which the change is made, as
Exsilioque domos et dulcia limina mutant. VIRGIL, G. II. 511.

³ *Et*, &c. ‘And the tribes, by a majority of one, rejected the law.’
 In the same way, *uno plus Etruscorum occidisse*, II. 7. For *antiquo*,
 see p. 350, note 5.

XXXI. **U. C.** **363.** **Eo munere delentâ plebe, nihil certatum** est quo minùs consularia comitia haberentur. Creati consules L. Valerius Potitus, M. Manlius, cui Capitolino postea etiam ¹ fuit cognomen. Hi consules magnos ludos fecere, quos M. Furius dictator voverat Vejenti bello ². Eodem anno aedes Junonis Reginae, ab eodem dictatore eodemque bello vota, dedicatur; 'celebratamque dedicationem 'ingenti matronarum studio' tradunt. Bellum haud memorabile in Aligido cum Aequis gestum est, fuis hostibus priùs penè quàm manus consererent. Valerio, quòd perseverantior caedendis in fugâ fuit, triumphus; Manlio, ut ovans ³ ingrederetur urbem, decretum est. Eodem anno novum bellum cum Volsiniensibus exortum; quòd propter famem pestilentiamque in agro Romano ex siccitate caloribusque nimis ortam, exercitus duci nequivit. Ob quae Volsinienses, Salpinatibus adjunctis superbâ elati, ultro agros Romanos incursavere. Bellum inde duobus populis indictum. C. Julius censor decessit; in ejus locum M. Cornelius suffectus. Quae res postea religioni fuit, quia eo lustrò ⁴ Roma est capta, nec deinde unquam in demortui locum censor sufficitur. Consulibusque morbo implicitis, placuit 'per in-terregnum renovari auspicia.' Itaque quum ex senatûs consulto consules magistratu se abdicassent, interrex creatur M. Furius Camillus, qui P. Cornelium Scipionem, is deinde L. Valerium Potitum interregem prodidit. Ab eo creati sex tribuni militum consulari potestate, ut, etiamsi cui eorum incommoda valetudo fuisset, copia magistratuum reipublicae esset.

¹ *Capitolinus* was not an uncommon cognomen, probably indicating the residence of the party named. Thus we have T. Quinctius Capitolinus, iv. 8. L. Manlius Capitolinus, iv. 42. This may account for *etiam* (which is not found in several MSS.) 'as well as 'others.' But the *postea* seems to give it a different meaning, 'who had afterwards the surname in addition.' Whether his family ever had that surname before or not, and it is probable they had, for his house was in the capitol, c. 47, he gained a better title to it by the exploit recorded in the same ch., and Livy may have overlooked the local, from the glory of the military cognomen. ² See C. 19.

³ See p. 206, note 2. ⁴ *Lustrum*. The purificatory sacrifice at the close of the census, or the whole ceremony of the census, (both meanings are found, I. 44,) or the space of time between one census and another, or, hence, five years.

XXXII. Kalendis Quinctilibus¹ magistratum occipere L. Lucretius, Ser. Sulpicius, M. Aemilius, u. c. 364. L. Furius Medullinus septimùm, Agrippa Furius, C. Aemilius iterum. Ex his L. Lucretio et C. Aemilio Volsiniensis provincia evenit; Salpinates Agrippae Furio et Ser. Sulpicio. Priùs cum Volsiniensibus pugnatum est; bellum numero hostium ingens, certamine haud sanè asperum fuit. Fusa concursu primo acies in fugam; millia octo armatorum ab equitibus interclusa, positis armis, in dedicationem venerunt. Ejus belli fama effecit, ne se pugnae committerent Salpinates; moenibus armati se tutabantur. Romani praedas passim et ex Salpinati agro, et ex Volsiniensi, nullo eam vim arcente, egerunt; donec Volsiniensibus fessis bello eâ conditione, 'ut res populo Romano redderent, stipendiumque ejus anni exercitui praestarent,' in viginti annos induciae datae. Eodem anno M. Caedicius de plebe nunciavit tribunis, 'se in Novâ viâ,' ubi nunc sacellum est, 'supra aedem Vestae, vocem noctis silentio audisse clariorem humanâ, quae magistratibus dici juberet, "Gallos adventare." Id, ut fit, propter auctoris humilitatem spretum, et quòd longinqua, eoque ignotior, gens erat. Neque Deorum modò monita, ingruente fato, spreta, sed humanam quòque opem, quae una erat, M. Furium ab urbe amovere. Qui, die dictâ ab L. Apuleio tribuno plebis propter praedam Vejentanam, filio quòque adolescente per idem tempus orbatus, quum accitis domum tribulibus clientibusque, (magna pars plebis erat²), percunctatus animos eorum responsum tulisset 'se collaturos quanti damnatus esset, 'absolvere eum non posse³, in exsilium abiit⁴, precatus ab Diis immortalibus, 'si innoxio sibi ea injuria fieret, 'primo quoque tempore desiderium sui civitati ingratae

¹ See p. 200, note 4.

² *Magna pars plebis erat*, either 'they constituted a great portion of the plebeians,' or 'a great portion of them belonged to the plebeian body.' The former is improbable, as they would hardly have so easily despaired of getting Camillus acquitted.

³ Both Niebuhr and Arnold understand this, I think, rashly, in *malam partem*, as meaning that 'they themselves could not acquit him in their consciences, nor aid him with their votes.' I think it means simply that they despaired of his acquittal from the exasperated people.

⁴ 'If we reflect how Camillus hated and despised the people; how he evinced his brutality to them, on every occasion, as a general, by withdrawing

‘ facerent ¹.’ Absens quindecim millibus gravis aeris damnatur.

XXXIII. Expulso cive, quo manente, si quicquam humanorum certi est, capi Roma non potuerat, adventante fatali urbi clade, legati ab Clusinis veniunt auxilium adversus Gallos petentes. ‘ Eam gentem’ traditur famâ ‘ dulcedine ‘ frugum maximèque vini, novâ tum voluptate, captam Alpes ‘ transisse, agrosque ab Etruscis antè cultos possedisae; et ‘ invexisse in Galliam vinum illiciendae gentis causâ Aruntem Clusinum, irâ corruptae uxoris ab Lucumone,’ cui tutor is fuerat ipse ², ‘ praepotente juvene, et a quo expeti ‘ poenae, nisi externa vis quaesita esset, nequirent. Hunc ‘ transeuntibus Alpes ducem, auctoremque Clusium oppugnandi fuisse.’ Equidem haud abnuerim, Clusium Gallos ab Arunte, seu quo alio Clusino adductos; sed ‘ eos, qui ‘ oppugnaverint Clusium, non fuisse, qui primi Alpes transierint’ satis constat. Ducentis quippe annis antè quàm Clusium oppugnarent, urbemque Romam caperent, in Italiani Galli transcenderunt: nec cum his primùm Etruscorum, sed multo antè cum iis, qui inter Appenninum Alpesque incolebant, saepe exercitus Gallici pugnare. Tuscorum ante Romanum imperium latè terrâ marique opes patuere. Mari supero inferoque, quibus Italia insulae modo cingitur, quantum potuerint ³ nomina sunt argumento, quòd alterum Tuscum communi vocabulo gentis, alterum Hadriaticum mare, ab Hadriâ Tuscorum coloniâ, vocavere Italicae gentes; Graeci eadem Tyrrhenum atque Hadriaticum vocant. Ii in utrumque mare vergentes incoluere urbibus

‘ the booty, as proconsular tribune and senator, by refusing them ‘ a share in the government and the conquered lands; how the senate ‘ in these erroneous proceedings always acknowledged him as the ‘ head of their party, we shall be less surprised that the people should ‘ on their part have forgotten his merits as a commander, and sentenced him to a fine.’ Niebuhr, vol. ii. p. 251. ‘ The

‘ prayer of a voluntary exile, when banishing himself through pride, ‘ viz. ‘ that the gods might soon make him necessary to the nation,’ ‘ was abominable. The Grecian heroes were deficient in many virtues: they wanted that gravity which graced the Romans of the ‘ brightest age of the republic, especially of the fifth century; but ‘ they prayed not in so ruthless a spirit, not even Demosthenes himself.’ Niebuhr, vol. ii. p. 253. ‘ Cui Lucumoni tutor is

Aruns fuerat ipse.

² Doering proposes *patuerint*.

duodenis terras, priùs cis Apenninum ad inferum mare, postea trans Apenninum totidem quot capita originis erant coloniis missis, quae trans Padum omnia loca, excepto Venetorum angulo qui sinum circumcolunt maris, usque ad Alpes tenuere. Alpinis quodque ea gentibus haud dubiè origo est, maximè Raetis; quos loca ipsa efferârunt¹, ne quid ex antiquo, praeter sonum linguae, nec eum incorruptum retinerent.

XXXIV. De transitu in Italiam Gallorum haec accepimus. Prisco Tarquinio Romae regnante, Celtarum, quae pars Galliae tertia est, penes Bituriges summa imperii fuit. Ii regem Celtico dabant. Ambigatus is fuit virtute fortunâque quum suâ tum publicâ praepollens, quod imperio ejus Gallia adèò frugum hominumque fertilis fuit, ut abundans multitudo vix regi videretur posse. Hic magno natu ipse jam, exonerare praegravante turbâ regnum cupiens, 'Bellovesum ac Sigovesum, sororis filios, impigros 'juvenes, missurum se esse, in quas Dii dedissent auguriis 'sedes' ostendit; 'quantum ipsi vellent numerum hominum, excirent, ne qua gens arcere advenientes posset.' Tum Sigoveso sortibus dati Hercinii saltus; Belloveso haud paullo laetorem in Italiam viam Dii dabant. Is quod ejus ex populis² abundabat, Bituriges, Avernos, Senones³, Aeduos, Ambarros, Carnutes, Aulercos, excivit. Profectus ingentibus peditum equitumque copiis in Tricastinos venit. Alpes inde oppositae erant; quas inexasuperabiles visas haud equidem miror, nullâ dum viâ (quod quidem continens memoria sit⁴, nisi de Hercule fabulis

¹ *Effer-us*, 'barbarous': *effer-o*, 'I make barbarous,' another instance of that numerous class of verbs, derived from nouns and adjectives, simply by changing the termination into *o*. This *o*, Dr Hunter agrees with Mr Young of Glasgow in thinking probably a change of *ago*, *ao*, *o*, giving the energy of *doing* to the adjective or noun. But, as has been ingeniously asked, whence comes the *o* of *ago* itself?

² The old editions read *his ex populis*, meaning either the nations of Italy, or, more obviously, the nations immediately after enumerated, in which sense Crevier suggests *his*. Sigonius proposes, on the authority of some MSS., *quod ea gens populis*. The reading given is that of the best MSS., where *ejus* must refer to Ambigatus. Gronovius proposes *septem*.

³ As we read in the next chapter of the *Senones* being *recentissimi advenarum*, this seems a mistake of some transcriber, perhaps for *Santones*.

⁴ According to Gro-

credere libet) superatas. Ibi quum velut septos montium altitudo teneret Gallos, circumspectarentque quânam per juncta coelo juga in alium orbem terrarum transirent, religio etiam tenuit, quodd allatum est 'advenas quaerentes' agrum ab Salyum gente oppugnari.' Massilienses erant hi, navibus a Phocaeâ profecti. Id Galli fortunae suae omen rati adjuvere ut, quem primum in terram egressi occupaverant, locum patentibus silvis communirent. Ipsi per Taurinos saltusque invios Alpes transcenderunt; fusisque acie Tuscis haud procul Ticino flumipe, quum in quo considerant 'agrum Insubrium' appellari audissent, cognomine Insubribus pago Aeduorum¹, ibi, omen sequentes loci, condidere urbem; Mediolanum² appellarunt.

XXXV. Alia subinde manus Cenomanorum Elitovio duce vestigia priorum secuta, eodem saltu, favente Belloveso, quum transcendisset Alpes, ubi nunc Brixia ac Verona urbes sunt (locos tenuere Libui) considunt. Post hos Salluvii, prope antiquam gentem Laevos Ligures incolentes circa Ticinum amnem. Penino deinde Boii Lingonesque transgressi, quum jam inter Padum atque Alpes omnia tenerentur, Padoratibus trajecto, non Etruscos modò, sed etiam Umbros agro pellunt; intra Apenninum tamen sese tenere. Tum Senones, recentissimi advenarum, ab Utente flumine usque ad Aesim fines habuere. Hanc gentem Clusium Romanque inde venisse comperio; id parum certum est, solamne an ab omnibus Cisalpinorum Gallorum populis adjutam³. Clusini novo bello exterriti, quum multitudinem, quum formas hominum invisitatas cernerent et genus armorum, audirentque 'saepe ab iis, cis Padum ultraque, legiones' Etruscorum fusas, quanquam adversus Romanos nullum eis jus societatis amicitiaeve⁴ erat, nisi 'quodd Vejentes consanguineos adversus populum Romanum non defendissent,' legatos Romam⁵, qui auxilium ab senatu peterent, misere.

novius, *quod quidem factum esse*; but we should require non factum esse. It is more probable *continens sit* has the force of *continueat*; 'as far, at least, as human tradition may extend.' ¹ *Cognomine Insubribus* existente pago Aeduorum.

² There was a town of this name, both in the country of the Insubres and of the Santones.

³ Why not *sola, adjuta*, says Bauer, to agree with *venerit*? ⁴ Yet, two sentences below, they are called both *socii* and *amici*.

⁵ Niebuhr, after expressing his disbelief of many of the particulars narrated by Livy, adds, vol. ii. p. 277, 'Let it not be supposed that

De auxilio nihil impetratum. Legati tres M. Fabii Ambusti filii missi, qui senatûs populique Romani nomine agerent cum Gallis, 'ne, a quibus nullam injuriam accepissent, socios populi Romani atque amicos oppugnarent. Romanis eos bello quodque, si res cogat, tuendos esse. Sed melius visum, bellum ipsum amoveri, si posset, et Gallos, novam gentem, pace potiùs cognosci quàm armis.'

XXXVI. Mitis legatio, ni praeferoces legatos Gallisque magis quàm Romanis similes habuisset. Quibus, postquam mandata ediderunt in concilio Gallorum, datur responsum; 'Etsi novum nomen audiant Romanorum, tamen credere viros fortes esse, quorum auxilium a Clusinis in re trepidâ sit imploratum. Et quoniam legatione adversus se maluerint quàm armis tueri socios, ne se quidem pacem quam illi afferant aspernari, si Gallis egentibus agro, quem latius possideant quàm colant Clusini, partem finium concedant; aliter pacem impetrari non posse. Et responsum coram Romanis accipere velle; et si negetur ager, coram iisdem Romanis dimicaturos, ut nunciare domum possent, quantum Galli virtute ceteros mortales praestarent.' 'Quodnam id jus esset, agrum a possessoribus petere, aut minari arma?' Romanis quaerentibus, et 'quid in Etruriâ rei Gallis esset?' quum illi 'se in armis jus ferre,' et 'omnia fortium virorum esse' ferociter dicerent, accensis utrinque animis ad arma discurritur, et proelium conseritur. Ibi, jam urgentibus Romanam urbem fatis, legati contra jus gentium arma capiunt. Nec id clàm esse potuit, quum ante signa Etruscorum tres nobilissimi fortissimique Romanae juventutis pugnarent. Tantum eminebat peregrina virtus¹. Quin etiam Q. Fabius, eVectus extra aciem equo, ducem Gallorum ferociter in ipsa signa Etruscorum incursantem per latus transfixum hastâ occidit; spoliaque ejus legentem Galli agnovere, perque totam aciem 'Romanum legatum esse' signum datum est.

'we intend any disparagement to Livy by these observations. A more masterly picture than that which he has sketched of this very period is not to be found in any historian of either nation.' He continues in a glowing eulogium of Livy's powers of description, with which it is impossible not to agree in the fullest extent, as a loftier specimen of historical composition was never penned. ¹ The valour of the Fabii.

Omissâ inde in Clusinos irâ, receptui canunt, minantes Romanis. Erant qui 'extemplo Romam eundum' censerent; vicere seniores, ut legati prius mitterentur questum injurias, postulatumque 'ut pro jure gentium violato Fabii dederentur.' Legati Gallorum quum ea, sicut erant mandata, exposuissent, senatui nec factum placebat Fabiorum, et jus postulare barbari videbantur. Sed, ne id quod placebat decernerent in tantae nobilitatis viris, ambitio obstabat¹. Itaque, ne penes ipsos culpa esset cladis fortè Gallico bello acceptae², cognitionem de postulatis Gallorum ad populum rejiciunt. Ubi tanto plus gratia atque opes valere ut, quorum de poenâ agebatur, tribuni militum consulari potestate in insequentem annum crearentur. Quo facto, haud secus quàm dignum erat, infensi Galli, bellum propalam minantes ad suos redeunt. Tribuni militum cum
 u. c. tribus Fabiis creati Q. Sulpicius Longus, Q. Servilius
 365. quartum, Ser. Cornelius Maluginensis.

XXXVII. Quum tanta moles mali instaret, (adeò occaecat animos fortuna, ubi vim suam ingruentem refringi non vult,) civitas, quae adversus Fidenatem ac Vejentem hostem aliosque finitimos populos, ultima experiens auxilia, dictatorem multis tempestatibus dixisset³, ea tunc, invisitato atque inaudito hoste ab oceano terrarumque ultimis oris bellum ciente, nihil extraordinarii imperii aut auxiliū quaesivit. Tribuni, quorum temeritate bellum contractum erat, summae rerum praeerant; delectumque nihilo accuratiorē, quàm ad media⁴ bella haberi solitus erat, extenuantes etiam famam belli, habebant. Interim Galli, postquam acceperē 'ultro honorem habitum violatoribus juris' humani elusamque legationem suam esse, flagrantēs irâ cujus impotens est gens, confestim signis convulsis, citato

¹ *Ambitio*, 'going about to procure votes;' 'a desire of securing 'favour either from the people,' or, as here, 'from a noble family;' generally, 'a desire to obtain selfish ends, by courting favour.'

² Livy would have written more accurately *accipiendae*; but he supposes the senators as foreseeing the possibility of their being, at some future time, so situated as to look upon a disaster at the hands of the Gauls as *already sustained*.

³ *Quae dixisset*. Why the subjunctive? Some such notion seems involved, as, *tum eventus bellorum prudens anxioque quondam erat ut*, or more shortly *civitas talis ut*.

⁴ *Media bella*, 'wars neither dangerous nor 'the reverse; ordinary wars.'

agmine iter ingrediuntur. Ad quorum praetereuntium raptim tumultum quum exterritae urbes ad arma concurrent, fugaque agrestium fieret, 'Romam¹ se ire' magno clamore significabant, quâcunque ibant, equis virisque, longè ac latè fuso agmine, immensum obtinentes loci. Sed antecedente famâ nunciisque Clusinorum, deinceps inde aliorum populorum, plurimum terroris Romam celeritas hostium tulit; quippe quibus, velut tumultuario exercitu raptim ducto, aegre ad undecimum lapidem occursum est², quâ flumen Allia, Crustumini montibus praealto defluens alveo, haud multum infra viam Tiberino amni miscetur. Jam omnia contrâ circâque hostium plena erant, et nata in vanos tumultus gens, truci cantu clamoribusque variis, horrendo cuncta compleverant sono³.

XXXVIII. Ibi tribuni militum, non loco castris antè capto, non praemunito vallo quò receptus esset, non Deorum saltem, si non hominum, memores, nec auspicato, nec litato⁴, instruunt aciem deductam in cornua, ne circumve-

¹ 'The Roman writers, who pretend that their only object was Rome, and that as soon as they heard that their demand for satisfaction was rejected, they hastened from Clusium to attack the Romans, forget that this is inconsistent with another part of their story, namely, that the deputies who had gone to Clusium were, as if in mockery of the Gauls, elected military tribunes immediately after the refusal to give them up. For as the tribunes did not enter upon office till the first of July, and the battle of the Allia was not fought till the sixteenth, the pretended hasty march of the Gauls from Clusium to Rome, a distance of about a hundred miles, must have taken up more than a fortnight.' Dr Arnold, vol. i. p. 535.

² Dr Arnold thus explains the extreme suddenness with which the battle of Allia took place. The Roman army, with their allies, crossed the river to the north bank, expecting to find the Gauls there. But the Gauls had by this time crossed the river further up, and were on their way unopposed to Rome. In great trepidation the Romans, there being no ford, and no boats between the position of the Gauls and Rome, were forced to go round by Rome and march out by the Salarian road to meet the Gauls, whom they found already within twelve miles of the city.

³ A custom common to all barbarous nations; so the Germans and Caledonians, described in Tacitus, the usual practice of the Persians in Xenophon, the Indian war-whoop, and the Highland slogan. ⁴ *Litare*, 'to sacrifice till the victims are found favourable'; *exercitus litatus*, 'an army for whom the victims are so sacrificed.' A. Gellius, v. 17, mentions, on the authority of Verrius Flaccus, that Sulpicius did sacrifice

niri multitudine hostium possent. Nec tamen aequari¹ frontes poterant, quum extenuando infirmam et vix cohaerentem mediam aciem haberent. Paullum erat ab dextrâ editi loci, quem subsidiariis repleti placuit; eaque res, ut initium pavoris ac fugae, sic una salus fugientibus fuit. Nam Brennus, regulus Gallorum, in paucitate hostium artem maximè timens, ratus ad id captum superiorem locum ut, ubi Galli cum acie legionum rectâ fronte concurrissent, subsidia in aversos transversosque impetum darent, ad subsidiarios signa convertit, si eos loco depulisset, haud dubius facilem in aequo campi tantum superanti multitudini victoriam fore. Adeò non fortuna modò, sed ratio etiam, cum barbaris stabat. In alterâ acie nihil simile Romanis, non apud duces, non apud milites erat. Pavor fugaque occupaverat animos, et tanta hominum² oblivio, ut multo major pars Vejos, in hostium urbem, quum Tiberis arceret, quàm recto itinere Romam ad conjuges ac liberos fugerent. Parumper subsidiarios tutatus est locus. In reliquâ acie simul est clamor proximis ab latere, ultimis ab tergo auditus, ignotum hostem priùs penè quàm viderent, non modò non³ tentato certamine, sed ne clamore quidem reddito, integri intactique fugerunt; nee ulla caedes pugnantium fuit. Terga caesa suomet ipsorum certamine in turbâ impedientium fugam⁴. Circa ripam Tiberis, quò armis abjectis totum sinistrum cornu defugit, magna strages facta est; multosque imperitos nandi aut invalidos, graves lorice aliisque tegminibus, hausere gurgites. Maxima tamen pars incolumis Vejos perfugit; unde non modò⁵ praesidii quicquam, sed ne nuncius quidem cladis Romam est missus. Ab dextro cornu, quod procul a flumine et magis sub monte steterat, Romam omnes petiêre, et, ne clausis quidem portis urbis, in arcem confugerunt.

previously to this battle, and that the college of pontiffs afterwards decided, on a reference to them, that no sacrifice was acceptable to the gods, and, consequently, no omen was to be trusted if obtained on the day succeeding the Calends, Nones or Ides, the day after the Ides being that on which this battle was fought. ¹ See p. 269, note 2.

² *Hominum*. Gronovius reads *omnium*. ³ See p. 71, note 4, Canon II.

⁴ *Terga*, &c. 'They were cut down from behind, whilst, struggling with each other in a confused mass, they impeded each other's flight.' ⁵ See p. 71, note 4, Canon I.

XXXIX. Gallos quodque velut obstupefactos miraculum victoriae tam repentinae tenuit. Et ipsi pavore defixi primum steterunt, velut ignari quid accidisset; deinde insidias vereri; postremò caesorum spolia legere, armorumque cumulos, ut mos eis est, coacervare. Tum demum, postquam nihil usquam hostile cernebatur, viam ingressi, haud multo ante solis occasum ad urbem Romam perveniunt. Ubi quum praegressi equites ‘non portas clausas, non stationem pro portis excubare, non armatos esse in muris’ retulissent, aliud priori simile miraculum eos sustinuit; noctemque veriti et ignotae situm urbis, inter Romam atque Anienem consedere, exploratoribus missis circa moenia aliasque portas, ‘quaenam hostibus in perditâ re consilia essent?’ Romani, quum pars major ex acie Vejos petisset, nemo superesse quemquam praeter eos qui Romam refugerant crederet, complorati omnes pariter vivi mortuique, totam prope urbem lamentis impleverunt. Privatos deinde luctus stupefecit publicus pavor, postquam ‘hostes adesse’ nunciatum est. Mox ululatus cantusque dissonos, vagantibus circa moenia turmatim barbaris, audiebant. Omne inde tempus suspensos ita tenuit animos usque ad lucem alteram, ut identidem¹ jam in urbem futurus videretur impetus;—primo adventu, quo accesserant ad urbem, ‘mansuros enim ad Alliam fuisse, nisi hoc consilii foret.’—Deinde sub occasum solis, quia haud multum diei supererat, ‘ante noctem’ rati ‘se invasuros;’—tum ‘in noctem dilatum consilium esse, quo plus pavoris inferrent.’—Postremò lux appropinquans exanimare; timorique perpetuo ipsum malum continens fuit², quum signa infesta portis sunt illata. Nequaquam tamen eâ nocte, neque insequenti die similis illi, quae ad Alliam tam pavidè fugerat, civitas fuit. Nam quum defendi urbem posse, tam parvâ relictâ manu, spes nulla esset, placuit ‘cum conjugibus ac liberis juventutem militarem senatûsque robur in arcem Capitoliumque concedere;

¹ *Identidem*, ‘from time to time,’ has a manifest allusion to the various stages of the enemy’s advance;—the approach to the city;—the approach of evening;—the night;—the dawn of the following day, when the Gauls actually entered. As *futurus videretur impetus* has an evident bearing on all these, I have, according to the suggestion of Gronovius, so pointed it.

² *Timorique*, &c. See

p. 53, note 1.

‘ armisque et frumento collatis, ex loco inde munito Deos
 ‘ hominesque et Romanum nomen defendere ; flaminem ¹
 ‘ sacerdotesque Vestales sacra publica a caede, ab incendiis
 ‘ procul auferre ; nec antè deseri cultum eorum quàm non
 ‘ superessent, qui colerent. Si arx Capitoliumque, sedes
 ‘ Deorum, si senatus, caput publici consilii, si militaris ju-
 ‘ ventus superfuerit imminenti ruinae urbis, facilem jactu-
 ‘ ram esse seniorum, relictæ in urbe utique perituræ tur-
 ‘ bae.’ Et quo id aequiore animo de plebe multitudo ferret,
 senes triumphales consularesque ‘ simul se cum illis’ palàm
 dicere ‘ obituros ; nec his corporibus, quibus non arma
 ‘ ferre, non tueri patriam possent, oneratos inopiam ar-
 ‘ matorum.’

XL. Haec inter seniores morti destinatos jactata solatia.
 Versae inde adhortationes ad agmen juvenum ², quos in
 Capitolium atque in arcem prosequabantur, commendantes
 virtuti eorum juventaeque urbis per trecentos sexaginta an-
 nos ³ omnibus bellis victricis, quaecunque reliqua esset, for-
 tunam. Digredientibus, qui spem omnem atque opem se-
 cum ferebant, ab iis qui captae urbis non superesse statue-
 rant exitio, quum ipsa res speciesque miserabilis erat, tum
 muliebris fletus et concursatio incerta, nunc hos nunc illos
 sequentium, rogitantiumque viros natosque, ‘ cui se fato
 ‘ darent ?’ nihil, quod humanis superesset malis, relinque-
 bant. ⁴ Magna pars tamen earum in arcem suos prosecutae
 sunt, nec prohibente ullo, nec vocante ; quia, quod utile
 obsessis ad minuendam imbellem multitudinem, id parum
 humanum erat. Alia maximè plebis turba, quam nec ca-
 pere tam exiguus collis, nec alere in tantâ inopiâ frumenti
 poterat, ex urbe effusa velut agmine jam uno petiit Janicu-
 lum ⁵. Inde pars per agros dilapsi, pars urbes petunt fini-
 timas, sine ullo duce aut consensu, suam quisque spem, sua
 consilia, communibus deploratis ⁶, exsequentes. Flamen

¹ We learn from the next chapter that this was the Flamen Qui-
 rinalis.

² Florus, i. 13, says that the number of the garrison
 of the Citadel on the Capitoline was scarcely a thousand, under the
 command of Manlius.

³ The custom of neglecting odd
 numbers in impassioned passages renders it unnecessary to discuss
 the difference between this and the true date. ⁴ This hill lay in a
 direction different from that by which the Gauls were approaching,
 and on the road to Caere. ⁵ *Deploratis*, ‘ having been lamented

interim Quirinalis virginesque Vestales, omissâ rerum suarum curâ, 'quae sacrorum secum ferenda, quae' (quia vires ad omnia ferenda deerant) 'relinquenda essent' consultantes, 'quisve ea locus fidei asservaturus custodiâ essent,' optimum ducunt condita in doliolis sacello proximo aedibus flaminis Quirinalis, ubi nunc despui religio est, defodere; cetera, inter se onere partito, ferunt viâ quae sub licio ponte¹ ducit ad Janiculum. In eo clivo eas quum L. Albinus, de plebe Romanâ homo, conspexisset plastro conjugem ac liberos vehens inter ceteram turbam, quae inutilis bello urbe excedebat, salvo etiam tum discrimine divinarum humanarumque rerum, irreligiosum ratus 'sacerdotes publicos sacraque populi Romani pedibus ire ferri' que², se ac suos in vehiculo conspici,' descendere uxorem ac pueros jussit, virgines sacraque in plastrum imposuit, et Caere, quod iter sacerdotibus erat, pervexit.

XLI. Romae interim, satis jam omnibus, ut in tali re, ad tuendam arcem compositis, turba seniorum domos regressa adventum hostium obstinato ad mortem animo expectabat. Qui eorum curules gesserant magistratus, ut in fortunae pristinae honorumque aut virtutis insignibus morerentur, quae augustissima vestis est tensas³ ducentibus triumphantibusve, eâ vestiti medio aedium eburneis sellis sedere. Sunt qui 'M. Fabio pontifice maximo praefante carmen⁴, 'devovisse⁵ eos se pro patriâ Quiritibusque Romanis' tradant. Galli, et quia interpositâ nocte a contentione pugnae remiserant animos, et quod nec in acie ancipiti usquam certaverant proelio, nec tum impetu aut vi capiebant urbem, sine irâ, sine ardore animorum ingressi postero die urbem patente Collinâ portâ, in forum perveniunt circumferentes oculos ad templa Deum arcemque, solam belli speciem

'as for ever lost,' a term derived from lamentations at funerals.

¹ See p. 61, note 6.

² *Pedibus ire*, referring to *sacerdotes*; *ferri* to *sacra*.

³ *Tensasae*, chariots in which the gods were drawn by the leading men in solemn processions.

⁴ The same as *praeunte*. See p. 308, note 1. *Carmen*, see p. 42, note 3.

⁵ A custom not unusual amongst the Romans, according to which generals and leading men devoted themselves, as well as their enemies, to the spirits of the dead and to the earth, *Diis Manibus et Telluri*, in cases of extreme danger, for the deliverance of their country. From this being afterwards done in favour of the emperors, comes our expression, *devoted to one's service*.

tenentem. Inde, modico relicto praesidio, ne quis in dissipatos ex arce aut Capitolio impetus fieret, dilapsi ad praedam vacuis occursum hominum viis, pars in proxima quaeque tectorum agmine ruunt, pars ultima, velut ea demum intacta et referta praedâ, petunt. Inde rursus ipsâ solitudine absterri ne qua fraus hostilis vagos exciperet, in forum ac propinqua foro loca conglobati redibant, ubi eos, plebis aedificiis obseratis, patentibus atriis principum, major propè cunctatio tenebat apertâ quàm clausâ invadendi. Adeò haud secus quàm venerabundi intuebantur in aedium vestibulis¹ sedentes viros, praeter ornatum habitumque humano augustiorem, majestate etiam, quam vultus gravitasque oris prae se ferebat, simillimos Diis. Ad eos velut simulacra versi quum starent, M. Papirius unus ex his dicitur Gallo, barbam suam, ut tum omnibus promissa erat, permulcenti, scipione eburneo in caput incusso iram movisse, 'atque ab eo initium caedis ortum², ceteros in sedibus suis trucidatos; post principum caedem nulli deinde 'mortalium parci, diripi tecta, exhaustis injici ignes.'

XLII. Ceterum, seu non omnibus delendae urbis libido erat, seu ita placuerat principibus Gallorum 'et ostentari 'quaedam incendia terroris causâ, si compelli ad deditionem 'caritate sedium suarum obsessi possent, et non omnia con-'cremari tecta, ut, quodcunque superesset urbis, id pignus 'ad flectendos hostium animos haberent,' nequaquam perinde atque in captâ urbe primâ die aut passim aut latè vagatus est ignis. Romani ex arce plenam hostium urbem cernentes vagosque per vias omnes cursus, quum aliâ atque aliâ parte nova aliqua clades oriretur, non mentibus solùm concipere³, sed ne auribus quidem atque oculis satis constare poterant. Quocunque clamor hostium, mulierum puorumque ploratus, sonitus flammae, et fragor ruentium tectorum avertisset⁴, paventes ad omnia, animos oraque et ocu-

¹ This must mean that the Gauls were in *vestibulis*, or Livy has forgotten that he stated the senators to be *medio aedium*. ² See p. 329, note 3.

³ The old reading is *concupere*; a suggested reading, which has been extensively adopted, *conspicere*. The former is the more expressive of strong mental alienation, indicating the loss of the power even of receiving impressions from without, and is therefore preferable. See also p. 71, note 4.

⁴ *Avertisset*. Gronovius reads *advertisset*. See p. 24, note 1.

los flectebant, velut ad spectaculum a fortunâ positi occidentis patriae, nec ullius rerum suarum relictî, praeterquam corporum, vindices; tanto ante alios miserandi magis qui unquam obsessi sunt, quòd interclusi a patriâ obsidebantur, omnia sua cernentes in hostium potestate. Nec tranquilli-
or nox diem tam foedè actum excepit; lux deinde noctem inquietam¹ insecuta est; nec ullum erat tempus, quod a novae semper cladis alicujus spectaculo cessaret. Nihil tamen, tot onerati atque obruti malis, flexerunt animos quin, etsi omnia flammis ac ruinis aequata vidissent, quamvis inopem parvumque, quem tenebant, collem libertati relictum, virtute defenderent; et jam, quum eadem quotidie acciderent, velut assueti malis, abalienaverant ab sensu rerum suarum animos, arma tantùm ferrumque in dextris, velut solas reliquias spei suae intuentes.

XLIII. Galli quòque, per aliquot dies in tecta modò urbis nequicquam bello gesto, quum inter incendia ac ruinas captae urbis nihil superesse praeter armatos hostes viderent, nec quicquam tot cladibus territos, nec flexuros ad deditio-
nem animos, ni vis adhiberetur, experiri ultima et impetum facere in arcem statuunt. Primâ luce, signo dato, multitudo omnis in foro instruitur. Inde, clamore sublato ac testudine factâ, subeunt. Adversus quos Romani nihil temere nec trepidè, ad omnes aditus stationibus firmatis, quâ signa ferri videbant, eâ robore virorum opposito scandere hostem sinunt, 'quo successerit magis in arduum, eo pelli
'posse per proclive faciliùs' rati. Medio fere clivo resistere; atque inde ex loco superiore, qui prope suâ sponte in hostem inferebat, impetu facto, strage ac ruinâ fudere Gallos, ut nunquam postea nec pars, nec universi tentaverint tale pugnae genus. Omissâ itaque spe per vim atque arma subeundi, obsidionem parant; cujus ad id tempus immemores, et quod in urbe fuerat, frumentum incendiis urbis absumpserant, et ex agris per ipsos dies raptum omne V-
jos erat. Igitur exercitu diviso, 'partim per finitimos populos praedari' placuit, 'partim obsideri arcem, ut obsidentibus frumentum populos agrorum praeberent.' Proficiscentes Gallos ab urbe ad Romanam experiendam virtutem fortuna ipsa Ardeam, ubi Camillus exsulabat,

¹ *Inquieta ?*

duxit; qui moestior ibi fortunâ publicâ quàm suâ, quum Diis hominibusque accusandis senesceret, indignando mirandoque 'ubi illi viri essent, qui secum Vejos Faleriosque cepissent, qui alia bella fortiùs semper quàm feliciùs gessissent,' repentè audit, Gallorum exercitum adventare, atque de eo pavidos Ardeates consultare. Nec secus quàm divino spiritu tactus, quum se in mediam concionem intulisset, abstinere suetus antè talibus conciliis;

XLIV. 'Ardeates,' inquit, 'veteres amici, novi etiam cives mei, quando et vestrum beneficium ita tulit, et fortuna hoc egit mea, nemo vestrùm conditionis meae oblitum me huc processisse putet; sed res ac periculum commune cogit, quod quisque possit in re trepidâ praesidii, in medium conferre. Et quando ego vobis pro tantis vestris in me meritis gratiam referam, si nunc cessavero? aut ubi usus erit mei vobis, si in bello non fuerit? Hâc arte in patriâ steti, et, invictus bello, in pace ab ingratis civibus pulsus sum. Vobis autem, Ardeates, fortuna oblata est, et pro tantis pristinis populi Romani beneficiis¹, quanta ipsi meministis, (nec enim exprobranda apud memores sunt²), gratiae referendae, et huic urbe decus ingens belli ex hoste communi pariendi. Quae effuso agmine adventat, gens est, cui natura corpora animosque magna magis quàm firma dederit. Eò in certamen omne plus terroris quàm virium ferunt. Argumento sit clades Romana. Patentem cepere urbem; ex arce Capitolioque his exiguâ resistitur manu. Jam obsidionis taedio victi abscedunt, vagique per agros palantur, cibo vinoque raptim hausto repleti. Ubi nox appetit, prope rivos aquarum, sine munimento, sine stationibus ac custodiis, passim ferarum ritu sternuntur, nunc ab secundis rebus magis etiam solito incauti. Si vobis in animo est, tueri moenia vestra, nec pati haec omnia Galliam fieri, primâ vigiliâ capite arma frequentes; me sequimini ad caedem, non ad pugnam. Nisi victos³ somno, velut pecudes, trucidandos tradidero,

¹ See IV. 9, 10, 11. ² So Terence, Nam isthaec commemoratio, Quasi *exprobratio* est immemoris beneficii. And. I. 1, 16.

³ Others, *victos*. *Vinci* somno, to be overpowered by sleep, with a reference to a man's state before; *vinciri* somno, to be fettered by sleep, referring to his state during sleep.

‘ non recuso eundem Ardeae rerum mearum exitum, quem
 ‘ Romae habui.’

XLV. Aequis iniquisque persuasum erat, tantum bello virum neminem usquam eâ tempestate esse. Concione dimissâ, corpora curant, intenti quàm mox signum daretur. Quo dato, primae silentio noctis ad portas Camillo praesto fuere. Egressi, haud procul urbe, sicut praedictum erat, castra Gallorum intuta neglectaque ab omni parte nacti, clamore invadunt. Nusquam proelium, omnibus locis caedes est; nuda corpora et soluta somno trucidantur. Extremos tamen pavor cubilibus suis excitos, quae aut unde vis esset ignaros, in fugam, et quosdam in hostem ipsum improvidos tulit. Magna pars in agrum Antiatem delati, incursione ab oppidanis in palatos factâ, circumveniuntur. Similis in agro Vejenti Tuscorum facta strages est; qui urbis, jam prope quadringentesimum annum vicinae, oppressae ab hoste invisitato inauditoque aded nihil miseriti sunt, ut in agrum Romanum eo tempore incursiones facerent, plenique praedae Vejos etiam, praesidiumque et spem ultimam Romani nominis, in animo habuerint oppugnare. Viderant eos milites Romani, vagantes per agros et congregatos agmine, praedam prae se agentes, et castra cernebant haud procul Vejis posita. Inde primùm miseratio sui, deinde indignitas, atque ex eâ ira animos cepit, ‘ Etruscisne etiam, ‘ a quibus bellum Gallicum in se avertissent, ludibrio esse ‘ clades suas?’ Vix temperavere animis, quin extemplo impetum facerent; compressique a Caedicio centurione, quem sibimet ipsi praefecerant, rem in noctem sustinuerunt¹. Tantùm par Camillo defuit auctor, cetera eodem ordine eodemque fortunae eventu gesta. Quin etiam, ducibus captivis qui caedi nocturnae superfuerant, ad aliam manum Tuscorum ad Salinas profecti, nocte insequenti ex improvviso majorem caedem edidere, duplicique victoriâ ovantes Vejos redeunt.

XLVI. Romae interim plerumque obsidio segnis et utrinque silentium esse, ad id tantùm intentis Gallis, ne quis hostium evadere inter stationes posset; quum repentè juvenis Romanus admiratione in se cives hostesque convertit. Sacrificium erat statum in Quirinali colle genti Fabiae. Ad

¹ See p. 274, note 1.

id faciendum C. Fabius Dorso, Gabino cinctu ¹, sacra manibus gerens, quum de Capitolio descendisset, per medias hostium stationes egressus, nihil ad vocem cujusquam terroremve motus, in Quirinalem collem pervenit. Ibiq;e omnibus solenniter peractis, eâdem revertens similiter constanti vultu graduq;ue, satis sperans 'propitios esse Deos, quorum cultum ne mortis quidem metu prohibitus deseruisset,' in Capitolium ad suos rediit, seu attonitis Gallis miraculo audaciae, seu religione etiam motis, cujus haudquaquam negligens est gens. Vejis interim non animi tantum in dies, sed etiam vires, crescebant; nec Romanis solum eò convenientibus ex agris, qui a proelio adverso aut clade captae urbis palati fuerant, sed etiam ex Latio voluntariis confluentibus, ut in parte praedae essent. Maturum jam videbatur repeti patriam eripique ex hostium manibus; sed corpori valido caput deerat. Locus ipse ² admonebat Camilli, et magna pars militum erat, qui ductu auspicioque ejus res prospere gesserant, et Caedicius negare 'se commissurum, cur sibi aut Deorum aut hominum quisquam imperium finiret potius, quam ipse memor ordinis sui posceret imperatorem ³.' Consensu omnium placuit 'ab Ardeâ Camillum acciri, sed antea consulto senatu, qui Romae esset;' adeò regebat omnia pudor, discriminaque rerum prope perditis rebus servabant. Ingenti periculo transeundum per hostium custodias erat. Ad eam rem Pontius Cominius, impiger juvenis, operam pollicitus, incubans cortici secundo Tiberi ad urbem defertur. Inde, quâ proximum fuit a ripâ, per praeruptum eoq;ue neglectum hostium custodiae saxum, in Capitolium evadit, et ad magistratus ductus, mandata exercitus edit. Accepto inde senatus decreto, 'ut et, comitiis curiatis, revocatus de exsilio, jussu populi Camillus dictator extemplo diceretur,

¹ The *cinctus Gabinus*, a mode of dress adopted on solemn occasions, is thus described by Dr Adam, from Servius: 'The *toga* was tucked up, and the lappet of it thrown over the left shoulder, and brought round under the right arm to the breast, so that it girded him, and made the *toga* shorter and closer.'

² Veii, where he had been so signally successful. ³ *Et Caedicius, &c.* 'And Caedicius asserted that he should not run the risk of any divine or human power terminating his command, in preference to himself remembering his subordinate rank, and demanding the presence of his lawful commander.'

' militesque haberent imperatorem, quem vellent,' eâdem degressus nuncius Vejos contendit; missique Ardeam legati ad Camillum, Vejos eum perduxere; seu, (quod magis credere libet, non prius profectum ab Ardeâ quàm comperit legem latam,) ' quòd nec injussu populi mutari¹ finibus posset, nec, nisi dictator dictus, auspicia in exercitu habere,' lex curiata lata est, dictatorque absens dictus².

XLVII. Dum hæc Vejis agebantur, interim arx Romæ Capitoliumque ingenti periculo fuit. Namque Galli, seu vestigio notato humano, quâ nuncius a Vejis pervenerat, seu suâ sponte animadverso ad Carmentis saxo³ ascensu aequo, nocte sublustri, quum primò inermem, qui tentaret viam, praemisissent, tradentes inde arma, ubi quid iniqui esset, alterni innisi, sublevantesque in vicem et trahentes alii alios, prout postularet locus, tanto silentio in summum evasere, ut non custodes solùm fallerent, sed ne canes quidem, sollicitum animal ad nocturnos strepitus, excitarent. Anseres non fefellere⁴, quibus sacris Junoni, in summâ inopiâ cibi, tamen abstinebatur; quæ res saluti fuit. Namque clangore eorum alarumque crepitu excitus M. Manlius, qui triennio antè consul fuerat, vir bello egregius, armis arreptis, simul ad arma ceteros ciens vadit, et dum ceteri trepidant, Gallum qui jam in summo constiterat umbone ictum deturbat; cujus casus prolapsi quum proximos sterneret, trepidantes alios, armisque omissis saxa, qui-

¹ *Mutari*. See p. 393, note 2. ² The meaning of this passage is considered as doubtful, and several commentators have despaired of eliciting from it any distinct interpretation. This, however, appears to be the force of the words; there are two opinions as to the mode taken for the return of Camillus. One is, that he was recalled after a decree of the senate had authorised Camillus to hold the comitia curiata, that he might be invested with an irregular dictatorial power. The other, and the more probable, that he was first so nominated in his absence, and that the messenger was invested with power to tell him in the usual formula, *dictatorem absentem dictum*. The Comitia Curiata alone bestowed military power; hence c. 52, *Comitia Curiata, quæ rem militarem continent*. ³ *Carmentis*. See p. 61, note 4. *Saxum* is the old reading; *saxorum*, a conjecture of Gronovius; *Saxo* is found in some good M.SS. *Aequo* must be understood as having a comparative reference to the difficulties of other parts of the ascent. ⁴ *Non fefellere*, 'they did not escape the notice of.' See p. 138, note 2.

bus adhaerebant, manibus amplexos trucidat. Jamque et alii congregati telis missilibusque saxis proturbare hostes, ruinâque tota prolapsa acies in praeceps deferri. Sedato deinde tumultu, reliquum noctis (quantum in turbatis mentibus poterat, quum praeteritum quodque periculum sollicitaret) quieti datum est. Luce ortâ, vocatis classico ad concilium militibus ad tribunos, quum et rectè et perperam facto pretium deberetur, Manlius primùm ob virtutem laudatus donatusque, non ab tribunis solùm militum, sed consensu etiam militari; cui universi selibras farris et quartarios vini ad aedes ejus, quae in arce erant, contulerunt; rem dictu parvam, ceterùm inopia fecerat eam argumentum ingens caritatis, quum se quisque victu suo fraudans detractum corpori atque usibus necessariis ad honorem unius viri conferret. Tum vigiles ejus loci, quâ fefellerat ascendens hostis, citati; et quum ‘in omnes more militari se animadversurum’ Q. Sulpicius tribunus militum pronunciâset, consentiente clamore militum in unum vigilem conjicientium culpam deterritus, a ceteris abstinuit; reum haud dubium ejus noxae, approbantibus cunctis, de saxo dejecit¹. Inde intentiores utrinque custodiae esse; et apud Gallos, quia vulgatum erat ‘inter Vejos Romamque nuncios com-meare,’ et apud Romanos, ab nocturni periculi memoriâ.

XLVIII. Sed ante omnia obsidionis bellicae mala fames utrinque exercitum urgebat; Gallos pestilentia etiam, quum loco jacente inter tumulos castra habentes, tum ab incendiis torrido et vaporis pleno, cineremque non pulverem modò ferente, quum quid venti motum esset. Quorum intolerantissima gens, humorique ac frigori assueta, quum aestu et angore vexata, vulgatis velut in pecua morbis moreretur, jam pigritiâ singulos sepeliendi promiscuè acervatos cumulos hominum urebant; bustorumque inde Gallicorum nomine insignem locum fecere. Induciae deinde cum Ro-

¹ ‘The Romans extended their rewards and punishments even to the geese and dogs: the former were ever after held in honour at Rome, and a flock of them was always kept at the public expense. A golden image of a goose was set up in memory of their service; and a goose was every year carried on a soft litter finely adorned; while those dumb guards, the dogs, were held in abhorrence by the Romans, who every year impaled one of them alive on a branch of elder.’ Notes to Hooke.

manis factae, et colloquia permissu imperatorum habita; in quibus quum identidem Galli famem objicerent, eâque necessitate ad deditionem vocarent, dicitur avertendae ejus opinionis causâ multis locis panis de Capitolio jactatus esse in hostium stationes. Sed jam neque dissimulari, neque ferri ultrâ fames poterat. Itaque, dum dictator delectum per se Ardeae habet, magistrum equitum L. Valerium a Vejis abducere exercitum jubet, parat instruitque quibus haud impar adoriatur hostes; interim Capitolinus exercitus, stationibus vigiliisque fessus, superatis tamen humanis omnibus malis, quum famem unam natura vinci non sineret, diem de die prospectans¹, ecquod auxilium ab dictatore appareret, postremò spe quòque jam, non solum cibo, deficiente, et quum stationes procederent², prope obruentibus infirmum corpus armis, 'vel dedi, vel redimi se, quâcunque pactione possent' jussit³, jactantibus non obscurè Gallis, 'haud magnâ mercede se adduci posse, ut obsidionem relinquunt.' Tum senatus habitus, tribunisque militum negotium datum, ut paciscerentur. Inde inter Q. Sulpicium tribunum militum et Brennum regulum Gallorum colloquio transacta res est, et mille pondo auri pretium populi gentibus mox imperaturi factum. Rei, foedissimae per se, adjecta indignitas est. Pondera ab Gallis allata iniqua, et tribuno recusante, additus ab insolente Gallo ponderi gladius, auditaque intoleranda Romanis vox, 'Vae victis esse.'

XLIX. Sed Diique et homines prohibuere redemptos vivere Romanos. Nam forte quâdam, priùs quàm infanda merces perficeretur, per altercationem nondum omni auro appenso, dictator intervenit, 'auferrique aurum de medio, et Gallos submoveri' jubet. Quum illi renitentes 'pactos' dicerent 'sese,' negat 'eam pactionem ratam esse, quae, postquam ipse dictator creatus esset, injussu suo ab inferioris juris magistratu facta esset,' denunciatque Gallis,

¹ *Prospectare* implies a distant and anxious view. Thus Phaedrus, II. 5, 9—10, *Quae . . . prospectat Siculum, et prospicit Tuscum mare.*

² *Quum stationes procederent*, 'when the guards were still kept up,' according to Gronovius, or 'when the guards went to their assigned posts,' according to Drakenborch and Doering, or 'when the guards walked feebly and slowly along,' according to Bauer. Sigonius conjectures *in stationes*.

³ In this intricate sentence, the leading clause is *Capitolinus exercitus—jussit*.

‘ut se ad proelium expediant.’ Suos ‘in acervum conjicere sarcinas, et arma aptare, ferroque, non auro, recuperare patriam’ jubet, ‘in conspectu habentes fana Deum, et conjuges, et liberos, et solum patriae deforme belli malis, et omnia, quae defendi repetique et ulcisci fas sit.’ Instruit deinde aciem, ut loci natura patiebatur, in semirutae solo urbis, et naturâ inaequali; et omnia, quae arte belli secunda suis eligi praepararive poterant, providit. Galli, novâ re trepidi, arma capiunt, irâque magis quàm consilio in Romanos incurrunt. Jam verterat¹ fortuna, jam Deorum opes humanaque consilia rem Romanam adjuvabant. Igitur primo concursu haud majore momento fusi Galli sunt quàm ad Alliam vicerant. Justiore altero deinde proelio² ad octavum lapidem Gabinâ viâ, quò se ex fugâ contulerant, ejusdem ductu auspicioque Camilli vincuntur³. Ibi caedes omnia obtinuit. Castra capiuntur, et ne nuncius quidem cladis relictus. Dictator, recuperatâ ex hostibus patriâ⁴, triumphans in urbem redit, interque jocos mili-

¹ See p. 49, note 2. ² The ancient writers of Roman history are not agreed as to the cause which saved Rome from the Gauls. The account given by Polybius is very different from that of Livy. He attributes their return to domestic causes, and expressly says that the Romans agreed to all their demands. It may be observed, that, in all cases, Livy represents the Romans in as favourable a light as possible, shielding them with a most jealous eye from all dishonour. This, and the account of the departure of Porsenna, given in the second book, are striking instances. ³ According to the

‘true version of this famous event, the Gauls returned from their inroad into Italy loaded with spoil, and crowned with glory. That, as soon as they were known to be retreating, the nations whom they had overrun should have recovered their courage, and have taken every opportunity to assail them on their march home is perfectly probable; nor need we doubt that these attacks were successful, that many stragglers were cut off, and much plunder retaken. These stories were exaggerated, as was natural; and by degrees the Romans claimed the glory of them for themselves.’ Dr Arnold, vol. i. p. 550.

⁴ ‘Whatever may have been the true account of this famous adventure, the Romans have given it a place in their history, retained a deep impression of their danger from the Gauls, and from thence dated the origin of some particulars in their policy, which seem to have arisen from such an impression. They set apart particular funds in the treasury to be spared in all other possible exigencies of the state, and reserved for a resource in the case of a Gaulish

tares, quos inconditos jaciunt, ‘Romulus ac parens patriae’ conditorque alter urbis’ haud vanis laudibus appellatur. Servatam deinde bello patriam iterum in pace haud dubiè servavit, quum prohibuit migrari Vejos, et tribunis rem intentiùs agentibus post incensam urbem, et per se inclinâtâ magis plebe ad id consilium. Eaque causa fuit non abdicandae post triumphum dictaturae, senatu obsecrante ‘ne rempublicam in incerto relinqueret statu.’

L. Omnium primùm, ut erat diligentissimus religionum cultor, quae ad Deos immortales pertinebant retulit; et senatûs consultum facit, ‘Fana omnia, quòd ea hostis possedisset, restituerentur, terminarentur¹ expiarenturque, expiatioque eorum in libris per duumviros quaereretur; cum Caeretibus hospitium publicè fieret², quòd sacra populi Romani ac sacerdotes recepissent, beneficioque ejus populi non intermissus honos Deûm immortalium esset; ludi Capitolini fierent, quòd Jupiter optimus maximus suam sedem atque arcem populi Romani in re trepidâ tutatus esset; collegiumque ad eam rem M. Furius dictator constitueret ex iis, qui in Capitolio atque arce habitarent.’ Expiandae etiam vocis nocturnae, ‘quae nuncia cladis ante bellum Gallicum audita neglectaque esset,’ mentio illata, jussumque templum in Novâ viâ Ajo Locutio³ fieri. Aurum quod Gallis ereptum erat, quodque ex aliis templis inter trepidationem in Jovis cellam collatum, quum in quae referri oporteret confusa memoria esset, sacrum omne judicatum, et sub Jovis sellâ poni jussum. Jam antè in eo religio civitatis apparuerat, quòd, quum in publico deesset aurum ex quo summa pactae mercedis Gallis confieret, a matronis collatum acceperant, ut sacro auro abstineretur. Matronis gratiae actae, honosque additus, ut earum, sicut virorum,

‘invasion. They subjected the magistrate to certain general restrictions, but allowed an exception in case of an invasion from the Gauls; and it is likely, that in the age in which they took these alarming impressions, they had not yet acquired those advantages of discipline and military skill, in which they were afterwards so much superior to the Gauls, and other barbarous neighbours.’ Dr FERGUSON, Book i. ch. 2. ¹ *Terminarentur.* See p. 99, note 5.

² The Caeretes received all the rights of Roman citizens, except that of voting: hence, in *tabulas Caeretum referri*, ‘to be deprived of the right of voting.’ See p. 310, note 3. ³ Ajo, loquor.

post mortem solennis laudatio esset. Iis peractis, quae ad Deos pertinebant, quaeque per senatum agi poterant, tum demum, agitantibus tribunis plebem assiduus concionibus, ut, relictis ruinis, in urbem paratam Vejos transmigrarent, in concionem, universo senatu prosequente, descendit, atque ita verba fecit ;

LI. ‘ Adeò mihi acerbae sunt, Quirites, contentiones cum
 ‘ tribunis plebis, ut nec tristissimi exsili solatium aliud ha-
 ‘ buerim, quoad Ardeae vixi, quàm quòd procul ab his certa-
 ‘ minibus eram ; et ob eadem haec, non, si me senatùs con-
 ‘ sulto populique jussu revocaretis, rediturus unquam fuerim.
 ‘ Nec nunc me, ut redirem, mea voluntas mutata, sed vestra
 ‘ fortuna perpulit ; quippe ut in suâ sede maneret patriâ, id
 ‘ agebatur, non ut ego utique in patriâ essem. Et nunc
 ‘ quiescerem ac tacerem libenter, nisi haec quòque pro patriâ
 ‘ dimicatio esset ; cui deesse, quoad vita suppetat, aliis turpe,
 ‘ Camillo etiam nefas est. Quid enim repetimus¹ ? quid
 ‘ obsessam ex hostium manibus eripuimus, si recuperatam
 ‘ ipsi deserimus ? et quum, victoribus Gallis, captâ totâ
 ‘ urbe, Capitolium tamen atque arcem Diique et homines
 ‘ Romani tenuerint, habitaverint, victoribus Romanis, re-
 ‘ cuperatâ urbe, arx quòque et Capitolium deseretur ? et
 ‘ plus vastitatis hinc urbi secunda nostra fortuna faciet
 ‘ quàm adversa fecit ? Equidem, si nobis cum urbe simul
 ‘ positae traditaeque per manus religiones nullae essent, ta-
 ‘ men tam evidens numen hâc tempestate rebus adfuit Ro-
 ‘ manis, ut omnem negligentiam divini cultûs exemptam
 ‘ hominibus putem. Intuemini enim horum deinceps an-
 ‘ norum vel secundas res, vel adversas ; invenietis omnia
 ‘ prospere evenisse sequentibus Deos, adversa spernentibus.
 ‘ Jam omnium primum Vejens bellum (per quot annos,
 ‘ quanto labore gestum !) non antè cepit finem, quàm mo-
 ‘ nitu Deorum aqua ex lacu Albano emissa est. Quid haec
 ‘ tandem urbis nostrae clades nova ? num antè exorta est
 ‘ quàm spreta vox coelo emissa de adventu Gallorum ?
 ‘ quàm gentium jus ab legatis nostris violatum ? quàm a
 ‘ nobis, quum vindicari deberet, eâdem negligentia Deorum
 ‘ praetermissum ? Igitur victi captique ac redempti tantum
 ‘ poenarum Diis hominibusque dedimus, ut terrarum orbi

¹ Propter quid enim repetimus patriam.

‘ documento ¹ essemus. Adversae deinde res admonuerunt
 ‘ religionum. Confugimus in Capitolium ad Deos, ad se-
 ‘ dem Jovis optimi maximi; sacra in ruinâ rerum nostra-
 ‘ rum alia terrae celavimus ², alia, avecta in finitimas urbes,
 ‘ amovimus ab hostium oculis. Deorum cultum, deserti ab
 ‘ Diis hominibusque, tamen non intermisimus. Reddidere
 ‘ igitur patriam, et victoriam, et antiquum belli decus amis-
 ‘ sum, et in hostes, qui caeci avaritiâ in pondere auri foedus
 ‘ ac fidem fefellerunt, verterunt terrorem fugamque et cae-
 ‘ dem.

LII. ‘ Haec culti neglectique numinis tanta monumenta
 ‘ in rebus humanis cernentes, ecquid sentitis, Quirites, quan-
 ‘ tum, vixdum e naufragiis prioris culpa cladisque emergen-
 ‘ tes, paremus nefas? Urbem auspicatò inauguratòque con-
 ‘ ditam habemus; nullus locus in eâ non religionum Deo-
 ‘ rumque est plenus; sacrificiis solennibus non dies magis
 ‘ statî quàm loca sunt, in quibus fiant. Hos omnes Deos,
 ‘ publicos privatosque, Quirites, deserturi estis? Quàm
 ‘ par vestrum factum est ³, quod in obsidione nuper in egre-
 ‘ gio adolescente C. Fabio, non minore hostium admiratione
 ‘ quàm vestrâ conspectum est, quum inter Gallica tela de-
 ‘ gressus ex arce solenne Fabiae gentis in colle Quirinali
 ‘ obiit? An gentilitia sacra ne in bello quidem intermitteri,
 ‘ publica sacra et Romanos Deos etiam in pace deserî pla-
 ‘ cet? et pontifices flaminesque negligentiores publicarum
 ‘ religionum esse quàm privatus in solenni gentis fuerit?
 ‘ Forsitan aliquis dicat, ‘ aut Vejîs ea nos facturos, aut huc
 ‘ inde missuros sacerdotes nostros, qui faciant;’ quorum
 ‘ neutrum fieri salvis ceremoniis potest. Et ne omnia ge-
 ‘ neratim sacra omnesque percenseam Deos, in Jovis epulo
 ‘ num alibi quàm in Capitolio pulvinar suscipi potest?
 ‘ Quid de aeternis Vestae ignibus signoque, quod imperii
 ‘ pignus custodiâ ejus templi tenetur, loquar? quid de anci-
 ‘ libus vestris, Mars Gradive, tuque Quirine pater ⁴? haec

¹ See p. 51, note 1, and p. 6, note 2.

² *Terrae*

celare, an unusual construction.

³ Supply *ei*

facto. The sentence is ironical.

⁴ Either because

Romulus was the reputed son of Mars, or because the city which the shields protected was founded by him, or because, in Livy's opinion, Romulus and not Numa had instituted the ceremonies connected with them, Romulus is mentioned with Mars as having an interest in

' omnia in profano deseri placet sacra, aequalia urbi, quae-
 ' dam vetustiora origine urbis? Et videte, quid inter nos ac
 ' majores intersit. Illi sacra quaedam in monte Albano
 ' Lavinioque¹ nobis facienda tradiderunt. An ex hostium
 ' urbibus Romam ad nos transferri sacra religiosum fuit;
 ' hinc sine piaculo² in hostium urbem Vejos transferemus?
 ' Recordamini, agitedum, quoties sacra instaurentur, quia
 ' aliquid ex patrio ritu negligentia casuve praetermissum
 ' est. Modò quae res, post prodigium Albani lacûs, nisi in-
 ' stauratio sacrorum auspiciorumque renovatio, affectae Ve-
 ' jenti bello reipublicae remedio fuit? At etiam, tanquam
 ' veterum religionum memores, et peregrinos Deos trans-
 ' tulimus Romam, et instituimus novos. Juno Regina,
 ' transvecta a Vejis, nuper in Aventino quàm insigni ob
 ' excellens matronarum studium celebrique dedicata est die?
 ' Ajo Locutio templum, propter coelestem vocem exaudi-
 ' tam in Novâ viâ jussimus fieri; Capitolinos ludos solen-
 ' nibus aliis addidimus; collegiumque ad id novum, auctore
 ' senatu, condidimus. Quid horum opus fuit suscipi, si unâ
 ' cum Gallis urbem Romanam relicturi fuimus? si non vo-
 ' luntate mansimus in Capitolio per tot menses obsidionis?
 ' si ab hostibus metu retenti sumus? De sacris loquimur et
 ' de templis; quid tandem de sacerdotibus? Nonne in men-
 ' tem venit, quantum piaculi committatur? Vestalibus
 ' nempe una illa sedes est, ex quâ eas nihil unquam, prae-
 ' terquam urbs capta, movit. Flamini Diali noctem unam
 ' manere extra urbem nefas est. Hos Vejentes pro Ro-
 ' manis facturi estis sacerdotes, et Vestales tuae te deserent,
 ' Vesta? et flamen peregrè habitando in singulas noctes
 ' tantum sibi rei publicae piaculi contrahet? Quid alia,
 ' quae auspicatò agimus omnia fere intra pomœrium, cui
 ' oblivioni, aut cui negligentiae damus? Comitia curiata,
 ' quae rem militarem continent; comitia centuriata, quibus
 ' consules tribunosque militares creatis, ubi auspicatò, nisi
 ' ubi adsolent, fieri possunt³? Vejosne haec transferemus?

the *ancilia*. See I. 20.

¹ Gronovius conjectures *Lavinii*que, to get rid of the unusual in *Lavinio*.

² Here, and in two sentences below, *piaculum* signifies the commission of a deed requiring expiation.

³ Livy has been censured for putting this argument in the mouth of Camillus, who was himself vested with military power, bestowed by the Comitia Curiata held at Veii. But that

‘an comitiorum causâ populus tanto incommodo in desertam hanc ab Diis hominibusque urbem conveniet?’

LIII. ‘Sed¹ res ipsa cogit vastam incendiis ruinisque relinquere urbem, et ad integra omnia Vejos migrare, nec hîc ædificando inopem plebem vexare. Hanc autem jactari magis causam quàm veram esse, ut ego non dicam, apparere vobis, Quirites, puto, qui meministis, ante Gallorum adventum, salvis tectis publicis privatisque, stante incolumi urbe, hanc eandem rem actam esse, ut Vejos transmigraremus². Et videte, quantum inter meam sententiam vestramque intersit, tribuni. Vos, etiamsi tunc faciendum non fuerit, nunc utique faciendum putatis; ego contrâ, (nec id mirati sitis priùs quàm quale sit andieritis,) etiamsi tunc migrandum fuisset, incolumi totâ urbe, nunc has ruinas relinquendas non censerem. Quippe tum causa nobis in urbem captam migrandi victoria esset, gloriosa nobis ac posteris nostris; nunc hæc migratio nobis misera ac turpis, Gallis gloriosa est. Non enim reliquisse victores, sed amisisse victi, patriam videbimur, hoc ad Alliam fuga, hoc capta urbs, hoc circumsessum Capitolium necessitatis imposuisse, ut desereremus penates nostros, exsiliumque ac fugam nobis ex eo loco conscisceremus, quem tueri non possemus. Et Galli evertere potuerunt Romam, quam Romani restituere non videbuntur potuisse? Quid restat nisi ut, si jam novis copiis veniant, (constat enim vix credibilem multitudinem esse,) et habitare in captâ ab se, desertâ a vobis hâc urbe velint, sinatis? Quid? si non Galli hoc, sed veteres hostes vestri, Aequi Volscive faciant ut commigrent Romam, velitisne illos Romanos, vos Vejentes esse? an³ malitis hanc solitudinem vestram quàm urbem hostium esse? non equidem

might be excused on an emergency so critical.

¹ *Sed* ushers in

an objection to be answered.

² See C. 24.

³ There are two

readings of this passage, the one adopted occurring in some MSS., and supported by Gronovius, with this sense; the Romans, in removing to Veii, must either have wished Rome to be peopled by enemies, or preferred it to be a desert; either alternative, according to Camillus, being disgraceful. The other reading, occurring in the majority of the MSS. and defended by Bauer and others, is *non malitis*, ‘Would you not prefer inhabiting this spot, ruined as it is, to residing in an enemy’s city?’ Bauer is ingenious, but Gronovius seems sound.

‘ video, quid magis nefas sit. Haec scelera, quia piget aedificare, haec dedecora pati parati estis? Si totâ urbe nullum melius ampliusve tectum fieri possit, quàm casa illa conditoris est nostri, non in casis, ritu pastorum agrestiumque, habitare est satius inter sacra penatesque vestros quàm exsulatum publicè ire? Majores nostri, convenae pastoresque, quum in his locis nihil praeter silvas paludesque esset, novam urbem tam brevi aedificârunt; nos, Capitolio, arce incolumi, stantibus templis Deorum, aedificare incensa piget? et quod singuli facturi fuimus, si aedes nostrae deflagrâssent, hoc in publico incendio universi recusamus facere?’

LIV. ‘ Quid tandem? si fraude, si casu Vejis incendium ortum sit, ventoque (ut fieri potest) diffusa flamma magnam partem urbis absumat; Fidenas inde, aut Gabios, aliamve quam urbem quaesituri sumus, quò transmigremus? Adeò nihil tenet solum patriae, nec haec terra, quam matrem appellamus, sed in superficie¹ tignisque caritas nobis patriae pendet? Equidem, fatebor vobis, etsi minùs injuriae vestrae quàm meae calamitatis meminisse juvat², quum abessem, quotiescunque patria in mentem veniret, haec omnia occurrebant, colles, campique, et Tiberis, et assueta oculis regio, et hoc coelum, sub quo natus educatusque essem. Quae vos, Quirites, nunc moveant potiùs caritate suâ, ut maneatis in sede vestrà, quàm postea, quum reliqueritis ea, macerent desiderio! Non sine causâ Dii hominesque hunc urbi condendae locum elegerunt, saluberrimos colles, flumen opportunum, quo ex mediterraneis locis fruges devehantur, quo maritimi commeatus accipiantur; mare³ vicinum ad commo- ditates, nec expositum nimiam propinquitatem ad pericula classium externarum; regionum Italiae medium, ad incrementum urbis natum unicè locum. Argumento est ipsa magnitudo tam novae urbis. Trecentessimus sexagesimus quintus annus urbis, Quirites, agitur; inter tot terribiles populos tamdiu bella geritis; quum interea, ne

¹ *Superficies*, the surface of the *solum*.—‘ the buildings.’ ² *Etsi*, &c. ‘ Although I delight to dwell in my memory less on the wrong ‘ you did me, than my own affliction.’ Or *meminisse* may rather signify, ‘ to make mention of.’ ³ *Mari* is a happy conjecture of Bauer’s, making all the following adjectives refer to *locum*.

‘ singulas loquar urbes, non conjuncti cum Aequis Volsci,
 ‘ tot tam valida oppida, non universa Etruria, tantum terrâ
 ‘ marique pollens atque inter duo maria latitudinem obti-
 ‘ nens Italiae, bello vobis par est. Quod quum ita sit, quae
 ‘ (malum ¹!) ratio est, expertis alia experiri ², quum jam,
 ‘ ut virtus vestra transire aliò possit, fortuna certè loci hujus
 ‘ transferri non possit? Hìc Capitolium est, ubi quondam
 ‘ capite humano invento ³ responsum est, ‘ eo loco caput
 ‘ rerum summamque imperii fore.’ Hìc, quum auguratò
 ‘ liberaretur Capitolium, Juventas Terminusque ⁴, maximo
 ‘ gaudio patrum nostrorum, moveri se non passi. Hic
 ‘ Vestae ignes, hìc ancilia coelo demissa, hìc omnes propitii
 ‘ manentibus vobis Dii.’

LV. Movisse eos Camillus quum aliâ oratione, tum eâ
 quae ad religiones pertinebat maximè, dicitur. Sed rem
 dubiam decrevit vox opportuna emissa; quòd quum senatus
 pòst paullo de his rebus in curiâ Hostiliâ ⁵ haberetur, co-
 hortisque ex praesidiis revertentes fortè agmine forum trans-
 irent, centurio in comitio exclamavit, ‘ Signifer, statue
 ‘ signum; hìc manebimus optimè.’ Quâ voce auditâ, et
 senatus ‘ accipere se omen’ ex curiâ egressus conclamavit,
 et plebs circumfusa approbavit. Antiquatâ ⁶ deinde lege,
 promiscue urbs aedificari coepta. Tegula publicè praebita
 est; saxi materiaeque caedendae ⁷, unde quisque vellet, jus
 factum, praedibus acceptis, eo anno aedificia perfecturos.
 Festinatio curam exemit vicos dirigendi, dum, omisso sui
 alienique discrimine, in vacuo aedificant. Ea est causa, ut
 veteres cloacae, primò per publicum ductae, nunc privata
 passim subeant tecta, formaque urbis sit occupatae magis
 quàm divisae similis.

¹ A term indicative of indignation. ² Either *experiri alia expertis*, ‘to try things different from,’ or rather *expertis experiri alia*, ‘for those who have already tried to try.’

⁴ See p. 100, note 2.

⁵ See I. 30.

⁶ See p. 350,

note 5. ⁷ It is perhaps in allusion to the state of Rome at this time, that Horace speaks, *Nec fortuitum spernere cespitem Leges sinebant*. Car. ii. 15. 17.

HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL

INDEX.

The Roman numbers refer to the Books of Livy's History, the Arabic to the Chapters.

ABO

AED

- Aborigines**, a term applied generally to the early inhabitants of a country who are found there by subsequent settlers; used by Livy to denote the early occupiers of Latium. See *Latini*. I. 1, 2.
- Achivi**, the inhabitants of Achaia, a term applied likewise to the whole Greeks. I. 1.
- Actiaeus-a-um**, belonging to *Actium*, a promontory of Acarnania, off which Augustus defeated Antony in a naval engagement. I. 19.
- Acutius, M.**, nominated as a tribune of the people, in contravention of the Trebonian law. V. 10.
- Aebutius, L.**, consul, u. c. 291. He died in his consulship of a pestilence then raging. III. 6.
- Aebutius Elva, M.**, one of the triumviri appointed to settle a colony in Ardea. IV. 11.
- Aebutius Cornicen, Postumus**, consul, u. c. 313. IV. 11.
- Aebutius Elva, Postumus**, master of the horse in the dictatorship of A. Servilius, u. c. 320, when the Fidenates and Veientes made an inroad on the Roman territory. IV. 21.
- Aebutius, T.**, consul, u. c. 255. In the same year, he was master of the horse in the dictatorship of A. Postumius, and commanded a wing in the battle with the Latins, fought at the lake Regillus, where he wounded the opposite general Octavius Mamilius in the breast, but was himself obliged to retire in consequence of having his arm pierced through. II. 19.
- Aediles**, inferior Roman magistrates, whose principal office seems to have been to assist all the other magistrates in the discharge of unimportant duties. They attended to the state of the buildings, celebrated the religious games, inspected the weights and measures, registered the laws, and administered justice in trifling matters. They were of two kinds, *plebeii* and *curules*; originally two plebeian, then two of each, the *curules* being added to discharge the

- same duties. Two, called *Cereales*, to look after the supply of corn, were added by J. Cæsar. The plebeian Aediles were at first assistants of the tribunes of the commons, were *sacrosancti*, and elected first at the *Comitia Centuriata*, u. c. 282, but afterwards in the *Comitia Tributa*. II. 56, 57; III. 6, 55, 57; IV. 30.
- Aelius, P., one of three, who were the first plebeian quaestors, u. c. 346. IV. 54.
- Aemilius, C., tribune of the soldiers with consular power, u. c. 361, when his army, in a panic from the noise of a night attack made by his colleague Postumius on the Aequi, fled to Tusculum from Verrugo. When in the same office a second time, u. c. 364, he routed the Volsinienses. V. 26, 28, 32.
- Aemilius, L., consul, u. c. 270. He routed the Volsci and Aequi. Again consul, u. c. 276, he routed the Veientes. He was elected a third time, u. c. 281, in a year distinguished for intestine disturbances, and a successful resistance made to a consular levy. II. 42, 49, 54.
- Aemilius, Mam., military tribune, u. c. 317, when Fidenæ revolted to Lar Tolumnius, king of the Veientes. Next year appointed dictator to oppose that people, he routed them in a battle principally remarkable for its having witnessed the second capture of the *spolia opima*. He was again created dictator, u. c. 321, on the rumour of an Etrurian war, but resigned his office without having had occasion to lead forth the Roman troops, having, however, first limited the duration of the censorial power to the period of a year and a half. For this he was degraded by the censors, but was a third time appointed dictator, u. c. 329, when he routed the combined forces of the Fidenates and Veientes, and took Fidenæ. IV. 16-20, 23, 24, 31-34.
- Aemilius, M., consul, u. c. 345. IV. 53. Perhaps this may be the same individual with the military tribune, u. c. 364. V. 32.
- Aemilius Mamercinus, M', military tribune, u. c. 350, the first year of the blockade of Veii, re-elected two years after, and a third time, u. c. 354, when he commanded along with K. Fabius in the camp before Veii. IV. 61; V. 1, 10, 12.
- Aemilius, Ti., consul, u. c. 284 and 287. He laid waste the lands of the Sabines in his first consulship, but without any distinguished success, and incurred the animosity of the Patrician party, by his support of the agrarian law. II. 61, 62; III. 1.
- Aeneas, a Trojan prince, son of Anchises and Venus, who, after the destruction of Troy, settled in Latium, and founded Lavinium. He fell in battle with the Etruscans, and was worshipped as the Jupiter Indigetis, or supreme tutelary god of his country. I. 1, 2. For references, see Homer, II., III. 205; VII. 247. Virgil, *Aeneid. passim*. Ovid, *Metamorph.*, XIII. 623, &c.; XIV. ad 608. Horace, *Car.* IV. 6, 21-24; *Car. Saecul.* 41-44.
- Aeneas Silvius, the third king of Alba. I. 3.
- Aequi, or Aequicolae, an Italian tribe, dwelling near the source,

and principally to the north of the river Anio, between the Mar-sian and Sabine hills. I. 32. They were fierce and warlike in their dispositions, and long annoyed the Romans in the early ages of the republic, as may be seen; II. 30, 31, 32, 40, 43, 48, 53, 58, 60; III. 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 10, 23-26, 28, 30, 31, 38, 42, 60, 61; 66, 70; IV. 26, 30, 45, 47, 49, 53, 55; V. 16, 28, 29, 31. They were not completely subdued till v. c. 451.

Aesis, a river forming the northern boundary of Picenum, and the southern of Umbria, near the mouth of which stands Ancona. V. 35.

Agrariae Leges. This general term is applied to a number of laws having different objects, but, in our portion of history, springing from the peculiar tenure on which land was originally held by the Romans. All land was either pasture or cultivated. For the privilege of feeding cattle or sheep on the common pastures a rent was paid to the State by all, both citizens and strangers. All other kinds of land had been either allotted to Roman citizens (*Patres*) or to the plebeians, or it had remained unallotted. This last was the condition of much the greater portion of the lands. While they remained unallotted they belonged exclusively to the State, and the people alone, that is, the *Patres*, had right to occupy them. For this occupation they were bound to pay a tithe of the produce if the land was arable, and a fifth of the olive and vine-yards, which, however, was very irregularly done. The occupiers were, of course, liable to be ejected by the State whenever it was found necessary to allot lands to new settlers, or an increasing population. To secure the due payment of the tithe, and to procure an allotment of these public lands among the other classes of the community than the *Patres*, the latter principally, were the objects of the early *Leges Agrariae*. II. 41; IV. 36, 48.

Agrippa, tenth king of Alba Longa. I. 3.

Aius Locutius, a deity to whom the Romans dedicated a temple, after the delivery of Rome from the Gauls. V. 50.

Alba, fifth king of Alba. I. 3.

Alba Longa, a town of Latium, south-east of Rome, founded by As-canius with settlers from Lavinium, where the descendants of Aeneas reigned for fourteen generations, till the foundation of Rome. It received its epithet Longa from its situation on the ridge of a hill. A war broke out between the Romans and its inhabitants, (*Albani*), in the reign of Tullus Hostilius, which ended in the submission of the Albans, and ultimately in the destruction of the Alban city. The inhabitants were, according to the usual policy of the early Romans, transferred to Rome, inhabiting the Caelian hill, and their chief men raised to the Patrician dignity. I. 3, 22-25, 27-31, 33. The space between *Tusculum* and *Alba* is called *Albana vallis*. III. 7. *Albanus Mons*, a hill on a ridge of which Alba stood, the scene of the *Latinæ feriae*, and in later times of Roman triumphs. On its summit was the temple of Ju-

pitier Latiaris, the common place of meeting of the Latin towns.
I. 3.

Albanus Lacus, a lake lying immediately under the highest point of the Alban hills, in a basin without any visible outlet. The lake seems to have had a higher level in ancient times than at present. The tunnel by which the waters were and are discharged over the Campagna is at least 2100 yards long, its height varying from $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 9 or 10 feet, and its width is not less than 4 feet. When this was actually formed is a matter of doubt. Dr Arnold conjectures it to have been the joint work of the Romans and the Latin states.
V. 15, 16, 19.

Albinus, L., a plebeian, who conveyed the vestal virgins and their sacred charge to Caere, when Rome was entered by the Gauls.
V. 40.

Albinus, L., one of the first tribunes of the commons, u. c. 260.
II. 33.

Albula, the ancient name of the Tiber, which latter name, it is said, the river received from the circumstance of King Tiberinus being drowned in it. I. 3. See Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 330.

Algidum, a town of Latium, south-east of Rome, on the Via Latina.
III. 2. *Algidus Mons*, a hill near the town Algidum, sacred to Diana. From their central situation, they seem to have been frequently the rallying points of the enemies of early Rome. III. 23, 25, 27, 29, 30, 31; IV. 26.

Alienus, L., an aedile of the people, u. c. 300, who successfully arraigned the consul Veturius, for having sold the plunder taken from the Aequi, instead of dividing it amongst the soldiers.
III. 31.

Allia or **Alia**, a small tributary of the Tiber, entering its left bank north of Rome, crossing the Via Salaria, on whose banks, at the eleventh milestone, the Roman army was totally defeated by Brennus, king of the Gauls, xv. *Kal. Sextilis*, u. c. 365, the same day with that on which the Fabii were slain at Cremera, ever after esteemed an unlucky day. V. 37, 38.

Alpes, a chain of very high mountains, encircling the north of Italy, and extending from the south of Histria on the east to the west of the Intomellii on the west, a range of nearly 600 miles. This great mountain barrier has received, both in ancient and modern times, different names in its different branches from peculiar circumstances, the ancients preserving, however, the common term *Alpes*. According to Livy, the first who crossed them in large bodies were the Gauls, by the *saltus Taurini*. I. 1; V. 34.

Ambarri, a tribe of Gallia Lugdunensis, a little to the north of Lugdunum. V. 34.

Ameriola, a town taken by Tarquinius Priscus, in a war with the Prisci Latini.

Amulius, the younger son of Proca, the 13th king of Alba Longa. He dethroned his elder brother Numitor, but was ultimately slain

by Romulus and Remus, the grandchildren of that prince by his daughter Rhea Silvia, whom Amulius had in vain attempted to render childless, by making her a vestal virgin. I. 3, 5, 6.

Anchises, son of Capys, grandson of Ilus, king of Troy, and father of Aeneas, whom he accompanied in his wanderings. According to Virgil, *Aen.* II. III., he died in Sicily.

Ancus Marcius, the grandson of Numa Pompilius by his daughter, and fourth king of Rome. He mounted the throne, v. c. 114, distinguished himself by his piety, his successes against the Latins, the additions he made to the Roman city of the Aventine and the Janiculum, besides extending the Roman territory to the sea, and founding Ostia, the sea-port of Rome. He died after a prosperous reign of twenty-four years. I. 32-35.

Anio, a tributary of the Tiber, falling into its left bank, not far north from Rome, and forming the southern boundary of the Sabine country. From its vicinity to Rome, it was the scene of many of the engagements in which that city contended with its neighbours. I. 27, 36; II. 32; IV. 17.

Annus, a year, in modern astronomy consisting of 365^d. 5^h. 48' 48". We have here, however, only to do with the Roman year of Romulus and Numa, of which different accounts are given by different authors. According to the best authorities, the year of Romulus consisted of ten months, beginning with March and ending with December; March, May, July and October (*pleni menses*,) having 31 days, the rest (*cavi menses*) only 30 days, in all 304 days, the proper number requisite to complete the year being added. Numa's year, according to Macrobius, *Sat.* I. 13, consisted at first of 354, then 355 days, divided into 12 months, January and February being added, the four full months having still 31 days each, February, 28, and the other seven months having 29, making in all 355 days. Following the example of the Greeks, whose year, however, consisted of only 354 days, he intercalated in the month of February every second year, 22 and 23 days, alternately, in all 90 days in 8 years, which, with the Greeks, was correct enough, there being a deficiency of about $11\frac{1}{4}$ days in each year, to correspond with the solar year, and $8 \times 11\frac{1}{4} = 90$. Numa's excess of a day over the Greek year led, according to Macrobius, to an error of 24 days of excess in 24 years, which was corrected by having an intercalation of only 66 days each third period of 8 years, the calendar being thus rectified every 24th year. I. 19.

Antemnæ, a Sabine town on the Anio. Inhabitants, *Antemnates*. I. 9. 10.

Antenor, a Trojan married to Theano, Hecuba's sister, praised by Homer for his superior wisdom, *Il.* III. 148. He advised the restoration of Helena, *Il.* VII. 347, having previously received hospitably Ulysses and Menelaus, *Il.* III. 205. Hence the tradition referred to by Livy, I. 1. See also Virgil, *Aen.* I. 242-249.

Antistius, L., a Roman soldier who acted as centurion of the dismounted *equites* in an engagement with the Volsci, and was elected tribune of the commons in his absence, u. c. 333. He successfully arraigned C. Sempronius of misconduct in the war with the Volsci. IV. 38, 42, 44.

Antium, a town originally Latin, afterwards belonging to the Volsci, on the sea-coast, almost due south of Rome, notorious for its piracies. It was strongly fortified, and though repeatedly colonized by Romans, was engaged in frequent hostilities, heading the other Volscians, with Rome. Their fleet was at last destroyed, u. c. 408, and the prows of their ships adorned the Rostra, hence so called. The inhabitants are named *Antiates*, and received the rights of Roman citizens. II. 33, 63, 65; III. 1, 4.

Antias or Ancius, Sp., a Roman ambassador, slain along with three others, by the orders, or through the carelessness of Tolumnius, king of the Veientes. IV. 17.

Antonius Merenda, Q., military tribune, u. c. 333. IV. 42.

Antonius Merenda, T., a decemvir, u. c. 304, in the second year of that magistracy. III. 35.

Anxur, a town originally Latin, afterwards belonging to the Volsci, on the sea-coast, and the Via Appia, in Livy's time, called *Tarracinae*. It was taken and retaken by the Romans, and ultimately colonized by them. IV. 59; V. 8, 13, 16.

Apenninus Mons, a range of mountains, extending about 700 miles through Italy from north to south, branching off from the Alps, in Liguria, to near Rhegium, in the country of the Bruttii. V. 33.

Apiolae or Appiolae, a Latin town, taken by Tarquinius Priscus in the beginning of his reign. I. 35.

Apollo, worshipped as the god of the fine arts, the son of Jupiter and Latona, and brother of Diana, believed to furnish his priests with prophetic powers; hence, according to some, the epithet *Pythius*, (from *πυθίος*). I. 56; III. 63; IV. 25, 29; V. 13, 15, 23, 25.

Apparitores (*appareo*, 'I attend upon,') a general term for the public servants of the Roman magistrates. In the passage I. 8, they seem to be contrasted, in this general sense, with the Lictors, a particular class, who were undoubtedly *apparitores*.

Apronius, C., one of the tribunes of the commons, elected after the deposition of the decemviri, u. c. 305. III. 54.

Apuleius, L., a tribune of the commons, u. c. 364, who was the prosecutor of the action against Camillus, which drove him from Rome. V. 32.

Aquillii, a family who engaged in the plot to crush the infant liberty of Rome, which was detected by a slave, in the first year of the Roman republic. Along with the other conspirators they were scourged and beheaded. II. 4, 5.

Aquillius, C., consul, u. c. 267. He conquered the Hernici. II. 40.

Ara Maxima, this altar, we learn from Ovid, *Fasti*, I. 581-2, to have been in the Forum Boarium. Dedicated to Hercules, it was the favourite resort of those who bound themselves by solemn oaths. It was burned down in Nero's conflagration. See Virgil, *Viii.* 184-305. Tacitus, *Ann.* XV. 41. I. 7.

Arcadia, a hilly and pastoral country of Greece in the centre of the Peloponnesus, bounded by all the other divisions of that Peninsula. I. 5. Inhabitants, *Arcades*, I. 5.

Ardea, a town of the Rutuli, south of Rome, besieged by Tarquinius Superbus in the last year of his reign. A device of the senate restored to them land, which the Romans had appropriated to themselves, when appointed judges betwixt the *Ardeates* and the *Aricini*, an act for which the former people revolted. They were the first who successfully attacked the Gauls under Camillus. I. 57; III. 71, 72; IV. 1, 7, 9-11; V. 43, 44.

Argei, places consecrated by Numa for the celebration of religious services, called by Varro the chapels of the *Argei*, according to him twenty-seven in number in different parts of the city. Little is known of their use, and nothing of the derivation of the word, though some suppose that it is connected with Argos, and thus with the Pelasgian origin of the Romans, I. 21. The name is also given to thirty wooden figures thrown annually by the Pontifices into the Tiber, from the Sublician bridge, on the Ides of May. Dr Arnold's *Rome*, vol. I. p. 68.

Argiletum, a hill or street in Rome. I. 19.

Aricia, a Latin town, south east of Rome, on the *Via Appia*, at the foot of the Alban mount. Inhabitants called *Aricini*. I. 50; II. 14; III. 71, 72.

Aristodemus, tyrant of Cumae, in whose court Tarquinius Superbus died. He afterwards detained, as the heir of Tarquin, some Roman ships, to compensate for the effects of Tarquin detained by the Romans. II. 21, 34.

Arsia, a wood in the neighbourhood of Rome. II. 7.

Artena, a town belonging to the *Caeretes*, between Caere and Veii, destroyed by the Roman kings. IV. 61.

Artena, a town of the *Volsci*, destroyed by the Romans, *v. c.* 351, IV. 61.

Aruns, a son of the Corinthian Damaratus who settled in Tarquinii, and brother to Lucumo, afterwards Tarquinius Priscus. I. 34.

Aruns, son of Porsenna, the Etrurian king. After leaving the siege of Rome, he fell in battle with the *Aricini*. II. 14.

Aruns, *Clusinus*, an inhabitant of Clusium, who invited the Gauls to attack Clusium. V. 33.

Arverni, a tribe of Gauls, in Aquitania Prima, on the banks of the Elaver and contiguous streams. They claimed a Trojan descent. V. 34.

Ascanius, called also Euryleon and Iulus, the son of Aeneas and Creusa, or of Aeneas and Lavinia. According to the tradition

- followed by Livy, he succeeded Aeneas, but left Lavinium to Lavinia, and founded Alba Longa. I. 1, 3.
- Asia, one of the three divisions of the ancient world, bounded on the west by the Tanais, the Palus Maeotis, the Pontus Euxinus, the Mediterranean, and the Sinus Arabicus. On the other three sides it is encompassed by seas. I. 45.
- Aterius, A., consul, u. c. 300, the year in which ambassadors were sent to Greece to collect laws. He was chosen a tribune of the commons, though a patrician, u. c. 307. III. 31, 65.
- Athenae, the capital of Attica, a country of Graecia Propria, north-east of the Peloponnesus. It was long renowned for its love of liberty, the capricious democracy of its government, its devotedness to all the fine arts and philosophy, and the peculiar nature of its laws, which it received from the celebrated Solon. It never recovered its defeat at the close of the Peloponnesian war, and ultimately yielded to the Roman arms. III. 31.
- Attilius, L., one of the first military tribunes, u. c. 311. IV. 7.
- Attilius, L., a military tribune, u. c. 356, a year in which pestilence raged in Rome. V. 15.
- Atinius, Ti., a plebeian whose dreams are narrated, II. 36.
- Atys, the sixth king of Alba Longa. I. 8.
- Aventinus, the twelfth king of Alba Longa. I. 3.
- Aventinus or -um, one of the seven hills on which Rome was built, first added to the city by Ancus Martius, for the reception of the inhabitants of Politorium, a Latin city. The Aventine was originally without the walls, being assigned to the commons. Even when within the walls, it was without the pomerium. u. c. 298. a successful attempt was made by the law de Aventino publicando to place it, distinguished as it was for steepness and strength, exclusively in the hands of the commons. I. 6, 20, 33; II. 28, 32; III. 30, 31, 50.
- Augustus, a name (said to be derived from *augeo*) first given to the Emperor C. Octavius, grand-nephew and adopted son of Julius Caesar. After the death of the first Emperor he formed, with Antony and Lepidus, the second triumvirate, and ultimately, by depriving the latter of power, and defeating the former at Actium, he became sole master of the Roman world, at the age of thirty-two years. He died at Nola, after having enjoyed the empire forty-four years. I. 19; IV. 20.
- Aulerci, a tribe of Gauls, either the *Cenomani*, between the rivers Sarta and Ledus, or the *Eburovices*, north of the *Cenomani*, on the south bank of the Sequana. The former were in the north of Lugdunensis tertia, the latter in the south of Lugdunensis quarta. V. 34.
- Aurunci, an Italian tribe in the west of Campania, supposed to be the remains of the ancient Ausones, and inhabiting the banks of the Liris, and the neighbourhood of Caieta and Minturnae. II. 16, 17, 26.

B

Bellovesus, nephew of Ambigatus the leading prince of Celtic Gaul. He crossed the Alps in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, with the surplus population of several Gaulish tribes, and founded Mediolanum, in the country of the Insubres. V. 34, 35.

Bituriges, a tribe of Gauls on the banks of the Elaver and Liger in Aquitania Secunda, or, according to the early division, in Gallia Celtica, and at one time the leading tribe of that country. They are distinguished from another tribe of the same name, the Bituriges Vivisci, on the banks of the Garumna, by the adjunct Cubi. V. 34.

Boii, a tribe of Gallia Celtica, on the banks of the Ligeris, east of the Bituriges. There are several tribes of that name in Gaul, and they seem to have settled extensively in the north of Italy. V. 35.

Bolæ or **Volæ**, (as **Lavici** or **Labici**,) a Latin town on a tributary of the Tiber, east of Rome, colonised by the Aequi. IV. 49.

Brennus, prince of the Senones Galli, who took and plundered Rome, *v. c.* 365, in consequence of the provocation which they had received, from the Roman ambassadors having fought against them, contrary to the law of nations, when they were besieging Clusium. He retired from Rome without having gained possession of the Capitol, according to Livy, in consequence of a defeat, but according to others, from domestic causes, and after having exacted a humiliating ransom. V. 38-49.

Brixia, the capital of the Cenomani, in Gallia Cisalpina, west of the Lacus Benacus, on the Via Aemilia, founded by a tribe of Gauls. V. 35.

C

Cacus, a shepherd in the neighbourhood of the Palatine hill, of great strength and ferocity, who was slain by Hercules, for having stolen some oxen. I. 7. See Virgil, *Aen.* VIII. 185-229; Ovid, *Fasti*, I. 543-586.

Caecilius, Q., a tribune of the commons, *v. c.* 316. IV. 16.

Caecilius, T., one of the first military tribunes with consular power, *v. c.* 311. IV. 7.

Caedicius, a centurion, who commanded the Roman troops after they had fled to Veii from their defeat at Allia, and who delivered the command into the hands of Camillus. V. 45, 46.

Caedicius, L., a tribune of the commons, who unsuccessfully arraigned Sp. Servilius, *v. c.* 279. II. 52.

Caedicius, M., a plebeian, who heard a supernatural voice announcing the approach of the Gauls. V. 32.

Caenina, (inhabitants *Caeninenses*, adjective *Caeninus*,) a town of

the Sabines, one of the states whose women were seized to be the wives of the Romans under Romulus. They retaliated by making war on the Romans, but were completely defeated. I. 9, 10.

Caere, formerly called Agylla by its Pelasgian founders, a town of Etruria, north-west of Rome, on the banks of the Caeretan river. The inhabitants (*Caerites*) seem to have been long on friendly terms with the Romans, and Niebuhr conjectures that the word *Caerimonia*, derived from them, indicates the extent to which the Romans borrowed their ritual from them. They hospitably sheltered the priests and sacred things of the Romans after the assault by the Gauls, and received in return all the rights of Roman citizens, except the privilege of voting, and hence the phrase, in *Caeritum tabulas referri*, to be deprived of that right. I. 2; V. 40, 50.

Caesar, the name of a family in the Julian clan, assumed in late times as an imperial title. I. 19; IV. 20.

Camenae, (from *cano*,) the Muses, daughters of Jupiter and Mnemosyne, nine goddesses who presided over the various departments of poetry, and its concomitants music and dancing. Their names were Calliope, Clio, Erato, Euterpe, Melpomene, Polyhymnia, Thalia, Terpsichore and Urania. I. 21.

Cameria, a Latin town taken by Tarquinius Priscus. I. 38.

Campania, a district of Italy, separated by the river Liris from Latium on the north, by the Appennines from Samnium on the east, and the river Silarus from Lucania on the south. II. 52.

Canuleius, C., a tribune of the commons, who succeeded, u. c. 310, in abrogating the law against the intermarriage of patricians and plebeians. IV. 1-6.

Canuleius, M., a tribune of the commons, u. c. 335, who assisted in the successful prosecution of C. Sempronius. IV. 44.

Capena, a town of Etruria, north of Rome, on the Via Flaminia. Inhabitants Capenates. V. 8, 10, 12, 13, 24.

Capena, *Porta*, a gate of Rome, on the east, whence the road leading to Capena issued. I. 26.

Capetus, the eighth King of Alba Longa. I. 3.

Capitolium, (adjective Capitolinus,) a celebrated hill, one of the seven on which Rome stood, called also *Tarpeius*, *Saturnius* and *Carmenalis*. On the east of it lay the Forum and Palatine hill, on the west a plain tract, on the north the Quirinal, on the south the Aventine. It was the citadel of Rome, and on it was built the famous temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, begun by Tarquinius Priscus, and finished by Tarquinius Superbus. I. 10, 11, 12, 33, 38, 53, 55; II. 8; III. 15, 18, 29; V. 39, 43, 47, 49.

Caprae Palus, goat's-marsh, a marsh in the Campus Martius. I. 16.

Capua, the capital of Campania on the Via Appia, founded, according to Livy, by Etrurians, and afterwards seized by the Samnites. It was for a long time distinguished for its magnificence and opu-

- lence, but never recovered the effects of Roman vengeance, for receiving Hannibal's troops, whom at the same time it completely enervated. IV. 37.
- Capys, the seventh king of Alba Longa. I. 3.
- Capys, the conjectural leader of the Samnites who seized Vulturnus, afterwards Capua, and gave his name to that city. IV. 37.
- Carmenta or -tis, the mother of the Arcadian prince Evander, whose Grecian name was Themis or Nicostrata, called Carmenta, from her prophetic songs. She was worshipped at the foot of the Capitolium. I. 7; V. 47.
- Carmentalis, Porta, a gate leading from the south of the Capitolium, through which the Fabii marched to Cremera. II. 49.
- Carnutes, a tribe of Gauls in Lugdunensis Quarta, between Ligeris and Sequana, in whose territories the Druids held their annual meetings. V. 34.
- Carthago, a celebrated commercial city, once the capital of Africa Propria, and long the rival of Rome. It was founded by a colony of Phoenicians, and stood on a kind of peninsula, fifteen miles north of Tunis. Polybius records, III. 22, a treaty between this city and Rome, in the first year of the commonwealth. When it long afterwards came into hostile collision with Rome, it was in possession of the whole coast of Africa, from the deserts of Lybia to the straits of Gibraltar, a great part of Spain and Sicily, Sardinia, and other small islands. It sustained three wars with Rome, in which it was often successful, but was taken and destroyed by Scipio Africanus, at the close of the third Punic war. Various attempts were afterwards made to rebuild it, but it never again rose to eminence, and was finally destroyed by the Saracens in the seventh century. Its government seems to have been oligarchical, with occasional checks from democratic fury. IV. 29.
- Carventum, (-tanus-a-um,) a Latin town. IV. 53, 55.
- Cassius, Sp., thrice consul, v. c. 252, 261, 268, and master of the horse, 253. His last consulship was memorable for its being the era of the introduction of the Agrarian law. It is certain that he was condemned, and put to death, v. c. 269, but there is considerable discussion as to the cause. According to Livy, it was the suspicion entertained of his motives, from his favouring at once the commons and the allies, that he was aiming at the sovereignty. II. 17, 18, 33, 41.
- Castor, said to be the son of Tyndarus and Leda, produced from an egg, along with Clytemnestra, at the same time with Pollux and Helen from another egg, the offspring of Jupiter and Leda. He was celebrated for riding, and Pollux (who shared with him his immortality) for boxing. The temple dedicated to him included Pollux. II. 20, 42.
- Celeres, according to Livy, the king's body guard, instituted by Romulus, consisting of 300 men. They seem to have been the

patricians, in general, who served on horseback, and to be identical with the Equites. I. 15.

Celtae, the inhabitants of Gallia Celtica, the third part of Gaul, bounded by the Sequana on the north, and the Garumna on the south, till the time of Augustus, who assigned the portion of it between the Ligeris and the Garumna to Aquitania, calling it also by a new name, *Lugdunensis*. V. 34.

Cenomani, a tribe of Gauls, belonging to the Auleri, in *Lugdunensis Tertia*, on the banks of the Ledus, who settled in the north of Gallia Cisalpina. V. 35.

Ceno or -on, a town of Latium, to the east of Antium, of which it was probably the sea-port. II. 63.

Censor, a Roman magistrate, whose province was originally simply to relieve the consuls of the trouble connected with taking the *census*, or valuation of the number and wealth of the Roman citizens, which affected both the political franchise of the citizens and the taxes paid by them. As their decision was final, their power became enormous. The Censors were two in number, and were first instituted, *u. c.* 312. Their functions were afterwards extended to regulating the manners of citizens of all ranks, degrading senators and others to inferior stations at their pleasure, superintending the proceedings of the ediles, and fixing the rate of taxes. Their power was checked by the right of appeal from one to the other, or to the people. They were at first eligible only from the patricians, but ultimately from the plebeians. They were elected in the *Comitia Centuriata* every five years, but remained in power only a year and a half after *u. c.* 321. From a superstition connected with the invasion of the Gauls, no new censor was elected to supply the place of one who had died in office, and his colleague resigned. IV. 8, 24; V. 31.

Centuria, originally a military division, corresponding probably with *Curia*, as a civil division, the three centuries of horse (I. 13) corresponding with the three tribes, and the thirty centuries of foot representing the thirty *curiae*. When Servius Tullius wished to unite in one body the original *populus* or patricians and the *plebs* or commons who before had no voice in the state, he incorporated the whole in centuries, hence,

Centuriata Comitia, the most important of the legal assemblages of the Romans; in which the whole people, patricians, clients and plebeians, voted according to their income. This is said to have been an expedient of Servius Tullius for incorporating the orders of the state. The *centuriae* met as an armed body, hence called *exercitus*, and created magistrates, passed laws, and decided capital causes affecting the general interest. I. 43.

Ceres, worshipped as the goddess of corn and husbandry, the daughter of Saturn and Vesta, and sister of Jupiter. Eleusis in Greece was celebrated for her worship, and the mysteries connected with it. II. 41; III. 55.

- Circe, the daughter of Sol and Perseis, celebrated for her knowledge of herbs, and her enchantments. She fled from Colchis to Circeii, on the Italian coast, where she was visited by Ulysses on his return from Troy. I. 49. Hence, it is said,
- Circeii, a Latin town on the sea-coast, in the country of the Volsci, colonized by Tarquinius Superbus. I. 56; II. 39.
- Circus, a term applied to places where public spectacles were exhibited. Of these there are mentioned, *Maximus*, I. 35, 56; *Apollinaris*, III. 63; *Flaminius*, III. 54.
- Claudius, Ap., a Sabine, whose name was originally Attus Clausus, who settled in Rome with a great body of retainers. He rose to distinction in the Roman state, gave name to a tribe, founded an illustrious family, was consul, 259, u. c., when domestic sedition (in which he vehemently supported the Patrieian party) and war distracted the state, and during his whole life he devoted himself to the cause of the aristocracy. II. 16, 21, 23, 27, 29, 30, 44.
- Claudius, Ap., son of the former Claudius, pursued the same course of aristocratic aggrandisement. He was consul, u. c. 283, during a war with the Volsci, before whom the army which he commanded voluntarily fled, through hatred of their general. He was arraigned before the people, but died before the termination of the prosecution. II. 56, 58, 59, 61.
- Claudius, Ap., grandson of the first Claudius, was one of the first decemviri, u. c. 303, and continued in office (for the last year illegally, and self-elected,) during three years, till his violent and tyrannical disposition, which he had concealed for some time, drove the Romans into open and successful resistance. The immediate occasion of his ruin was his base conduct to Virginia. He killed himself u. c. 306. III. 33-58.
- Claudius Crassus, Ap., son of the decemvir, and a military tribune, u. c. 331, when he was left in charge of the city. IV. 35, 36.
- Claudius Crassus, Ap., grandson of the decemvir, and military tribune in the third year of the siege of Veii, u. c. 352. He preserved the family rancour against the plebeians. IV. 48; V. 1, 3, 7, 20.
- Claudius, C., son of the first Ap. Claudius, and uncle of the decemvir. He was consul, u. c. 294, but was unsuccessful in his application for the office of decemvir, u. c. 304, by the arts of his nephew, whom, however, by his advice and intercession he endeavoured to preserve from the consequences of his tyrannical conduct. He seems to have had less influence in the state, and to have been less vigorous than the other Claudii. III. 15, 35, 40, 58; IV. 6.
- Claudius Cicero, C., a tribune of the commons, u. c. 300, who successfully arraigned Romilius. III. 31.
- Claudius, M., the creature and client of the decemvir Claudius, who was his instrument in his designs on Virginia, claiming her as his slave. He went ultimately into exile. III. 44-58.

Cientes, a term first applied to those settlers in Rome, who, belonging to no *gens*, attached themselves to the Patricians as dependents, and were bound to their patrons by the same ties as the feudal retainers in the Highlands were to their chiefs, being generally supported by land received from their patrons on the tenure of obedience and service. When the *plebs* obtained political privileges in the *Comitia Centuriata*, under the constitution of Servius Tullius, the clients similarly enfranchised, and yet continuing dependent on their patrons, were often employed to thwart the efforts of democratic enthusiasm. II. 35, 64. From II. 56 we infer that the *clientes* had no vote in the *Comitia Tributa*. They were distinct from both patricians and plebeians. The *clientela* of later ages was different.

Cloaca, a great drain of remote antiquity, the foundations of which were laid 40 feet under ground. In its original state it appears to have extended about 1000 feet. Afterwards it had many branches, which united in the grand trench commencing near the Forum, running into the Tiber west of the Palatine hill, thus draining the waters of the low grounds on both sides of the Palatine. Built of stone, its remains, to this day, attest both the antiquity and the immense labour of the work, presenting a vault fourteen feet in width and as many in height, formed by a triple course of arches. I. 38. Hence,

Cloacina, the goddess who presided over the common sewers of Rome. III. 48.

Cloelia, a Roman virgin, one of the hostages given to King Porsenna, who escaped from her guards, and swam across the Tiber. II. 13.

Cloelii, a family of Albans, who were incorporated among the Roman patricians by Tullus Hostilius. I. 30.

Cloelius, Gracchus, a general of the Aequi, who was at first successful in war against the Romans, but was ultimately defeated and sent under the yoke, v. c. 296. III. 25-28.

Cloelius, Q., consul, v. c. 256. II. 21.

Cloelius, an Aequan, who headed the Volscians in an attack on Ardea, and was conquered by the Romans under the consul M. Geganus. IV. 9, 10.

Cluilius, (evidently the same name as Cloelius,) C., the king of the Albans in the reign of Tullus Hostilius. He made an inroad on the Roman territories, and died in a camp which he formed five miles from Rome. I. 22, 23. The ditch with which he encompassed the camp was called *Fossa Cluilia* and *Fossae Cluiliae*, which Niebuhr conjectures to have been in reality the work of a King Cluilius, to drain a marsh and fertilise the adjacent country by a tunnel hewn through a rock for the length of half a mile. I. 23; II. 39.

Clusium, a town of Etruria to the north-west of Rome, on the Via

- Cassia.** Attacked by the Gauls, the inhabitants sought assistance from the Romans, who sent ambassadors to mediate for them. The Gauls, enraged at the conduct of these ambassadors, who, being unsuccessful in their mission, fought in the ranks of the *Clusini*, contrary to the law of nations, raised the siege. The *Clusini* were afterwards engaged in war with Rome, and ultimately became subject to that city. V. 33, 35, 36.
- Cocles, Horatius,** a Roman who, with two others, defended the wooden bridge over the Tiber against the Etrurian army under Porsenna, u. c. 246, till it was broken down, when he swam across the Tiber. He was liberally rewarded. II. 10. Duker's *Florus*, I. 10. § 4. Gellius, IV. 5.
- Coelius, Mons,** one of the seven hills on which Rome stood, according to Dionysius added by Romulus, according to Livy by Tullus Hostilius, inhabited by the Albans. I. 30, 33; II. 11.
- Collatia,** a town anciently belonging to the Sabines, a little south of the Anio, taken by Tarquinius Priscus, the scene of Lucretia's wrongs and death. I. 38, 57-59.
- Collina, Porta,** a gate in the north of Rome, at the *Collis Quirinalis*. II. 11, 51; III. 51.
- Column,** some part of *Mons Algidus*. III. 23.
- Cominius, Pontius,** a young Roman, who conveyed to the Capitol the message of the Romans at Veii, and, evading the vigilance of the Gauls, carried back the answer of the senate. V. 46.
- Cominius, Postumus,** consul, u. c. 253, the year of the first dictatorship according to some. Again consul, u. c. 261, he conquered the Volsci. II. 18, 33.
- Comitia,** assemblies of the whole Roman people to give their votes. See *Centuriata*, *Curiata*, *Tributa*.
- Comitium,** called also *Templum*, II. 56; III. 17, because consecrated by the Augurs, and *Rostra*, because adorned with the beaks of ships taken from the Antiates, a part of the forum where the *Comitia Curiata* were held, and where stood the tribunal from which the orators addressed the people. I. 36.
- Considius, Q.,** a tribune of the commons, u. c. 278. II. 52.
- Consualia,** games in honour of Neptunus Equestris, celebrated on the 18th of August. I. 9.
- Consul,** the supreme magistrate of Rome, with some interruptions, from the expulsion of the kings, (I. 60,) to the perpetual dictatorship of Julius Caesar, when the office became merely nominal. These interruptions were caused by the necessity of appointing dictators in sudden emergencies, the election of decemvirs to enact laws, (III. 33,) and the occasional substitution of military tribunes with consular power, to evade the contests between the patricians and plebeians. (IV. 6.) The consuls were two in number, and elected (at least ultimately,) in the *Comitia Centuriata* at various times of the year, (III. 6; IV. 37,) their term of office being annual. Their power was at first as great

as that of the kings, and their badges of office nearly the same. (II. 1.) P. Valerius Poplicola diminished their authority, (II. 8.) and the tribunes of the commons had a great effect in still farther weakening it. They were still, however, very powerful, and being at the head of the executive department of the state, much depended on their vigour. They assembled the people and senate, brought before them any measures they thought worthy of consideration, negotiated with foreign states, and gave name to the year. They were at first created only from the patricians, but, after many struggles, from either order. According to modern views the consuls, freely chosen by centuries, where the whole citizens voted, took the place of two praetors, the old aristocratical form of government, one being elected by the patricians, and only requiring the confirmation of the commons, for the first time in the year 306, which is the real date of the establishment of the consulship. III. 55.

Cora, a small Latin town which revolted to the Aurunci, but afterwards joined with Pometia in giving hostages to the Romans. II. 16, 22.

Corbio, a Latin town probably between Lavinium and Rome, taken by Coriolanus, dismantled by C. Horatius Pulvillus, near which a battle was afterwards fought between the Romans and the combined forces of the Aequi and Volsci. II. 39; III. 30, 66, 69, 70.

Corinthius-a-um, belonging to Corinthus, the capital of Achaia, the north-east district of the Peloponnesus in Greece, situated on the north of the Isthmus between the Sinus Corinthiacus and the Saronicus Sinus. It was long one of the principal cities of Greece, and founded several powerful colonies, but was destroyed by the Consul Mummius, u. c. 609, in the war between the Romans and the Achaian league. Julius Caesar attempted in vain to restore it to splendour. I. 34.

Corioli, a town of the Volscians, taken by the Romans, principally through the conduct of C. Marcius, hence called Coriolanus, and retaken by him when leading the Volscian troops. II. 33, 39.

Cornelius, A., a quaestor, u. c. 295. III. 24.

Cornelius, A., Pontifex Maximus, u. c. 324. IV. 27.

Cornelius Cossus, A., was tribune of the soldiers, u. c. 318, in the war with Tolumnius, king of the Veientes, whom he slew, thus gaining the *spolia opima*. On the question whether he was consul or tribune of the soldiers when he attained this high honour see IV. 20. He was afterwards consul, u. c. 327; military tribune with consular power, 329, and in the same year master of the horse under Mam. Aemilius, Dictator in a successful war with the Fidenates and Veientes. IV. 19, 20, 30-34. Perhaps he is the same with

Cornelius Cossus, A., or (according to some) M., consul, u. c. 342. IV. 51.

- Cornelius Cossus, Cn.**, military tribune, u. c. 341; consul, 346, and again military tribune, 349. IV. 49, 54, 58.
- Cornelius Cossus, Cn.**, probably a plebeian adopted into the patrician family of the Cornelii, (see p. 372, note 1,) military tribune, 351 and 354, when he ravaged the country round Capena. IV. 61; V. 10, 12.
- Cornelius Maluginensis, L.**, was consul, u. c. 295, during a successful war with the Volsci and Aequi. III. 22, 23, 40, 41.
- Cornelius Maluginensis, M.**, was brother of Lucius, and twice decemvir, u. c. 304, 305, commanding in the latter year with great disgrace at Algidum. III. 35, 40-42.
- Cornelius Maluginensis, M.**, consul, u. c. 319. IV. 21.
- Cornelius, M.**, was substituted censor (*suffectus*) in room of C. Julius, who had died u. c. 363. As this happened in the *lustrum* which saw Rome taken by the Gauls, no censor thereafter was elected in similar circumstances. V. 31.
- Cornelius Cossus, P.**, military tribune, u. c. 340 and 347, when, as dictator, he routed the Volsci. He was a third time military tribune, u. c. 349. IV. 49, 56-58.
- Cornelius Cossus, P.**, military tribune, u. c. 360. V. 24.
- Cornelius Maluginensis, P.**, military tribune, u. c. 351 and 358. IV. 61; V. 16, 17.
- Cornelius Scipio, P.**, master of the horse in the dictatorship of M. Furius Camillus, u. c. 359, when Veii was taken; military tribune, u. c. 360, and interrex, u. c. 363. V. 19, 24, 31.
- Cornelius, Ser.**, consul, u. c. 269. II. 41.
- Cornelius, Ser.**, a Flamen Quirinalis, who died of pestilence, u. c. 301. III. 32.
- Cornelius Maluginensis, Ser.**, a military tribune, u. c. 365, one of those who so unskilfully opposed the Gauls. V. 36.
- Corniculum**, a town belonging to the Latins, taken by Tarquinius Priscus, a prisoner taken in which (*Corniculana captiva*, IV. 3,) was said to be the mother of Servius Tullius. I. 38, 39.
- Cremera**, a tributary of the Tiber, falling into its right bank north of Rome, crossing the Via Flaminia, near which the Fabii were cut off by the Veientes. II. 49, 50. See Allia.
- Creusa**, the daughter of Priam and Hecuba, and wife of Aeneas. Her fate after the destruction of Troy is uncertain. I. 3.
- Croto, Croton, or Crotona**, a town of the Bruttii, on the east sea-coast, and Via Trajana, colonized by Greeks, the residence of the philosopher Pythagoras for twenty years; in later times colonized by the Romans. I. 18.
- Crustumium and -a**, a town near Rome, taken and colonized by Romulus, afterwards retaken by Tarquinius Priscus. Inhabitants Crustumini. I. 9, 11, 38; II. 19.
- Crustumini Montes**, the hills from which the river Allia flows, probably near Crustumium.
- Cumae**, a town on the sea-coast of Campania, colonized by settlers.

- from the Grecian island Euboea, famous from its having been the abode of a Sibyl, who affected prophetic powers. The inhabitants, *Cumani*, were ultimately much attached and faithful to the Romans. II. 9, 14, 21, 34; IV. 44.
- Curatius, P., a tribune of the people, u. c. 354, who assisted in successfully arraigning two military tribunes of the former year. V. 11.
- Cures, a town of the Sabines, north-east of Rome, on the Via Salaria, whence, according to some, Romulus was called *Quirinus*, and the Romans *Quirites*. I. 13, 18.
- Curiae. See Curiata.
- Curiata Comitia, legal assemblies of the original *populus* or patricians of Rome, who at first solely constituted the state. There were in the early Roman constitution, when fully formed, thirty *curiae*, which in war furnished thirty centuries of foot soldiers, made up of three hundred *gentes*, and these thirty curiae were classed in three *tribes*, furnishing, in war, three tribes or centuries of Knights, composed entirely of patricians. The Comitia Curiata seem to have been regarded principally as meetings to consider the determinations of the senate first, and afterwards of the *comitia centuriata*. They alone conferred military power, and had the right of deciding in certain matters affecting clanship and religion. I. 13; V. 52.
- Curiatii, three brothers, champions probably of the Albans, who fought with three Horatii, and were all killed, thus bringing Alba into subjection to Rome. I. 24, 26.
- Curiatii, one of the Alban families, transferred to Rome with the dignity of patricians in the reign of Tullus Hostilius. I. 30.
- Curvatus, P., consul, u. c. 301, afterwards decemvir, 303. III. 32, 33.
- Curtius, C., consul, u. c. 310, a year in which the plebeians made successful inroads on the patrician power. IV. 1, 7.
- Curtius, Mettus, a leader of the Sabines, who had nearly routed the Romans, slaying their general Hostus Hostilius. I. 12, 13.
- Curtius, *lacus*, a place in Rome, so called, according to one account, because a marsh had formerly stood there, where the horse of Mettus Curtius had been entangled. I. 13.
- Cyprius, *vicus*, a street in Rome. I. 38.

D.

- Damaratus, a native of Corinth who settled in Tarquinii, father of Lucumo, afterwards Tarquinius Priscus. I. 34.
- Decemviri, Roman magistrates, ten in number, who were appointed for the purpose of drawing up a code of laws, holding office, unchecked by any other magistrate, from u. c. 303 to 306. Those elected the second year continued the last year illegally and self-elected. Their code of laws is known by the name of the Laws

of the Twelve Tables. III. 32-58. This name is also applied to religious magistrates, whose principal duty was to consult the Sibylline books.

Delphi, a town of Phocis, a district of Graecia Propria, situated on Mount Parnassus, said by the ancients to be the centre of the world, sacred to Apollo, whose oracle there was the most celebrated of all the oracles of antiquity. Here the Amphictyonic Councils were held, and the Pythian Games celebrated. I. 56; V. 15, 16, 28.

Dialis Flamen, the priest of Jupiter, who had many privileges, but was exposed to numerous restrictions. I. 20; V. 52.

Diana, worshipped as the goddess of hunting and field sports, the daughter of Jupiter and Latona, and sister of Apollo. She was worshipped with especial splendour at Ephesus. I. 45; V. 13.

Dictator, a Roman magistrate, whose nomination was found necessary, when conjunctures arrived which rendered the existence of a divided executive power dangerous. (IV. 26.) He was nominated by one of the consuls in the dead of night, receiving military power from the Comitia Curiata, (V. 46,) had absolute authority for six months, (II. 29; III. 20, 28,) being unchecked by any controlling power during his continuance in office, as every other magistrate resigned except the tribunes of the commons. Who was first dictator is not a settled point, (II. 18,) and the office was altogether abolished after the death of Julius Caesar.

Duilius, Caius, a plebeian, who was military tribune, u. c. 356. V. 13.

Duilius, Kaeso, one of the decemviri, u. c. 304. III. 35.

Duilius, Marcus, a tribune of the commons, elected in the first Comitia Tributa, u. c. 283. He seems to have possessed great influence from his rigorous and upright disposition. He arraigned Ap. Claudius, was elected tribune of the commons after the expulsion of the decemviri, was the organ of the people in the bill for the re-establishment of the consular power on that occasion, and being at the same time elected tribune of the commons, u. c. 306, checked the usurping spirit of his colleagues, when it went beyond the bounds of democratic freedom. II. 58, 61; III. 52, 54, 59, 64.

Duumviri, different inferior magistrates, deriving their name from their number, with various powers; some passed sentence on criminals, I. 26; whilst others guarded the Sibylline books. III. 10; V. 13.

E.

Ecetra, a town of the Volscians, whose inhabitants, (*Ecetrani*), after submitting to the Romans, revolted to the Aequi. II. 25; III. 4; IV. 61.

Egeria, a goddess with whom Numa Pompilius alleged he had conversations. I. 19.

Egerius, grandson of Damaratus, and son of Aruns the brother of Tarquinius Priscus, whom his grandfather unknowingly left in poverty; hence the name. He was afterwards entrusted with the government of Collatia by his uncle, and his family took the name Collatinus. I. 34, 38.

Elitovius, the leader of the Cenomani, who settled in the country of the Libui, in the north of Italy. V. 35.

Ephesus, a famous town on the sea-coast of Lydia, a district of Asia Minor, to the south of the river Caystrus. It was celebrated for its temple of Diana, built at the joint expense of the Asiatic Graecian states, and one of the seven wonders of the world. I. 45.

Equites, instituted by Romulus, (I. 13,) probably the same with the Celeres, (I. 15; see also p. 67, note 7.) According to Livy they were organised as a portion of the state by Servius Tullius, (I. 43.) They seem to have originally represented the three Tribes of the *populus*, as the Centuriae did the Curiae; but in the political organization, the old patrician equites were formed into six centuries, and twelve more were added from the leading plebeians. Each of these Equites received a horse and a ring at the public expense; they wore a particular dress, and had a place next the senators in the public spectacles, I. 35. They constituted no distinct order, being composed of both patricians and plebeians, till, v. c. 632, when, by the Lex Sempronia, which appointed, as the only eligible *judices*, those who had the equestrian fortune and were not senators, they were distinctly marked out. They formed, for many years, a link between the senators and the commons, and generally farmed the public revenues, but under the Emperors the order entirely disappeared. For another class of *Equites*, see p. 365, note 1.

Eretum, a town of the Sabines, north-east of Rome, on the Via Salaria, the scene of several engagements with the enemies of Rome, III. 26, 29, 38, 42.

Esquiliae, one of the seven hills on which Rome stood. I. 44; II. 28. *Esquiliarius collis*. I. 48.

Esquilina, Porta, a gate leading from Rome at the Esquiline hill. II. 11; III. 66, 68.

Etruria, a district of Italy, extending, on the west coast, from the river Macra on the north to the Tiber on the south. Their origin and early history have occupied much discussion, but it is certain that they had made great advances in civilization before the foundation of Rome, whose inhabitants borrowed many of their practices from them, especially those connected with religious ceremonies and augury. The country was originally divided among twelve states, which were for a long time engaged in perpetual hostilities with the Roman people. The names of the states, derived from the

principal towns, were the Veientes, Clusini, Perusini, Cortonenses, Arretini, Vetuloni, Volaterrani, Rusellani, Volscinii, Tarquinii, Falisci, and Caeretani. I. 23, 30, 56; IV. 23; V. 17. Inhabitants, *Etrusci*. I. 2.; II. 6-14, 44; V. 1, 15.

Evander, an Arcadian prince, said to be the son of Mercury and Carmenta, who settled in Italy on the Palatine hill, giving name to it, according to some, from his native city Pallanteum. I. 5. 7.

Euganei, a people in the north of Italy, amongst the Rhetian Alps, perhaps, Ligurians. I. 1.

F.

Fabius, the name of a Roman clan of great distinction. The *gens Fabia* were all cut off, except one, in a war which they voluntarily undertook with the Veientes, u. c. 276. II. 45. 48-50.

Fabius Pictor, Q., a Roman senator and annalist, who is generally believed to have flourished u. c. 530, contemporary with the second Punic war. I. 44, 55; II. 40.

Fabius Dorso, C., a Roman who performed certain rites peculiar to the Fabian clan, passing through the midst of the Gauls, who were then in possession of Rome. V. 46.

Fabius Kaeso, quaestor, u. c. 268, when he arraigned Sp. Cassius; consul, u. c. 270, 273 and 275. He was a man of great military skill; at first detested by the plebeians, but afterwards highly popular. He fell in the war with the Veientes. II. 41-43, 46-49.

Fabius Ambustus, Kaeso, the only patrician among the quaestors, u. c. 346; military tribune, 351, 354, (when he commanded in the camp at Veii along with M. Aemilius,) and 360. IV. 54, 61; V. 10, 12, 24.

Fabius, M., consul, u. c. 271 and 274. In his second consulship he inflamed the courage of the Roman soldiers, when seditiously inclined, in a war with the Veientes, and refused a triumph decreed him for his victory. II. 42-47.

Fabius, M. Pontifex Maximus, u. c. 365, when Rome was captured by the Gauls. V. 41.

Fabius Vibulanus, M., consul, u. c. 313; lieutenant-general under L. Quinctius Cincinnatus in the war with Tolumnius, 318, when he repulsed an attack on the Roman camp; again under A. Postumius Tubertus, 324, when he behaved gallantly at the head of the horse against the Aequi and Volsci; and military tribune, 322. IV. 11, 17, 19, 25, 27-29.

Fabius Ambustus, N., military tribune, u. c. 349. He took Anxur. IV. 58, 59.

Fabius Vibulanus, N., consul, u. c. 334, when he defeated the Aequi; military tribune, u. c. 340 and 348. IV. 43, 49, 57.

- Fabius Q.**, consul, u. c. 269 and 272. He fell in battle with the Veientians, 274. II. 41, 43, 46.
- Fabius Vibulanus, Q.**, the only member of the Fabian clan, who (being left at home on account of his youth) was not involved in the disaster at Cremera. He was consul, u. c. 287, 289, (when he defeated the Aequi;) prefect of the city, 292; consul a third time, 295, (when he routed the Volsci and Aequi with great slaughter;) ambassador to the Aequi, 296; and decemvir, 304 and 305. This last office changed his nature, and his conduct rendered him so odious to the soldiers, whom he commanded against the Sabines, that they were voluntarily defeated on several occasions. He went into exile, and his effects were confiscated on the destruction of the decemviral power. III. 1-3, 9, 22, 23, 25, 36, 41-43, 58.
- Fabius Ambustus, Q.** one of the three ambassadors, who were sent to the Gauls when besieging Clusium. Unsuccessful in their mission, they had the folly to take a part in the engagement which ensued, and were recognised. The Romans appointed them military tribunes to oppose the indignation of the Gauls, which still farther exasperated that fierce people. V. 35, 36. Quintus was arraigned for his conduct after the Gauls quitted Rome, but died before the day of trial.
- Fabius Ambustus, Q** consul, u. c. 343. IV. 52.
- Fabius Vibulanus, Q.**, consul, u. c. 332; probably military tribune, 339, as Livy mentions that he was *a second time* military tribune, 341; interrex, 342. IV. 37, note to 47, 49, 51.
- Falerii**, a town of Etruria, not far from Rome, engaged in repeated wars with Rome, and subdued by the upright conduct of Camillus, u. c. 361. They afterwards rebelled, and were heavily fined for their revolt. Inhabitants, *Falisci*. IV. 17: V. 8, 13, 19, 26, 27.
- Faustulus**, the herdsman of the usurper Amulius, who saved and educated Romulus and Remus. I. 4, 5.
- Feciales** or *Fetiales*, a body of men, supposed to be twenty in number, whose business was to conclude treaties, to demand restitution, and solemnly to denounce war. Their chief was called *Pater Patratus*. I. 24, 32; IV. 30.
- Ferentia**, a grove on the western edge of the Alban lake, about ten miles east from Rome, where the Latins held the great civil assemblies of their league, which is said to have always consisted of thirty towns, each having a senate, and an elective chief magistrate, called a dictator. Hence,
- Ferentina**, the nymph of a stream flowing thence to the Tiber, *aqva Ferentina*. I. 50, 51, 52; II. 38.
- Ferentinum**, a Latin town, south-east of Rome, on the *Via Latina*, subdued by the Romans, but governed by their own laws. IV. 51. 61.
- Feretrius**. See Jupiter.

- Feronia**, a deity, to whom a grove, temple, and rivulet between Circeii and Tarracinae were sacred. I. 30.
- Ficana**, a town taken by Ancus Martius. I. 33.
- Ficulea Vetus**, a Latin town taken by Tarquinius Priscus. I. 38.
- Fides**, the goddess of Faith. I. 21.
- Fidenae**, a town in the country of the Sabines, to the east of the Tiber, on the Via Salaria, the inhabitants of which were defeated by Romulus. They seem to have been colonized by Romans, but engaged in frequent hostilities with Rome, and were only ultimately subdued, v. c. 329. Inhabitants, *Fidenates*. I. 14, 27; II. 19; IV. 17, 21, 22, 33, 34.
- Flamen**, the priest of some particular deity, as of Jupiter, Mars, Quirinus, originally three, and these always patricians, afterwards fifteen, twelve being plebeians. The Flamen Dialis, or priest of Jupiter, was the most important. I. 20.
- Flaminius-a-um**, belonging to the *Flaminia gens*, one of whom built the *Circus Flaminius*, III. 54, near which were meadows called *Prata Flaminia*. III. 54, 63.
- Flavoleius, M.**, a centurion in the battle with the Veientes, v. c. 274. II. 45.
- Fortuna**, the goddess of Fortune. II. 40.
- Fossius, M.**, a military tribune, v. c. 322. IV. 25.
- Fucinus**, a lake in the country of the Marsi, north-east of Rome, from which flows the river Liris. Perhaps Livy alludes to some other lake of that name, in the country of the Volsci. IV. 57.
- Fuffetius, Mettus**, dictator of the Albans after the death of their king, Cluilius Albanus, in the reign of Tullus Hostilius. On the termination of the combat between the Curiatii and Horatii, which was proposed by the Albans, and terminated favourably for the Romans, Alba, according to agreement, became subject to Rome. He afterwards, in contravention of this agreement, behaved in a most treacherous manner, and was cruelly torn to pieces by two chariots driven opposite ways. I. 23, 27, 28.
- Fulcinus, C.**, one of the Roman ambassadors slain by the order or the carelessness of Tolumnius, king of the Veientes. IV. 17.
- Furius**, or, as some write, **Fusius**, the brother of the consul Sp. Furius Fusus, who fell in pursuit of the Aequi, v. c. 290. III. 5.
- Furius, Agrippa**, consul, v. c. 309, commanded the left wing in a successful battle with the Volscians. III. 66, 70.
- Furius, Agrippa**, military tribune, v. c. 364. V. 32.
- Furius Pacilus, C.**, consul, v. c. 314; censor, 320; military tribune, v. c. 329, when he and his colleagues quarrelled amongst themselves. IV. 12, 22, 24, 31.
- Furius Pacilus, C.**, consul, v. c. 343. IV. 52.
- Furius, L.**, consul, v. c. 280. An action against him and his colleague was prevented by the sudden and suspicious death of the prosecutor. II. 54.
- Furius Medullinus, L.**, military tribune, v. c. 323, 348. IV. 25, 57.

Furius Medullinus, L., military tribune, u. c. 330, 335; consul, 342, when he took Ferentinum; again consul, 346; military tribune, 350, 357, 358, 360, 361, 364; IV. 35, 44, 51, 54, 61; V. 14, 16, 24, 26, 32.

Furius Medullinus, L., military tribune, u. c. 355. V. 12.

(The arrangement of these three names is altogether conjectural.)

Furius Camillus, M., military tribune, u. c. 352, in the third year of the celebrated war with Veii; (according to Livy;—the matter is disputed); again, 354, when he devastated the country of the Falisci; a third time, 357, when he plundered Capenae; interrex on account of a vitiated election, 358; dictator, 359, when the Romans, wearied with the length of the siege of Veii, and encouraged by the Delphic oracle, resolved on vigorous measures, and were under his command successful, after he had completely defeated the Falisci. His triumph was most glorious, whilst he incurred the odium of the people, both by its splendour and by insisting on the performance of a vow made to Apollo. He was a fourth time, however, elected military tribune, u. c. 361, when he gained possession of Falerii, by his magnanimous conduct. His influence averted a threatened transmigration from Rome to Veii: but after being interrex, u. c. 363, he was next year forced into banishment to Ardea, by a threatened prosecution, and heavily fined in his absence. Notwithstanding this ingratitude, when Rome was in the hands of the Gauls, 365, he roused the Ardeates, successfully attacked the Gauls in his neighbourhood, and being appointed Roman dictator, succeeded in driving away, according to Livy, the barbarian ravagers of his country, again preventing a migration to Veii. V. 1, 10, 12, 14, 17, 19, 21, 23, 25-27, 29-32, 44-46, 49-55. He was afterwards interrex, thrice dictator, thrice military tribune, subdued the Volscians, the Etrurians, and the Gauls, reconciled the dissentient orders of the state, and died of pestilence, u. c. 390, after a glorious public life of thirty-eight years, justly called the second founder of Rome, and bright even among the brightest names of Roman history.

Furius, P., consul, u. c. 282, appointed a triumvir for dividing the land belonging to Antium amongst Roman settlers. II. 56; III. 1.

Furius, Q., Pontifex Maximus, u. c. 365, when he presided at the election of tribunes of the people. III. 54.

Furius, Sex., consul, u. c. 266, when Coriolanus marched against Rome. II. 39.

Furius, Sp., consul, u. c. 273. II. 43.

Furius Fusus, Sp., consul, u. c. 290, when he was besieged in his camp by the Aequi, and, after much anxiety and bloodshed, relieved by the pro-consul, T. Quinctius, being himself wounded. III. 4, 5.

Fusius, Sp., pater patratus, (or appointed agent of the Feciales,) in forming the treaty with the Albans. I. 24.

G

Gabii, a Latin town east of Rome, captured by an artifice of Tarquinius Superbus. I. 53, 54, 60. *Gabinus-a-um*, belonging to Gabii: thus *Gabinus ager*, III. 8; *Gabinus cinctus*, V. 46; *Gabina via*, II. 11; III. 6; V. 49.

Gallia, (Transalpina,) a country of Europe, bounded on the north by the Oceanus Britannicus, on the west by the Oceanus Atlanticus, on the south separated from Spain by the Pyrennaei montes, and bounded by the Mare Internum, on the east by the Alps and the Rhine, comprehending (nearly) modern France, Switzerland and the Netherlands. Gallia Cisalpina extended from the Alps to the Macra, and on the east coast even further south. Inhabitants, *Galli*. V. 17, 33-49.

Geganii, an Alban family incorporated among the Roman patricians by Tullus Hostilius. I. 30.

Geganus Macerinus, M., consul, u. c. 308, when, with his colleague, he succeeded in quieting the state; again, 312, when he blockaded and defeated the Volsci when besieging Ardea; a third time, 318, and censor, 320. III. 65; IV. 8-10, 17, 22, 24.

Geganus Macerinus, Proculus, consul, u. c. 315. IV. 12.

Geganus, T., consul, u. c. 262. II. 34.

Gens, a clan or house, being a union of several *familiae* or families, perhaps originally connected by relationship, afterwards artificially connected, forming a political union, the bond of which was the performance of certain religious rites. The original citizens of Rome, or those elevated to an equality with them, alone formed the families and *gentes*, and, as the *curiae* were made up of *gentes*, and the *tribus* of *curiae*, those alone who belonged to a *gens* had originally any political rights. IV. 1.

Genucius, Cn., a tribune of the commons, u. c. 281, found dead at home, under suspicious circumstances, on the day appointed for the trial of the consuls Furius and Manlius. II. 54.

Genucius, Cn., a plebeian according to Livy, (see note v. 18,) elected military tribune, u. c. 356; and again, 359, when he fell in battle with the Falisci and Capenates. V. 13, 18.

Genucius, M., consul, u. c. 310. IV. 1.

Genucius, T., a tribune of the commons, u. c. 278, who supported an agrarian law, and, along with his colleague Considius, successfully arraigned T. Menenius. II. 52.

Genucius, T., one of the first decemviri. III. 33.

Geryon, a Spanish prince, fabled to have had three heads, slain by Hercules, who drove away his cattle, celebrated for their beauty. I. 7.

Graecia, a country of Europe, bounded on the west by the Mare Ionicum, on the south by the Mare Internum, and the east by the Aegaeum Mare; on the north the boundary varied, as Mace-

donia was, or was not included in Greece. Graecia comprehended the modern Morea, Livadia, and part of Rumelia in Turkey. Inhabitants, *Graeci*. I. 7, 56.

H.

- Hadria**, a town in the south of Venetia, a district in the north of Italy, colonised by Tuscans. V. 33. It gave name to, **Hadriaticum Mare**, the Gulf of Venice, called also *Mare Superum*, that portion of the Mediterranean which separates Italy from Illyricum and Greece. I. 1; V. 33.
- Helena**, twin sister of Pollux, daughter of Jupiter and Leda, and wife of Menelaus, king of Sparta, fled to Troy with Paris, the son of Priam, king of that country. She was in vain demanded back, and the refusal gave rise to the siege of Troy, which lasted ten years. After the death of Paris and destruction of Troy, it is said by some that she returned to Sparta with her husband, and on his death was ultimately strangled by the command of Polyxo, the widowed Queen of Rhodes. I. 1.
- Heneti**, a Paphlagonian tribe, enumerated by Homer, II. II. 852, among the allies of the Trojans, who were said, probably from the name, to have seized Venetia, along with the Greek followers of Artenor. I. 1.
- Heraclea**, a town of Lucania, on the south of Italy, and the *Sinus Tarentinus*, at the mouth of the river Aciris. I. 18. There were other towns of this name. It was here the states of *Magna Graecia* assembled. I. 18.
- Hercinii**, saltus, immense forests, which covered Germany, extending from Helvetia, along the banks of the Danube, as far as Dacia, spreading on all sides. V. 34.
- Hercules**, the most celebrated hero of the ancient classical fables, said to be the son of Jupiter and Alcmena, engaged his whole life in freeing the world from monsters and oppressors, and at last enrolled amongst the inferior gods. I. 7; V. 13.
- Herdonius**, Ap., a Sabine, who seized the Capitol with some exiles and slaves, but was slain, v. c. 294. III. 15-18.
- Herdonius**, Turnus, an inhabitant of Aricia, slain in consequence of a false accusation brought against him by Tarquinius Superbus, who was afraid of his opposition in his own designs against the liberty of the Latins. I. 50, 51.
- Herminius**, Lar., consul, v. c. 307. III. 65.
- Herminius**, T., a distinguished Roman, who assisted Cocles in his defence of the wooden bridge over the Tiber against the troops of Porsenna, and, after signal services, fell, v. c. 255, when lieutenant-general, in the battle at the lake Regillus. II. 10, 11, 20.
- Hernici**, a Latin tribe north of the Volsci, inhabiting a rugged country, and long opposed to the Romans, who ultimately subdued

them, but allowed them to be governed by their own laws. II. 22, 40, 41, 53; III. 6.

Hersilia, the wife of Romulus. I. 11.

Horatia, a sister of the surviving Horatius, who slew her in the excitement of victory, enraged at her lamentations for the death of his antagonist, her lover. I. 26.

Horatii, three brothers, the champions probably of the Romans, in the combat which was to decide the sovereignty of Rome or Alba, one of whom, after his brothers had both been slain, by an ingenious artifice separated the Curiatii, the Alban champions, and slew them. His murdering his sister drew upon him the vengeance of the law, from which he escaped by appealing to the people, in the Comitia Curiata. According to Cicero (*Pro Milone*) this was the first capital trial in Rome. I. 24-26.

Horatius, C., consul, v. c. 277. II. 51.

Horatius Pulvillus, C., consul, v. c. 297, when he was successful against the Aequi; died 301, of pestilence, when augur. III. 30, 32.

Horatius Barbatus, L., military tribune, v. c. 330. IV. 35.

Horatius Barbatus, M., a patrician strongly opposed to the usurpation of the decemviri. He protected Icilius from the fury of Appius Claudius, drove that tyrant from the forum, and was one of two deputies who mediated between the patricians and plebeians. These were both elected consuls, v. c. 306, and by his conduct he acquired such popularity, that, after a successful engagement with the Sabines, he obtained, contrary to the express will of the senate, a triumph, by order of the people. This popularity he did not abuse. III. 39, 40, 49, 50, 53, 55, 61-64; IV. 6.

Horatius Pulvillus, M., substituted consul in room of Sp. Lucretius, v. c. 245. He dedicated the temple on the Capitoline hill to Jupiter, notwithstanding an invidious attempt made to deter him from doing so. II. 8.

Horatius, P., the father of the Horatius who slew his sister. He supplicated for the life of his son, which he obtained on condition of offering an expiatory sacrifice. I. 26.

Hortensius, L., tribune of the commons, v. c. 333. IV. 42.

Hostilia, curia, a senate house, consecrated by Tullus Hostilius. I. 30.

Hostilius, Hostus, a Roman, who commanded bravely, and fell in a battle with the Sabines, which had nearly proved fatal to the Romans. I. 12, 22.

Hostilius, Tullus, the third king of Rome, v. c. 82, grandson of Hostus Hostilius, a prince of great enterprise, and warlike in his disposition. He conquered the Albans, (whom he removed to Rome, destroying their city,) the Veientes, the Fidenates, and the Sabines, and died, v. c. 114, after a bustling and successful reign of thirty-two years, devoting himself in his latter days to religious observances. I. 22-31.

I

Icili, a plebeian family, three of whom were tribunes of the commons, u. c. 346, by whose agency three plebeians were that year elected quaestors, to the great indignation of the patricians. IV. 54, 55.

Icilius, L., a plebeian of tribunicial dignity, to whom Virginia, the victim of Appius' base passion, had been betrothed. In the absence of Virginius, the girl's father, he in vain but vigorously resisted the proceedings of the decemvir, who, as the last exertion of power, ordered him to prison after Virginius had slain his daughter, but Icilius was protected by the people. He stirred up the army encamped against the Sabines, and was elected tribune of the commons, u. c. 305. III. 44, 45, 49, 51, 54.

Icilius, L., tribune of the commons, u. c. 343. IV. 52.

Icilius, Sp., tribune of the commons, u. c. 283, the first year, according to Livy, of the Comitia Tributa. II. 58.

Ilium, a celebrated city of the Troad, so named from Ilius its fourth king, better known by the name of Troja. Ilium is said to be the proper name of the city, and Troja of the district. I. 3.

Indigetes, (said to be derived from *indigestare*, to invoke,) men worshipped as the tutelary gods of any country, which had been indebted to them for their services. I. 2.

Insubres, a people of Gaul, in Lugdunensis Prima, called by Livy a canton of the Aedui, between the rivers Ligeris and Arar, who gave name to a district in the north of Italy, on the banks of the Po, in which the Gauls founded the city Mediolanum, so called from their former chief town. Their fierce dispositions involved them in frequent wars with the Romans. V. 34.

Italia, a country on the south of Europe, surrounded on three sides by the Mediterranean, separated on the north from the adjoining countries by the Alps. The part of it north of the rivers Macra and Rubicon was, in early times, called Gallia Cisalpina, and the southern part Magna Graecia. Its length, in the extended term, is upwards of 700 miles, its breadth varying. It was all subjected to the Roman arms, u. c. 486. I. 2, 18; V. 33.

Iulus, a name of Ascanius, whence the Julian clan are said to have derived their name. I. 3.

J

Janiculum, a hill not included in the seven on which Rome stood, on the west side of the Tiber, first added by Ancus Marcius, and joined to the rest of the city by a wooden bridge. Here Numa Pompilius was buried, and the poet Statius Caecilius. The heavi-

ness of the atmosphere rendered it an unfavourable spot for building. I. 33 ; II. 10, 51.

Janus, worshipped as a deity, regarded by some as the most ancient of the gods, by others as a king of Italy, who gave Saturn a hospitable reception when he took refuge in Latium. He is said to have done much to civilise the early inhabitants of Italy, and hence to have been deified. I. 19 ; II. 49.

Julius, C., consul, u. c. 272 ; II. 43.

Julius, C., decemvir, u. c. 303, when he prosecuted P. Sestius before the people for murder, also one of the deputies sent by the senate to mediate with the people after the affair of Virginia. III. 33, 50.

Julius, C., consul, u. c. 308 ; again 320 ; and perhaps a third time, u. c. 321. III. 65 ; IV. 21, 23.

Julius Iulus, C., military tribune, u. c. 347, when he contested with P. Cornelius Cossus for the command of the war against Antium ; a second time, 350, and censor, 363, when he died in office. IV. 56, 61 ; V. 31.

Julius Mento, C., consul, u. c. 324, when his misconduct and that of his colleague led, after great opposition on their part, to the appointment of a dictator. Being left to protect the city, he dedicated the temple of Apollo. IV. 26, 29.

Julius, L., military tribune, u. c. 317 ; master of the horse, 324, under the dictator A. Postumius Tubertus ; consul, 325, when he passed with his colleague the law *de mulctarum aestimatione*. IV. 16, 26, 30.

Julius Iulus, L., military tribune, u. c. 352. V. 1.

Julius Iulus, L., military tribune, u. c. 354 ; again 358, when, along with A. Postumius, he crushed the Tarquinienses. V. 10, 16.

Julius, Proculus, a patrician. He affirmed that he had seen Romulus after his death, who announced to him that he had been transferred to Heaven. I. 16.

Julius Iulus, Sex., military tribune, u. c. 331. IV. 35.

Julius, Vopiscus, perhaps, consul, 281 ; II. 54.

Junius-a-um, belonging to the patrician clan of the Junii. II. 5.

Junius Brutus, L., son of the sister or aunt of Tarquinius Superbus, is said, from fear of that monarch's blood-thirsty disposition, to have counterfeited such a degree of stupidity, as to render him no object of suspicion. When the conduct of young Tarquin to Lucretia presented a favourable opportunity for throwing off the tyrant's yoke, he concealed his great energy of character no longer, headed the revolt, and was elected first consul. After shewing the most determined opposition to the re-introduction of monarchy, by presiding at the execution of his own sons, who had plotted the return of the Tarquins, he fell in single combat with Aruns Tarquinius, whom at the same time he slew. I. 56, 58-60 ; II. 1-7.

Junius, Q., tribune of the commons, u. c. 316. IV. 16.

Juno, worshipped as the sister and wife of Jupiter, queen of the gods and of men. I. 32; V. 21, 22, 31.

Jupiter, worshipped as the son of Saturn, and Rhea or Ops, king of gods and men, which rank he is said to have attained by dethroning his father. II. 8. He was worshipped with different epithets from his qualities, or according to the occasions on which he was supposed to be serviceable, or the place where his temple stood; thus, *Capitolinus*, I. 55; *Elicius*, I. 20, 31; *Feretrius*, I. 10, 33; IV. 20; *Optimus Maximus*, IV. 2; *Stator*, I. 12, 41. *Jupiter Indigetis*, a name given to the deified Aeneas. I. 2.

Juventas, the goddess of youth. V. 54.

K.

Karthaginienses. See Carthago.

L.

Lacerius, C., a tribune of the commons, chosen by those previously elected, in contravention of the Trebonian law, u. c. 354. V. 10.

Laetorius, a tribune of the commons, u. c. 282, who, in support of the law for the establishment of the Comitia Tributa, was engaged in a violent contest with Appius Claudius. II. 56.

Laetorius, M., centurion *primi pili*, u. c. 259. II. 27.

Laevi, a tribe of the *Ligures*, who seem to have settled north of Liguria. V. 35.

Lanuvium, a Latin town south-east of Rome, celebrated for the worship of Juno. The inhabitants were presented with the freedom of the city, u. c. 417. III. 29.

Lar, a Tuscan term equivalent to chief or prince, hence probably applied to (*Lares*) the souls of dead men who were in the popular belief supposed to preside over the interests of the living. I. 29.

Larentia, the wife of Faustulus, the nurse of Romulus and Remus. I. 4.

Lars, the same as Lar, as applied to the Tuscan kings. II. 9; IV. 17.

Lartius, Sp., a distinguished Roman, who assisted Cocles in his defence of the wooden bridge over the Tiber. II. 10, 11.

Lartius, T., consul, and probably first dictator, u. c. 253, and a second time consul, 256. He was friendly to the people. II. 18, 21, 29.

Latinus, king of Latium, when Aeneas landed in that country. I. 1, 2.

Latinus Silvius, the fourth king of Alba Longa. I. 3.

Latium, a country of Italy, bounded on the west by the Tiber, on the south by the Tuscan sea, on the east by the Liris and Campa-

nia, and on the north by the Anio and the country of the Marsi and Samnium, originally extending southwards only to Circeii, afterwards to Sinuessa, including, with other smaller states, the Latini, inhabitants of Latium. They were probably a mixed people, partly Pelasgian, Tyrsenian or Sicilian, (all branches of the same common stock, from which also sprung the Hellenes or Greeks,) and partly Oscan, the name given to the various tribes that at a remote period peopled central Italy, the latter being the ruling class. The Latins were for many ages occasionally engaged in war with Rome, and, after a long struggle, were presented with the freedom of the city, under some restrictions, v. c. 663. I. 2, 3, 32, 33, 35, 38, 45, 49, 50, 52; II. 19, 20, 22, 33, 48; III. 7. *Via Latina*, a road leading from Rome eastward as far as Venafrum, then south to Vulturnus, where it joined the *Via Appia*. II. 39. See also *Prisci*.

Latona, the mother of Apollo and Diana. V. 13.

Lavici or Labici, a Latin town immediately south of the lake Regillus, taken by Coriolanus, in his march against Rome, and again by the Romans under Q. Servilius Priscus, dictator, afterwards receiving a Roman colony. Inhabitants, *Lavicani*. II. 39; III. 25; IV. 45-47, 49. *Lavicana Via*. IV. 41.

Lavinia, daughter of King Latinus, betrothed to Turnus, but married to Aeneas. I. 1, 3.

Lavinium, a Latin town on the sea-coast, said to have been founded by Aeneas, and named after his wife Lavinia, who reigned there on his death, by permission of Ascanius. I. 1, 3, 14, 23; II. 39.

Laurentium, a Latin town, on the sea-coast, a little to the north-west of Lavinium, the capital of the Latins under Latinus. Inhabitants, *Laurentes*, adjective *Laurens*. I. 1, 14.

Liber and Libera, names of Bacchus and probably Prosperine, who with Ceres had a temple near the Circus Maximus. III. 55.

Libui, a tribe of Gauls, originally settled in that part of Gallia Cisalpina where are the towns Brixia and Verona. They seem to have afterwards settled further west, next the Salassi. V. 35.

Licinius Macer, C., a Roman annalist, supposed to be a contemporary with Cicero. IV. 7, 20, 23.

Licinius, C., one of the first tribunes of the commons, v. c. 260. II. 33.

Licinius Calvus, P., distinguished as the first plebeian who shared in the supreme authority at Rome, being military tribune, v. c. 355. He gave great satisfaction to both parties in the state, and was about to be re-elected a second time, v. c. 359, when he procured the office for his son. V. 12, 18, 20.

Licinius Calvus, P. V. 18, 20.

Licinius, Sp., a factious tribune of the commons, v. c. 273. II. 43.

Lictores, attendants on all the greater magistrates except the cen-

- sors, instituted by Romulus, whose office was to remove the crowd, to see proper respect paid to the magistrates, and to punish criminals. I. 8, 26; II. 55; III. 36.
- Ligures, the inhabitants of Liguria, a district of Gallia Cisalpina, bounded, in the time of Augustus, on the west by the river Varus, on part of the north by the Padus, on the east by the Macra, and on the south by the Sinus Ligusticus, but anciently much more extensive. They were long troublesome to the Romans. V. 35.
- Lingones, a tribe of Gauls in Lugdunensis Quarta, at the sources of the rivers Sequana, Mosa and Matrona, who, along with Boii, settled in Italy, at the south of the Po, near its mouth. V. 35.
- Liparae or -a, the largest of a cluster of islands lying north of Sicily, called Lipareae, Aeoliae or Vulcaniae. V. 28.
- Longula, a town of the Volscians, taken by the Romans, and retaken by the Volscians under Coriolanus. II. 33, 39.
- Luceres, probably a Tuscan term connected with Lucumo, denoting, according to Livy, I. 13, a century of knights, but elsewhere, X. 6, an ancient tribe. Taking this last view, modern researches seem to have established, that the Luceres were Tuscans, who, having settled on the Coelian mount, were added as a branch of the real Roman people, (populus,) most authors agreeing that this state incorporation, for they might have united previously in other respects, took place in the time of Tarquinius Priscus, himself an Etruscan, and that hence (I. 35,) he is said to have added 100 to the senators. I. 13, 36.
- Lucretia, daughter of Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus, and wife of Tarquinius Collatinus, who having been beloved, and treacherously wronged by her husband's relation, Sextus Tarquinius, stabbed herself in presence of her father, her husband, of Brutus and Valerius, previously detailing the cause, and imploring them to avenge her fate. It was this incident which led to the abolition of the regal power. I. 57-59.
- Lucretius Tricipitinus, Hostus, consul, u. c. 326. IV. 30.
- Lucretius Flavus, L., consul, u. c. 362, when he conquered the Aequi; military tribune, 364, when he conquered the Volsinienes. V. 29, 32.
- Lucretius Tricipitinus, L., consul, u. c. 292, when he almost destroyed the Volscians, defeating them twice, the latter time when they were conjoined with the Aequi. III. 8, 10.
- Lucretius, P., consul, u. c. 247. II. 15.
- Lucretius, P., prefect of the city, u. c. 295, in the absence of the consuls, who were attacking the Volscians. III. 24.
- Lucretius Tricipitinus, P., military tribune, u. c. 336; and again, 338. IV. 44, 47.
- Lucretius Tricipitinus, Sp., a noble Roman, father of Lucretia, who had been left as prefect of the city by Tarquin, when that monarch was engaged in besieging Ardea. After the expulsion of the

royal family, he was elected consul in room of Brutus, but died in a few days after his appointment. I. 58, 59; II. 8.

Lucretius, T., consul, u. c. 246, when he in some measure succeeded in checking the Etrurians; and again, 250. II. 8, 11, 16.

Lucumo, the original name of L. Tarquinius Priscus, probably a Tuscan term, indicative of belonging to the highest or priests' caste. I. 34; V. 33.

Ludi, games at religious festivals, and often those festivals themselves. Romulus instituted the *Consualia*, from Consus, a name of Neptunus Equestris, I. 9. Tarquinius Priscus, in honour of his victory over the Latins, built the Circus Maximus (I. 35.) in the Murcian valley, between the Palatine and Aventine hills, where were celebrated annually, from the 4th to the 12th of September, the Ludi Magni, called also Circenses and Romani. These games consisted of races and other athletic contests. There were other Ludi, named from the god in whose honour they were celebrated, as Ludi Apollinares, or the occasion which gave rise to them, as Ludi Funebres. And some of them were *scenici*, or celebrated with stage plays. II. 36; V. 19.

Lupercal, a feast in honour of Pan, (generally the place of celebration,) celebrated on the 15th of February, when his priests, (*Luperci*,) with a girdle of goat's skin, ran about striking all whom they met with goat-skin thongs. Said to be derived a *lupo*, because Pan protected the sheep from the wolves. I. 5.

Lyceus-a-um, belonging to Lyceus, a mountain in Arcadia, sacred to Pan. I. 5.

M

Macedonia, now part of Rumelia, a country in the south of Europe, bounded on the north by Maesia, on the east Thrace, on the south Thessaly and the Mare Aegaeum, on the west Illyricum, but, under the Romans, by the Gulf of Venice. I. 1.

Maecilius, P., tribune of the commons, u. c. 283. II. 58.

Maecilius, Sp., a factious tribune of the commons four times; the last time elected in his absence, u. c. 339. IV. 48.

Maelius, P., military tribune, u. c. 355; and again, 359. V. 12, 18.

Maelius, Sp., a knight, whose suspicious largesses to the plebeians, in a time of dearth, u. c. 315, aroused the attention of the senate to his obvious attempts at acquiring supreme power, and who, on refusing to appear before Cincinnatus, appointed dictator for the occasion, was slain by Ahala Servilius, master of the horse, when his house was razed to the foundation. His followers are called Maeliani. IV. 13-16.

Maenius, M. a factious tribune of the commons, u. c. 345. IV. 53.

Maenius, P., military tribune, u. c. 355. V. 12.

Maesia, a wood probably between Rome and the sea. I. 33.

Magister equitum, an assistant to the dictator, and generally nominated by him, who, as that magistrate could not, without permission of the people, serve on horseback, commanded the cavalry under him. The first was probably Sp. Cassius. II. 18, 19.

Malitiosa silva, a wood somewhere in the country of the Sabines. I. 30.

Mamilius, L., the dictator of Tusculum, who brought assistance to the Romans when involved in foreign and domestic war, and was presented with the freedom of the city. III. 18, 29.

Mamilius, Octavius, a nobleman of Tusculum possessed of great influence among the Latin states, to whom Tarquinius Superbus gave his daughter in marriage. He afterwards gave shelter to the banished tyrant, and headed a combination of thirty states to restore him, but was defeated and wounded in the battle fought at the lake Regillus. I. 49; II. 15, 18, 19.

Manlius, Sex., a plebeian who, along with M. Oppius, commanded the Roman armies when they revolted from the decemvirs. III. 51.

Manlius, a Roman clan; hence *Manliana Imperia*, tyrannical orders in the fashion of L. Manlius, who enforced the laws with hated severity. IV. 29.

Manlius, A., one of the ambassadors sent to Greece to collect laws, and afterwards appointed one of the first decemviri, u. c. 303. III. 31, 33.

Manlius, A., military tribune, u. c. 350; again, 353; a third time, 358; and 361, one of three ambassadors sent with a present to Delphi for Apollo. They were captured by pirates, but afterwards released, and conveyed safe to Delphi. IV. 61; V. 8, 16, 28.

Manlius, C., consul, u. c. 280; arraigned next year with his colleague by Genucius, but freed from the prosecution by the suspicious death of the accuser. II. 54.

Manlius, Cn., consul, u. c. 274, when he commanded the right wing, and fell in a battle with the Etrurians. II. 43-47.

Manlius Capitolinus, L., military tribune, u. c. 333. IV. 42.

Manlius, M., military tribune, u. c. 335. IV. 44.

Manlius (afterwards) Capitolinus, M., consul, u. c. 363, when his colleague and he defeated the Aequi. He saved the Capitol, when on the point of being stormed by a party of Gauls during the night. V. 31, 47. Jealous of the influence of Camillus, he formed a popular party, which gave great uneasiness to the patricians, and forced them to free him after he had been imprisoned. He afterwards seems to have proceeded to actions either criminal, or easily rendered seemingly so by the arts of his ene-

mies, as both parties at last combined against him, and he was thrown from the Tarpeian rock, the scene of his most memorable achievement.

Manlius, T., consul, u. c. 516, when the temple of Janus was shut after the close of the first Punic war. I. 19. He was twice consul, once dictator, and triumphed over the Sardinians.

Marcus Coriolanus, C., a patrician of great impetuosity, bravery and haughtiness, who was mainly instrumental in taking Corioli, u. c. 261. He incurred the hatred of the commons by his aristocratic spirit, and was forced into banishment, 263. He took refuge among the Volscians, incited them to war, led them on victoriously to within five miles of Rome, 266, and retired at last, on the intercession of his mother, after rejecting several supplicatory messages delivered by ambassadors and priests. His after fate is uncertain. Some allege he was stoned to death, others that he killed himself, and one ancient author asserts that he lived till old age. II. 33-35, 37, 39, 40.

Marcus, Marcus, probably a Sabine, who came with Numa Pompilius to Rome, and was enrolled among the Roman patricians by that king. He was the father of

Marcus, Numa, who married the daughter of Numa Pompilius, and was the father of Ancus Marcius. He was appointed high priest by his father-in-law. I. 20.

Mars, worshipped as the son of Juno, and god of war. He was held in especial veneration in Rome, from his supposed relationship to the founder of the city; sometimes called *Gradivus*, (a *gradiendo*.) I. 4, 20; II. 45. *Campus Martius*, a plain between the city and the Tiber, sacred to Mars, where the Comitia Centuriata were held, the bodies of distinguished Romans burned, and particularly the youth were exercised in manly sports. I. 44; II. 5. *Flamen Martis*, the priest of Mars. I. 20.

Massilia, a distinguished commercial city on the south sea-coast of Gaul, in the district of Gallia Narbonensis called Viennensis, said to have been founded by a colony from Phocaea, in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus. It retained the manners, the laws, and the language of the original settlers, was distinguished in the midst of barbarians for its politeness and literature, and was a favourite place of resort for the education of young Romans, with whose state it was always on friendly terms. The modern name is *Marseilles*. Inhabitants, *Massilienses*. V. 34.

Matuta Mater, or Ino, or Leucothoe, the daughter of Cadmus, founder of Thebes, worshipped as a deity. V. 19, 23.

Mediolanum, a town of Gallia Cisalpina, capital of the Insubres, near the river Lambrus, a northern tributary of the Padus, founded by the Gauls in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus. The modern name is *Milan*. V. 34.

Medullia, a Latin town taken by Ancus Marcius, and afterwards by Tarquinius Priscus. I. 33, 38.

- Menenius Agrippa**, consul, u. c. 251. He was beloved by the patricians, and at the same time highly popular, and succeeded in bringing back the people to Rome, after the famous secession to Mons Sacer. On his death next year, 261, he was buried at the public expense. - II. 16, 32, 33.
- Menenius Agrippa**, one of the triumviri appointed to settle a colony in Ardea. IV. 11.
- Menenius Lanatus Agrippa**, consul, u. c. 316; military tribune, 336; and again, 336. IV. 13, 44, 47.
- Menenius C.**, consul, u. c. 302. III. 32.
- Menenius Lanatus L.**, consul, u. c. 315. IV. 12.
- Menenius T.**, son of Menenius Agrippa, consul, u. c. 277, when he was defeated by the Etrurians, elated with their conquest over the Fabii. He was fined next year for not having protected that family with sufficient vigour, when stationed near the Cremera, and died of chagrin. II. 51, 52.
- Mercurius**, worshipped as the god of merchandise, oratory, patron of poets and men of genius, inventor of the lyre, the messenger of the gods, and the conductor of the dead to the mansions of Pluto; the son of Jupiter and Maia, daughter of Atlas. II. 21, 27; V. 13.
- Messius Vectius**, a Volseian who distinguished himself in battle with the Romans, u. c. 324. IV. 28, 29.
- Metapontum**, a sea-port town of Lucania, at the mouth of the Casuentus river, where Pythagoras is supposed to have died. I. 18.
- Metilius M.**, a tribune of the commons, u. c. 354, who, along with two colleagues, successfully arraigned Sergius and Virginus for their conduct as military tribunes in the previous year. V. 11.
- Metilius Sp.**, a factious tribune of the commons, thrice elected, the last time in his absence, u. c. 339. IV. 48.
- Mezentius**, a king of the Etrurians, when Aeneas landed in Latium. I. 2. See Virgil, Aen. VII. 648; VIII. 478-495; X. 833-908.
- Minucius L.**, consul, u. c. 296, when he was unsuccessful against the Aequi, and being shut up in his camp, was relieved by Cincinnatus, who inclosed the Aequi between his own camp and that of Minucius, and after the victory ordered Minucius to abdicate his consulship. III. 25, 26, 29.
- Minucius L.**, decemvir, u. c. 304 and 305. He went with his colleagues, except Claudius and Oppius, into exile. III. 35, 58.
- Minucius L.**, an active Roman, who being appointed *praefectus annonae* in a time of dearth, detected the traitorous designs of Sp. Maelius, and became highly popular. IV. 12, 13, 16.
- Minucius M.**, consul, u. c. 256; and again, u. c. 263. II. 21, 34.
- Minucius M.**, a tribune of the commons, u. c. 354, who, along with two colleagues, successfully arraigned Sergius and Virginus for their conduct as military tribunes in the previous year. V. 11.
- Minucius P.**, consul, u. c. 262. II. 34.

Minucius, Q., consul, u. c. 297. III. 30.

Moneta, a name given to Juno, according to Cicero, *a monendo*, in whose temple, with this name, records of the magistrates were kept, and coins were stamped with her image. Hence *money*. IV. 7, 20.

Mucius, (afterwards Scaevola,) C., a young nobleman, who, when Rome was besieged by Porsenna, penetrated into the enemies' camp, for the purpose of slaying the king. Having stabbed the secretary by mistake, he was seized, and his intrepid conduct and threats so astounded Porsenna, according to Livy, that he made peace with Rome. *Mucia prata*, lands given to Mucius as a reward for his gallantry. II. 12, 13.

Murcia, a name of Venus, (who had a temple with this name at the foot of the Aventine,) said to be a corruption for *Myrtea*, the myrtle being sacred to Venus. I. 33.

N.

Naevia, Porta, a gate at the foot of the Caelian hill. II. 11.

Navius, Attus, a celebrated augur, in the time of Tarquinius Priscus. I. 36.

Nautius, C., consul, u. c. 279; again, 296, when he routed the Sabines. II. 52, 53; III. 25, 26-29.

Nautius Rutilus, C., consul, u. c. 344. IV. 52.

Nautius, Sp., consul, u. c. 266, when Rome was threatened by Coriolanus. II. 39.

Nautius Rutilus, Sp., military tribune, u. c. 331; and again, 339. IV. 35, 47.

Nautius Rutilus, Sp., military tribune, u. c. 336; and again, 350. IV. 44, 61. (This distribution is conjectural.)

Nepesinus-a-um, belonging to Nepete, an Etrurian town. Hence *Nepesinus ager*. V. 19.

Neptunus, worshipped as god of the sea, the son of Saturn and Rhea or Ops, and brother of Jupiter. V. 13. *Neptunus equestris*. I. 9.

Nexus, according to Niebuhr and Arnold, a debtor who sold himself to his creditor, on the condition that unless the debt were paid within a certain time, the creditor might, on an application to the magistrate, seize him as well as his unemancipated sons, and sell them. II. 23.

Nomentum, a town in the country of the Sabines, between the rivers Anio and Tiber, taken from the Latins by Tarquinius Priscus. I. 38; IV. 22, 32. *Via Nomentana*, originally Ficulensis. III. 52.

Norba, a small town in Latium, on the heights above the Pomptinus ager, colonised as a protection to the surrounding country, u. c.

263. II. 34. This colony was distinguished for its unshaken fidelity to the Romans.

Numicius, a small river in Latium, south of Lavinium. I. 2.

Numicius Priscus, T., consul, u. c. 285, when he routed the Volscians, taking Ceno. II. 63.

Numitor, the elder son of Proca, the 13th king of Alba Longa, grandfather of Romulus and Remus, and restored by them to the throne, which his younger brother Amulius had usurped. I. 3, 5, 6.

Numitorius, L., a tribune of the commons, u. c. 283, elected at the first Comitia Tributa. II. 58.

Numitorius, P., uncle of Virginia, who resisted Appius Claudius in his designs upon that girl, and was immediately afterwards elected a tribune of the commons, u. c. 305. IV. 45, 46, 51, 54.

O

Oppia, a vestal virgin who was punished for the breach of her vows, probably by being buried alive, u. c. 271. II. 42.

Oppius, C., a tribune of the commons, u. c. 306. III. 54.

Oppius, M., a plebeian, who commanded along with Sex. Manilius, in the Roman armies, when they revolted from the decemvirs. III. 54.

Oppius Cornicen, Sp., a decemvir, u. c. 304 and 305. He united with Ap. Claudius in his oppressive measures, remained with him at Rome when the rest of the decemvirs were engaged in wars without the city, and, being imprisoned on the fall of the decemvirs, killed himself. III. 35, 41, 49, 50, 58.

Oraculum, either a divine revelation, or the place where it was made. The most famous, in ancient times, was that of Apollo at Delphi. In the centre of his temple there, a high tripod was placed over a chasm in the ground, (*ex infimo specu*, I. 56,) from which rose a gas that intoxicated and caused to utter strange sounds the Pythia or priestess. These sounds were taken down in writing by the prophet, and from them he formed his prophecy.

Ortona, a Latin town besieged by the Aequi, u. c. 273, and taken by C. Horatius Pulvillus, u. c. 297. II. 43; III. 30.

Ostia, a town at the mouth of the Tiber, fifteen miles from Rome, and its sea-port, founded by Ancus Marcius, celebrated for its salt-pits. I. 33; II. 34.

P.

Padus, called by the Greeks and the Roman poets, *Eridanus*, the largest river in Italy, rising in Mons Vesulus, one of the Cottian Alps, running eastward in a basin formed by the Alps and the

Apennines for above 300 miles, and discharging its waters, after receiving about thirty tributary streams descending from the Alps on the north, and the Apennines on the south, into the Adriatic, near the town Adria, by seven mouths, two of which, Volana and Padusa, were natural. V. 33, 35.

Palatinus, Mons, or simply Palatium, one of the seven hills on which Rome stood, having on the east the Subura and the Celian, on the west the Forum and the Capitol, on the south the Circus Maximus and the Aventine, on the north the Via Sacra and the temple of Peace. It was built upon first by Romulus and the Ramnes or Latin settlers; there too dwelt Tullus Hostilius, and all the Roman emperors. From the number of splendid houses built upon it, it gives rise to the word *palace*. I. 5, 7, 12, 33; II. 10.

Pallanteum, a town in the south of Arcadia, at the foot of Mons Maenalus, said to have been the native city of Evander. I. 5.

Pallor, the god of paleness. I. 27.

Pan, worshipped as the god of shepherds, the inventor of the flute, worshipped principally in Arcadia. I. 5.

Paphlagonia, a country of Asia Minor, on the shores of the Pontus Euxinus, separated on the west from Bithynia by the river Parthenius, on the south from Galatia by the river Halys and Magaba Mons, on the east from Pontus by the Halys. I. 1.

Papirius Crassus, L., consul, u. c. 319; and again, 325. IV. 21, 30.

Papirius Mugillanus, L., probably consul, u. c. 310; one of the first censors, 311; again consul, 325; military tribune, 333; and interrex, 334. IV. 7, 8, 30, 42, 43.

Papirius, M., a patrician, who, indignant at a Gaul's familiarity, when Rome was in possession of the Gauls, struck him with his ivory staff, and was in consequence slain, this being the signal for a general sack of the city. V. 41.

Papirius Atratinus, M., consul, u. c. 344. IV. 52.

Papirius Crassus, M., consul, u. c. 314. IV. 12.

Papirius Mugillanus, M., military tribune, u. c. 337; and again, 339. IV. 45, 47.

Patres, in the early constitutional history of Rome, probably the *populus Romanus*, or state-people, the real citizens who exclusively had state rights, and a share of the state property, as the clients and slaves at first, and the plebs afterwards, had no share in public privileges, and were not recognised as a part of the people. The Patres consisted at first of one hundred gentes, ten curiae, and one tribe of Ramnes, then, on a junction with the Sabines, the Titienses, the number was doubled, and afterwards, on the incorporation of the Etrurians, the Luceres, they constituted three hundred gentes, thirty curiae and three tribes. As from them exclusively at first the senators were chosen, *Patres* is often used as synonymous with *Senatores*, even at the time when the senate and all offices of state and

all privileges, but a few of little importance, were opened to the Commons, and in this sense, it is important to notice, Livy almost always uses it. It is therefore properly synonymous with *Patricii*, which is the term generally employed by Livy to denote the descendants of the original *patres* constituting the *populus*, whether they were senators or not. A patrician, whatever might be his fortune, continued to be so, except by his own consent to adoption into a plebeian family. I. 8; III. 65; IV. 1-6, 25.

Pavor, the god of fear. I. 27.

Pedum, a Latin town, taken by Coriolanus, v. c. 265. II. 39. Presented with the freedom of the city, 417.

Peloponnesus, now the Morea, the southern division of Greece, bounded on three sides by the Mediterranean, and on the north separated from Graecia Propria by the Isthmus of Corinth, containing Achaia, Elis, Messenia, Laconia, Argolis and Arcadia. I. 7.

Penates, probably a generic term for images worshipped in the *penus*, or innermost part of the house, and including the *Lares*, combined with which it is often taken to signify the sacred retirement of a man's own house. But it seems also to be used specifically to denote *gods* there enshrined, as distinguished from *Lares*, the souls of departed ancestors. I. 29; III. 17.

Peninum, *Jugum*, a ridge of the Alps immediately south of the *Lacus Lemanus*, now great St Bernard and St Gothard. The origin of the name is contested. V. 35.

Phocaea, a town on the sea-coast of Ionia, in Asia Minor, near the *Hydra Promontorium*. V. 34.

Pila, *Horatia*, a pillar or trophy bearing the arms of the *Curiatii*. There is a doubt whether this is *Pila-ac*, a column, or the plural of *Pilum*-i, in the same sense. *Facciolati* is of the former opinion; but even from the passages referred to by him, (he does not quote *Dionysius* fully,) it seems probable that it is the plural of *Pilum*, in the sense of *weapons*,—the pillar might be called 'the *Horatian weapons*,' and so *Dionysius*, (Book iii.) seems to say. After stating that an angular pillar had been erected in the Forum, on which had been placed the arms of the *Curiatii*, he says, that though the *arms* (*ἄρμα*) had disappeared from length of time, the pillar still preserved, in his day, the appellation, *Ὀρατίου καλουμένη πῖλα*, that is, though no longer properly so called, the remembrance of *arms having been there once* was preserved in the name. So *Propertius*, (III. 2, 7,) may have played on the word by an elegant allusion familiar to every Roman citizen, when he wrote of *Ennius*; *Et cecinit Curios fratres, et Horatia pila*. I. 26.

Pinarii, one of the noblest families of Latium in the time of *Heracles*. I. 7.

Pinarius, L., consul, v. c. 282. II. 56.

Pinarius Mamercinus, L., a military tribune, v. c. 323. IV. 25.

Piso Calpurnius Frugi, L., consul, u. c. 620, referred to as an analyst, I. 55; II. 32, 58.

Plebs or Plebes, a portion of the Roman constitution, originally totally devoid of political existence, being composed of immigrating land-holders, clients thrown loose by the extinction of the families to which they were attached, but principally of the inhabitants of conquered districts transferred to Rome, to whom a portion of these lands was delivered back for their subsistence. They were allowed to possess property and to fight in the armies as free men, but they had no share in the government nor in the property of the state, being excluded from the *Comitia Curiata*, the senate and all offices of the state. They were even at first excluded from the city, having their settlement on the Aventine, which was then without the walls, and in judicial matters between them and the patricians were at the mercy of the latter without appeal. By the constitution of *Servius Tullius*, they were internally organised in tribes, and first obtained a footing in the state politically, as far as voting was concerned, by the *Comitia Centuriata*, and though this was suspended for some time by the usurpation of *Tarquinius Superbus*, and the subsequent aristocratical government by patrician consuls, which required the patrician sanction of the *Curiae* to the decisions of the *Centuriæ*, they gradually gained a full share of privilege, though, during the course of our history, they were not admitted to any share of the state demesnes, which remained exclusively in the hands of the patricians. I. 54; II. 9, 21, 33, 56, (where *plebs* is contrasted with *populus*, the original Roman state-people) 64; III. 55, 67; IV. 26-30, 44, 48, 49, 54; V. 12. For the distinction between the tenure on which the plebeian land was held, viz. freehold or allodial, and that on which the patrician land was held, viz. as a public and revocable grant of the state demesnes, for which a rent was or should have been paid, see IV. 48.

Poetelius, Q., one of the decemvirs, u. c. 304, 305. He went into exile on the abolition of the decemviral power. III. 35, 58.

Politorium, a city of the Sabines taken by *Ancus Marcius*, and its inhabitants transferred to Rome, occupying the Aventine. I. 33.

Polusca, a town of the Volscians taken by the Romans, u. c. 261, and retaken by *Coriolanus*. II. 33, 39.

Pometia, a town of Latium, between the sea-coast and the river *Ufens*, at one time the capital of the Volsci; called also *Suessa*, and *Suessa Pometia*. Adjective, *Pomptinus* or *Pometinus-a-um*. I. 41, 53; II. 16, 17, 22, 25, 34; IV. 25.

Pomoerium, an open space without and within the walls of a city, sacred, and therefore not built upon or tilled. When the city was extended, this space retained its sacredness as a symbolical wall, its course being marked with pillars. Thus the Aventine, as we learn from *Aulus Gellius*, XIII. 14, was without the po-

moerium some hundred years after it was included in the walls. For the original pomoerium of Rome, and some interesting facts connected therewith, see Tacitus, Ann. XII. 23, 24. I. 44.

Pompilius, Numa, an inhabitant of Cures, who, after a year's interregnum, was elected second king of Rome, u. c. 39, where he reigned for forty-three years, distinguished for his attention to the arts of peace, to the institution of religious rites, and the civilization of his warlike subjects. I. 18-21, 32.

Pompilius, Sex., a tribune of the commons, u. c. 335. IV. 42, 44.

Pomponius, M., a tribune of the commons, u. c. 305. III. 54.

Pomponius, M., a plebeian, elected military tribune, u. c. 356. V. 13.

Pomponius, Q., a tribune of the commons, u. c. 360; arraigned and fined, to the great indignation of the patricians, two years afterwards. V. 29.

Pons Sublicius, (from *sublica*, a pile of wood driven into the ground for building on,) a wooden bridge erected over the Tiber, by Ancus Marcius, at the foot of the Aventine. After the time of Horatius Cocles, when there was danger from the difficulty of destroying it, this bridge was so built without iron bolts, that the beams forming the road-way could be at once lifted up and all access cut off. The Pontifices are said by Varro to be named from it being their duty to keep this bridge in repair, and from it the Argei (q. v.) were annually thrown into the Tiber. I. 33; II. 10.

Pontifices, priests varying in number, whose corporation was called *collegium*, and who judged in all matters pertaining to sacred things. I. 20; II. 2; IV. 3. Their chief was called *Pontifex Maximus*. III. 54; IV. 44.

Pontificius, Ti., a factious tribune of the commons, u. c. 274. II. 44.

Porsenna, Lar, king of the Clusini, with whom Tarquin took refuge, and who, after besieging Rome, at last retired, according to Livy, intimidated by the obstinacy of the resistance, but more probably in consequence of submission on the part of the Romans. II. 9. 15. For spelling, see page 124, note 5.

Porsenna, Aruns, son of king Porsenna, who fell in the siege of Aricia. II. 14.

Postumia, a vestal virgin, accused of having violated her vows, and acquitted, u. c. 335. IV. 44.

Postumianus-a-um, belonging to the clan Postumius. IV. 29.

Postumius, A., dictator, u. c. 255, when he defeated the Latins in a celebrated battle at the lake Regillus; consul, 258. II. 19-21.

Postumius Albus, A., consul, u. c. 290, when the Aequi were defeated with immense slaughter; ambassador to the Aequi, 296. III. 4, 5, 25.

Postumius Regillensis, A., military tribune, u. c. 358, when, with L. Julius, he slaughtered the Tarquinienses. V. 16, 17.

Postumius Tubertus, A., master of the horse in the second dictatorship of Mam. Aemilius, u. c. 321; dictator, 324, when he totally defeated the Aequi and Volsci. IV. 23, 26-29.

Postumius, M., military tribune, u. c. 329, when he and his colleagues quarrelled amongst themselves. He was fined for his misconduct, 332. IV. 31, 41.

Postumius Albinus, M., military tribune, (according to Livy, but as others maintain, censor,) u. c. 352. V. 1.

Postumius Regillensis, M., military tribune, u. c. 341; a skilful but brutal general, who offended his soldiers so much by his tyrannical conduct, that they stoned him to death. IV. 49, 50.

Postumius, P., consul, u. c. 249, when he triumphed over the Sabines, and again 251, when he defeated the Aurunci. II. 16.

Postumius, Sp., consul, u. c. 288; ambassador to Greece for the purpose of collecting laws, 300; decemvir, 303; lieutenant-general in command of the centre in the battle with the Aequi and Volsci, 309. III. 2, 31, 33, 70.

Postumius Albus, Sp., military tribune, u. c. 323; lieutenant-general, 324. IV. 25, 27.

Postumius, Sp., military tribune, u. c. 361, when he was defeated by the Aequi, but afterwards was in his turn successful. V. 26, 28.

Potitii, a distinguished family in Latium, during the reign of Evander. I. 7. See Virgil, Aen. VIII. 269, 281.

Praefectus urbis or urbi, an officer whose business it was to preside in the city during the absence of the kings or consuls. Under the former he was nominated by them and probably for life; under the latter he was probably elected by the Curiae, and he exercised all the consular power. The office was rendered unnecessary by the appointment of the Praetor Urbanus, but the shadow of it still survived. I. 59, 60; II. 24; III. 3, 9, 24.

Praeneste, a Latin town about twenty-four miles east from Rome, celebrated for its worship of Fortune, which revolted to the Romans, u. c. 255, (II. 19); and, after several unsuccessful struggles for independence, remained faithful to that people. *Praenestini montes*, and *Praenestinus ager*. III. 8.

Praetores, Roman magistrates, whose office it was to administer justice. The term was applied at first to all possessed of supreme military command, (III. 55.) They were next in dignity to the consuls, varied in their numbers, and were not introduced into the city as judges till u. c. 389, when it was found that the consuls, from being engaged in the command of the armies, were forced to neglect the administration of justice.

Prisci Latini. See *Latini*. Niebuhr is of opinion that Prisci did not mean originally in this combination 'ancient,' but was the name of the Oscans, who conquered the Latins, and that Prisci Latini is the same as Prisci et Latini. Malden, on the other hand, thinks that it does mean 'ancient,' assumed by the Pelasgian Latins,

to distinguish themselves from the more recent Latins of Alba. I. 3, 32, 52.

Proca, 13th king of Alba Longa. I. 3.

Prodigia, portents derived from unnatural appearances and strange occurrences. Considering the great importance of these, as believed in by the Romans, and affecting their character as well as history, we need not wonder that Livy narrates, without believing them. Whether, indeed, he believed them or not, these narratives open up a source of information and of thought as to the elements of Roman character, which we could ill afford to lose. Ruperti, in an interesting note on I. 31, accumulates instances of these prodigies vouched by Livy, which he divides into two great classes,—those that are plainly ridiculous and incredible, as voices heard during the night, (I. 31; II. 7; V. 32,) cows speaking, (III. 10;) and those that, arising from natural causes unknown to the masses, and unconceived by them, have been in all ages and countries, and still are looked upon as portentous, being magnified and misrepresented, as showers of stones, (I. 31,) and of flesh, (III. 10,) the heavens on fire, (III. 5, 10,) the water of a lake suddenly subsiding, (V. 15,) and numerous others occasioned either by atmospheric action, or the heavings of the earth; to which may be added the portents deduced from the sight of unknown or unnaturally formed animals.

Publius Volscus, L., military tribune, u. c. 355. V. 12.

Publius, Valero, a plebeian, who successfully resisted an attempt to enrol him in a consular levy, u. c. 281. He was tribune of the commons for the next two years, and was the first who attempted (according to Livy) to introduce the *Comitia Tributa*. II. 55, 56.

Publius, Volero, military tribune, u. c. 356. V. 13.

Punicus-a-um, belonging to the Carthaginians, an adjective connected with their descent from the Phoenicians. *Punicum bellum*, a war betwixt the Romans and Carthaginians. Of these there were three, the first beginning u. c. 489, and lasting twenty-three years, to the ultimate disadvantage of the Carthaginians; the second beginning u. c. 535, carried on with much rancour, and threatening, at one time, the utter overthrow of the Roman power, but ending, 552, again to the disadvantage of the Carthaginians; the last, u. c. 604, and ending with the destruction of Carthage, 606. I. 19.

Pupius, P., one of the first quaestors chosen from the plebeians, u. c. 346. IV. 54.

Pylaemenes, king of the Heneti, a Paphlagonian tribe, who was killed in the Trojan war by Menelaus. They were afterwards commanded by Antenor, a Trojan prince, brother-in-law of Queen Heecuba, who with them and the Trojans drove out the Euganei, and is said to have founded Patavium, in the north of Italy. I. 1. Pythagoras, a distinguished philosopher, a native of Samos, who, ha-

ving received an excellent education, and travelled in the eastern countries, then the seat of learning, and especially of astronomical science, was discontented with the constitution of his own state, and settled in Croto, where he established schools for philosophy. He taught, amongst other things, the transmigration of souls, the motion of the planets round the sun, and extreme temperance of life. He is said to have died at Metapontum, v. c. 256. I. 18. Pythia, a term for the priestess of Apollo at Delphi. See *Oraculum*. I. 56.

Pythicus-a-um, belonging to Apollo, (q. v.) *Pythicus Apollo*. V. 21. *Pythicum oraculum*. V. 15. *Pythicae sortes*. V. 23. *Pythica vox*. I. 56;

Q.

Quaestores, Roman magistrates, whose principal office was the care of the treasury, and every thing connected with the public expenditure. They were at first two in number, but their number was doubled, v. c. 334; raised to eight, 498; under Sulla, twenty; and Julius Caesar, forty; their number under the emperors varying. II. 41; III. 24, 25; IV. 43, 54.

Quies, the goddess of quiet. IV. 41.

Quintilius Varus, M., military tribune, v. c. 352. V. 1.

Quintilius, Sextus, consul, v. c. 301, when he died of pestilence. III. 32.

Quinctius-a-um, belonging to the clan *Quinctii*. I. 30. *Quinctia gens*. III. 12. *Quinctia prata*. III. 26.

Quinctius Cincinnatus, Q., military tribune, v. c. 340. IV. 49.

Quinctius, Kaeso, a young patrician of great distinction, who, from his violent resistance to the *lex Terentilla*, was arraigned by A. Virginia, a tribune of the commons; and, in consequence of a false accusation that he had murdered a plebeian, driven into exile, v. c. 293. The accusation was afterwards disproved, but his ultimate fate is doubted. III. 11, 13, 24, 25.

Quinctius Cincinnatus, L., father of Kaeso, consul, v. c. 294; refused the consulship, 295; was called from the plough to the dictatorship, 296, when he inclosed the Aequi, who were blockading the Roman camp under the consul Minucius, and sent them under the yoke; was disappointed in his application for the office of decemvir, 304; again dictator, 316, to oppose the designs of Sp. Maelius. III. 12, 19, 21, 26-29, 35; IV. 6, 13, 15.

Quinctius, L., another son of L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, military tribune, v. c. 317; master of the horse under the dictator Mam. Aemilius, 318; a second time military tribune, v. c. 330; and a third time, 335. IV. 16, 17, 35, 44.

Quinctius Cincinnatus, Q., military tribune, v. c. 350. IV. 61.

Quinctius Barbatus Capitolinus, T., consul, v. c. 283; calmed the people when excited in behalf of the law for the election of tribunes

in the Comitia Tributa, endearing himself to the soldiers by his successes against the Aequi, and the mildness of his command; again consul, 286, when he defeated the Volscians with great slaughter; triumvir next year for dividing land amongst the people; consul, u. c. 289, when he drove back the Aequi from the Roman walls; proconsul, 290, when he relieved the consul Furius, who was blockaded in his camp by the Aequi; quaestor, 296, when he arraigned Volscius for the false accusation of Kaeso Cincinnatus; was disappointed in his application for the office of decemvir, 304; a fourth time consul, 309, when he conquered the Aequi and Volsci; interrex, 311; a fifth time consul, 312, when his impartiality made him highly venerated by men of all ranks; a sixth time consul, 316, during the designs of Sp. Maelius, to oppose whom he appointed L. Quinctius Cincinnatus dictator; ever retaining his influence during a long and brilliant life. II. 56, 57, 60, 64; III. 1; 2, 4, 5, 12, 13, 25, 35, 66-70; IV. 7, 8, 10, 13, 41.

Quinctius Cincinnatus Pennus, T., another son of L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, consul, u. c. 324, when he quarrelled with his colleague, C. Julius Mento, and a dictator was in consequence appointed to oppose the Aequi and Volsci. He commanded in this successful campaign as lieutenant-general, and his conduct then, as well as previously, when lieutenant-general under the dictator Mam. Aemilius, 318, induced the people to acquit him when arraigned, 332, for his conduct as military tribune, 329. He had, besides, been consul a second time, 327. IV. 17, 26, 27-33, 41.

Quinctius, T., son of T. Quinctius Barbatus Capitolinus, consul, u. c. 334; military tribune, 350. IV. 43, 61.

Quintii, or Quinctii, an Alban family incorporated among the Roman patricians by Tullus Hostilius. I. 30.

Quirinalis Flamen, the priest of Romulus. I. 20.

Quirinalis, Collis, one of the seven hills on which Rome was built; added to the city, according to Livy, by Servius Tullius, having on the north the Porta Viminalis, on the west the Campus Martius, on the south the Capitol, and on the east the Esquiline and Viminal hills. I. 44.

Quirinus, the name given to Romulus as a deity, according to some from Cures, to others from Quirium, a Sabine settlement on the Capitoline Mount. I. 20; IV. 21; V. 52.

Quirites, a name given to the Romans, whose origin seems to be the same as that of Quirinus. I. 13.

R.

Rabuleius, M., decemvir, u. c. 304, 305. III. 35.

Racilia, wife of L. Quinctius Cincinnatus. III. 26.

Raeti, probably descendants of the Etrurians who settled in the north

of Italy, occupying the Alps from the confines of the Helvetii to Venetia, bounded on the north by Vindelicia. V. 33.

Ramnes or Ramnenses, a tribe of the original *populus* or state-people, (Livy, x. 6,) called by Livy (i. 13, 36,) a century of equites, constituting, probably, the Latin portion of the people, the settlers under Romulus on the Palatine hill.

Regillum, probably a Sabine town, the original residence of Appius Claudius. II. 16.

Regillus, Lacus, a lake in Latium, south-east of Rome. The memory of the battle fought here was preserved, according to Dionysius, (VI.) by an annual procession of the Equites (*transvectio*) on the Ides of July, in honour of Castor and Pollux, who are said to have assisted in the battle, and to have brought the news of the victory to Rome. See Macaulay's *Lays of Rome*. II. 19, 20; III. 20.

Remus, twin-brother of Romulus, said to have been the son of Mars and Rhea Silvia, preserved from death, to which they had been doomed by the usurper Amulius, and educated as a shepherd; engaged in conflicts with robbers, and ultimately successful in driving Amulius from the throne, but thereafter slain by his brother for contemptuously leaping over the walls of the city founded by him, or when contesting the right to found the city. I. 4-7.

Roma, a city principally on the left bank of the Tiber, about thirteen miles from its mouth, $41^{\circ} 53'$ north latitude, $12^{\circ} 27'$ east longitude, whose history involves that of the world for many ages. Its real origin is extremely uncertain, but, according to the general tradition, it was founded by Romulus on the 21st of April 753 B. C. It was at the extremity of Latium, and the only Latin town on the Tiber. The district where it is situated forms an undulating plain about a hundred miles long, and nowhere broader than forty, now called Campagna or Agro Romano. To the west the view is immediately bounded by the hills on the west of the Tiber, to the south and south-west the Campagna is succeeded by the sea, to the north and north-east it is closed by the nearest line of the Apennines, and eastward by the Alban hills. Early Rome stood only on one hill, the Palatine, the Capitoline being occupied by Sabines. It afterwards embraced the Palatine, Coelian and Esquiline, and under the last kings (I. 44) it reached the limits which it retained for nearly eight hundred years, the walls of Servius Tullius inclosing the Palatine, Capitoline, Quirinal, Aventine, Coelian, Esquiline, and Viminal, being a circuit of about seven Roman miles.

Romani, the inhabitants of Rome. They were principally Latins, but probably distinguished from them by a mixture of Sabines and Etruscans, as we may trace in the Ramnenses, or original settlers, followers of Romulus, the Titienses, or followers of the Sabine Titus, and in the Luceres, which is supposed to be connected with the Etruscan Lucumones, (I. 13,) though writers are not agreed as to the time, manner or effects of the threefold junction.

Romilius, T., consul, u. c. 299; successfully arraigned next year by C. Claudius Cicero; decemvir, 303. III. 31, 33.

Romularis, ficus, the supposed origin of the Ruminalis ficus, a tree standing near the spot where Romulus and Remus were saved. I. 4.

Romulus, twin-brother of Remus, and generally received as the founder of the city Rome, where he reigned for 37 years. I. 4-21, 40; IV. 15; V. 49, 53.

Romulus Silvius, eleventh king of Alba Longa. I. 8.

Roscius, L., a Roman ambassador, slain by the orders or through the carelessness of Lar Tolumnius, king of the Veientes. IV. 17.

Ruminalis. See Romularis.

Rutilius Crassus, Sp., military tribune, u. c. 388. IV. 47.

Rutuli, a Latin tribe on the sea-coast, whose capital was Ardea. I. 2.

S

Sabini, the inhabitants of a country of Italy, divided from Umbria by the Nar, from Etruria by the Tiber, from Latium by the Anio, from Picenum and the Vestini by the Apennines. They were rigid in their morals, and from their vicinity to Rome were engaged at first in constant struggles with that city. I. 9-13, 30, 31, 33, 36, 37; II. 16, 18, 26, 31, 45, 53, 63, 64; III. 26, 30, 62, 63.

Sacer, Mons, a hill about three miles from Rome, north of the river Anio. II. 32, 33.

Sacra, Via, a street in Rome. II. 13.

Salii, the priests of Mars, twelve in number, who used to go through the street dancing and singing sacred songs, with a peculiar dress, especially on the 1st of March, in commemoration of the shield which was said to have fallen from heaven on that day, in the reign of Numa. I. 20, 27.

Salluvii, called also Salyes, a tribe of Gauls in Narbonnensis Secunda, on the banks of the rivers Druentia and Rhodanus. They were conquered, and a Roman colony settled there, in a town called Aquæ Sextiæ, now Aix, u. c. 633. V. 35.

Salpinum, a town of Etruria, between the Lacus Volsiniensis and the river Tiber. Inhabitants, Salpinates. V. 31.

Salyes. See Salluvii.

Samius-a-um, belonging to Samos, an island, with a town of the same name, opposite to Ephesus, in Ionia, the birth-place of Pythagoras. I. 16.

Satricum, a Latin town not far from the sea-coast, taken by Coriolanus, and the scene of repeated engagements between the Romans and their enemies. II. 39.

Saturaus, worshipped as the god of time, the son of Coelus and Terra, dethroned by his son Jupiter, and sheltered by Janus, king of

Latium, whose people he instructed in agriculture and legislature. II. 21.

Saturnalia, feasts in honour of Saturn, the most celebrated in the whole calendar, held on the 17th of December, at first for one day, then for three and five days, when masters and slaves were on an equal footing, presents were interchanged, and mirth of all kinds abounded. II. 21.

Scaptius, T., an old plebeian, who instigated the Romans to seize ground claimed by the Aricini and Ardeates, u. c. 309. III. 71.

Sellius, A., a tribune of the commons, elected in his absence, u. c. 338. IV. 42.

Sempronius, A., consul, u. c. 257; and again, 263. II. 21, 34.

Sempronius Atratinus, A., one of the first military tribunes, u. c. 311. IV. 7.

Sempronius Atratinus, A., military tribune, u. c. 330; again, 335; and a third time, 339. IV. 35, 44, 47.

Sempronius Atratinus, C., consul, u. c. 332, when he rashly encountered the Volsci, being fined three years afterwards on account of the disgraceful check sustained by the Roman arms on this occasion. IV. 37-42, 44.

Sempronius Atratinus, L., consul, u. c. 311, and one of the first censors next-year. IV. 7, 8.

Senatores, a name given to those, who, from their age and position at the head of the *gentes* or clans, each gens being represented by its chief, were the delegated counsellors of the Roman kings and chief magistrates. The number of the senators depended on the number of the *gentes* in early times, and as long as the *plebs* formed no part of the state, the senate was entirely patrician, except in those comparatively rare cases, where plebeians, from some state necessity, had found their way into the senate. Of course this afterwards ceased to be the case, and much confusion arises from not attending to the difference between the two eras, when the commons formed no part of the people, and when they shared in the privileges of the state. According to Livy, Romulus instituted 100, (I. 8;) Tullus Hostilius added 100, (I. 30;) Tarquinius Priscus added 100 more, (I. 35;) Brutus filled up the number thinned by Tarquinius Superbus, (I. 49; II. 1,) to 300. 300 were added by Sulla; there were 900 in the dictatorship of Julius Caesar, and Augustus reduced them to 600. Their privileges were numerous, and their principal duties were, in the commonwealth, (for under the emperors their powers were nominal,) to guard the public religion, to manage the treasury, to settle the provinces, to nominate ambassadors, to bestow public honours, to inquire into public crimes, to interpret, absolve from, and abrogate the laws, and to postpone the assemblies of the people. In addition to the passages already quoted, allusions will be found to changes in the constitution of the senate, I. 30, 35; II. 9, 16, 33; III. 14, 65, 67; V. 12.

Senones, a tribe of Gauls in Lugdanensis Quarta, on the banks of

- the rivers Ligeris and the Sequana, a party of whom settled in the north of Umbria, afterwards besieging and sacking Rome. V. 35.
- Sergius, L., one of three ambassadors sent to convey a present to Apollo to Delphi, seized by Liparensian pirates, but afterwards conveyed in safety to Greece, and thence to Rome. V. 28.
- Sergius Fidenas, L., consul, u. c. 318, when he defeated the Veientes in a battle disastrous to both sides; military tribune, 322; again consul, 326; again military tribune, 331; and a third time, 337, when the Roman troops under his command were shamefully routed by the Aequi, and the appointment of a dictator was required. IV. 17, 25, 30, 35, 45, 46.
- Sergius Fidenas, L., military tribune, u. c. 358. V. 16.
- Sergius, M., decemvir, u. c. 304 and 305. III. 35.
- Sergius Fidenas, M., military tribune, u. c. 351, and a second time 353, when he was driven from Veii to Rome, being attacked furiously in his camp, on two sides, and obstinately bent on seeking no aid from his colleague Virginus, with whom he was at variance. For this he was next year tried and fined. IV. 61; V. 8, 11, 12.
- Servili, an Alban family incorporated among the patricians by Tullus Hostilius. I. 30.
- Servilius Priscus, or Structus, A., dictator, u. c. 320, against the Fidenates and Veientes, whom he defeated, taking the town Fidenae. IV. 21, 22.
- Servilius, C., consul, u. c. 276. II. 49.
- Servilius, C., military tribune, u. c. 337. After a contention as to who should head the force against the Aequi, he obeyed his father, and remained at Rome, being afterwards master of the horse, according to some, under his father as dictator. IV. 45, 46.
- Servilius Ahala, C., master of the horse, u. c. 316, under Cincinnatus, when he slew Spurius Maelius, who refused to appear before the dictator; consul, u. c. 328; and perhaps master of the horse, 337. IV. 13-15, 30, 46.
- Servilius Ahala, C., military tribune, u. c. 347; master of the horse the same year, under P. Cornelius, dictator against the Volscians; a second time military tribune, 348; a third time, 353, when he forced his colleagues to quit office before the regular time, in compliance with the wish of all ranks. IV. 56, 57; V. 8, 9.
- Servilius Structus, L., military tribune, u. c. 338. IV. 47.
- Servilius, P., consul, u. c. 259. By his mild disposition he conciliated the affections of the people when most seditiously inclined. He subdued the Volscians and the Sabines, but, unable to act resolutely in behalf of the plebeians, he retired from office, disliked by both parties. II. 21-27.
- Servilius, P., consul, u. c. 291, when Rome was attacked by the Aequi and Volsci, and at the same time devastated by a pestilence, of which both consuls died. III. 6, 7.
- Servilius, Q., consul, u. c. 286; and again, 288; quaestor, 295,

when he arraigned Volscius for having falsely accused Kaeso Cincinnatus. II. 64; III. 2, 24.

Servilius Priscus, Q., dictator, u. c. 337, when he conquered the Aequi. IV. 26, 30, 45-47.

Servilius Fidenas, Q., military tribune, u. c. 353; again, 357; interrex, 358; a third time military tribune, 360; a fourth time, at the era of the siege by the Gauls, 365. V. 8, 14, 17, 24, 36. He was afterwards twice military tribune.

Servilius, Sp., consul, u. c. 278; successful against the Veientes, but afterwards rescued by his colleague from the consequences of a rash attack, for which he was unsuccessfully arraigned. II. 51, 52.

Sestius Capitolinus, P., consul, u. c. 302, and decemvir next year. III. 32, 33.

Sestius, P., a patrician accused of murder, u. c. 303, and probably condemned by the people, under the decemviri, who on this occasion passed from their rights, as solely in possession of all public functions. III. 33.

Sestius, P., quaestor, u. c. 341. IV. 50.

Sextius, L., a tribune of the commons, u. c. 341. IV. 49.

Sibylla, a name, (probably derived from *σῖδς*, divine, and *βουλή*, will,) which seems to have been given generally to women professing, and believed to have prophetic powers, of whom different numbers are given. The one principally referred to by Latin writers was the Cumæan Sibyl, Amalthaea, or Demophile, who sold Tarquinius Priscus three volumes at the same price which she had demanded for nine, an offer which the augurs severely blamed Tarquin for having refused. These volumes were supposed to contain the fates of Rome, were consulted in all emergencies, and kept with great care in a stone vault below ground, in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, under the guardianship of men of high rank, appointed for that purpose, at first two, then ten, and ultimately fifteen. On the destruction of the original books by fire, ambassadors were sent to collect all the stray predictions of the Sibyl they could find. I. 7. *Sibyllinus-a-um*, belonging to the Sibyl. *Sibyllini libri*. III. 10; V. 13.

Siccus, L., a veteran of great distinction, treacherously murdered by the orders of the decemviri, u. c. 305. III. 33.

Sicilia, a triangular island to the south of Italy, in the Mediterranean, celebrated for the volcanic mountain Aetna, for its honey, its fertility, and the luxurious habits of its inhabitants. I. 1; II. 34; IV. 29. *Siculus-a-um*, belonging to Sicily; *Siculum fretum*, the straits of Messina, separating Sicily from Italy. I. 2.

Sicinius, C., a plebeian who recommended the secession to Mons Sacer, u. c. 260, and was one of the first tribunes of the commons, II. 32, 33; III. 54.

Sicinius, C., a tribune of the commons, u. c. 283, who next year arraigned Appius Claudius. II. 58, 61.

- Sicinius, C., a tribune of the commons, u. c. 305, after the abrogation of the decemviral power. III. 54.
- Sicinius, T., consul, u. c. 267. II. 40.
- Sicinius, T., a factious tribune of the commons, u. c. 360. V. 24.
- Signia, a town of Latium, colonised by Tarquinius Superbus, and faithful to the Romans. I. 56; II. 21.
- Sigoveus, nephew of Ambigatus, king of the Bituriges, who emigrated to Germany. V. 34.
- Silius, Q., one of the first plebeians who were chosen quaestors, u. c. 346. IV. 54.
- Silvanus or Sylvanus, the name of a being worshipped as a god of the woods, the Roman Pan. In the plural, the Silvani are often confounded with the Fauns and Satyrs. II. 7.
- Silvius, son of Ascanius, second king of Alba Longa. I. 3.
- Solon, a celebrated Athenian, one of the seven wise men of Greece, a native of Salamis, a citizen of Athens, to which city he gave a constitution, and laws so celebrated, that the Romans directed their particular attention to them, when drawing up their own famous code. He is said to have lived between u. c. 115 and 195. III. 31.
- Spes, the goddess of hope. II. 51.
- Statius, T., a tribune of the commons, u. c. 279, who, along with his colleague L. Caedicius, unsuccessfully arraigned Sp. Servilius. II. 52.
- Subura, a populous district of Rome, between the Esquiline and Caelian hills. III. 13.
- Suessa. See *Pometia*.
- Sulpicius, Q., lieutenant-general in command of the Roman camp, under the dictator A. Postumius Tubertus, u. c. 324. IV. 27.
- Sulpicius Camerinus, Q., military tribune, u. c. 353; and again, 357. V. 8, 14.
- Sulpicius Longus, Q., military tribune at the era of the siege of Rome by the Gauls, u. c. 365, who entered into an agreement with Brennus, (when the city was in his hands,) which was broken off in consequence of the Gaul's brutality, and the arrival of Camillus. V. 36, 47, 48.
- Sulpicius, Ser., consul, u. c. 254. II. 19.
- Sulpicius, Ser., *Curio Maximus*, u. c. 291, when he died of pestilence. III. 7.
- Sulpicius, Ser., consul, u. c. 293; one of the ambassadors sent to Greece for the purpose of collecting laws, 300; decemvir, 303; a deputy from the senate to the people, 305; and lieutenant-general in command of the horse, 309, against the Aequi and Volsci. III. 10, 31, 33, 50, 70.
- Sulpicius Camerinus, Ser., consul, u. c. 362; military tribune, 364, when he ravaged the country of the Salpinates. V. 29, 32.

T.

Talassius, one of the most distinguished amongst the followers of Romulus. I. 9.

Tanaquil, a high-born and ambitious lady of Tarquinii, who emigrated with her husband Lucumo, afterwards Tarquinius Priscus, to Rome, and by her spirit and wisdom incited successfully both her husband and her son-in-law, Servius Tullius, to aspire to the throne. I. 34, 39, 41, 47.

Tarpeius, Mons. See Capitolium.

Tarpeius, Sp., governor of the Roman citadel on the Saturnian rock, when attacked by the Sabines, in the reign of Romulus. His daughter betrayed it to the Sabines, and was slain by them. I. 11.

Tarquinii, one of the twelve principal cities of Etruria, on the river Marta, the stronghold of the Tarquins after their expulsion from Rome, and long troublesome to that people. Inhabitants, *Tarquinienenses*. I. 34; II. 6, 7; V. 16.

Tarquinius Priscus, L., said to have sprung from a Corinthian family which settled in Tarquinii, and to have emigrated to Rome, where he artfully obtained the throne, u. c. 138, being its fifth possessor. He added 100 senators to the former 200, increased the number of knights, conquered the Sabines and the Latins, surrounded the city with a stone-wall, formed *cloacae*, and founded the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. He was slain, u. c. 176, by assassins whom the sons of Ancus Marcius had instigated. I. 34-40.

Tarquinius, Aruns, son or grandson of Tarquinius Priscus, married by Servius Tullius to Tullia Minor, his younger daughter, a mild husband to a furious wife, and slain by her, that she might be united with his more spirited brother, in expectation of the throne. I. 42, 46.

Tarquinius, Aruns, son of Tarquinius Superbus, was sent to Delphi for the purpose of consulting the oracle as to the import of some portents, and afterwards met Brutus at the head of the horse, in the first battle for the restoration of monarchy, when each slew the other. I. 56; II. 6.

Tarquinius Collatinus, L., son of Egerius, and cousin of Tarquinius Superbus, was the husband of Lucretia, whose fate was the occasion of the downfall of the Roman monarchy. He was elected one of the first consuls along with Brutus, but was compelled to leave Rome, in consequence of the jealousy entertained of all bearing the name of Tarquin. I. 57, 58-60; II. 2.

Tarquinius Superbus, L., son or grandson of Tarquinius Priscus, first married one daughter of Servius Tullus, then murdered her, and married the other, caused his father-in-law to be slain, and mounted the Roman throne, its seventh and last possessor, u. c. 220. He continued to act in the same manner whilst king, thin-

ned the senate, neglected to assemble it, surrounded his person with armed guards, treacherously procured the death of his principal opponent in his design to make Rome the capital of Latium, subdued the Volscians, drove the Aequi and Tuscans to sue for peace, built the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, formed most magnificent works, but, whilst engaged in the siege of Ardea, was driven from his throne, equally detested by all ranks. Several vain attempts were made to re-instate him, in which the Romans suffered much; and he ultimately retired to Cumae, where he died, u. c. 259, fourteen years after his banishment, having previously reigned twenty-four years. I. 42, 46-60; II. 6, 9, 15, 19, 21.

Tarquinius, Sextus, the youngest son of Tarquinius Superbus, by a most treacherous device enabled his father to take Gabii, by the inhabitants of which he was slain, when he took refuge amongst them, after his base conduct to Lucretia had impelled the discontented Romans to drive out his family. I. 53, 54, 58-60.

Tarquinius-a-um, belonging to the family of the Tarquini. *Tarquinius gens, Tarquinia factio*. They were sentenced to perpetual banishment, their goods plundered, or devoted to sacred purposes. Their last struggle for the restoration of monarchy was in the memorable battle fought at the lake Regillus, where A. Postumius, the dictator, at the head of the Romans, completely defeated the Latin forces, u. c. 255. II. 2, 4, 5, 18-20.

Tarquitius, L., a patrician, so poor that he could not serve on horseback; master of the horse under the great Cincinnatus, u. c. 296, against the Aequi. III. 27.

Tarracinae. See *Anzur*.

Tatius, Titus, king of the Sabines, in the reign of Romulus, who headed his countrymen in their attempt to avenge the seizure of their women, and after gaining the Tarpeian rock, and repeated engagements, became sharer of the throne with Romulus, conjoining the Sabine people with his, but was slain in a few years by the Laurentes. I. 10-14.

Taurinus, saltus, a pass through the Alps, leading from Gaul to the country of the Taurini, in Italy, at the foot of the Alpes Cottiae. V. 34.

Tellenae, or -na, a Latin town taken by Ancus Marcius, the inhabitants of which he settled on Mount Aventine. I. 33.

Tellus, the goddess of the earth. II. 41.

Tempanius, Sex., a Roman captain of horse, whose bravery and skill, in a moment of great danger, prevented the Romans from sustaining a disgraceful defeat from the Volscians, and who defended his general's conduct, contrary to expectation. He was next year, u. c. 333, in his absence made tribune of the commons. IV. 38-42.

Templum, any place consecrated by the augurs, as the whole spaces within the pomoerium, the curiae or senate houses. (see p. 58,

note 5.) More particularly, it denotes ground separated by the augurs from the surrounding lands by a religious formula for religious purposes generally, but especially for taking the auspices. Also, the portion of the heavens within which the auspices were to be taken, as marked out by the augur's rod, was called *templum*. The same term was given to the tent pitched by the augur, and still more commonly to a building dedicated to the deities by the pontiffs, after the consent of the gods had been indicated to the augurs. I. 18. See p. 99, note 5.

Terentillus Arsa, C., a tribune of the commons, u. c. 292, who first moved a bill for fixed laws to regulate the consular power. III. 9.

Terminus, the deity that presided over boundaries and land-marks. I. 55; V. 54.

Tiberinus, generally the god of the Tiber. II. 10.

Tiberinus-a-um, belonging to the Tiber. *Tiberina insula*. II. 5.
Tiberinus amnis. V. 37.

Tiberinus Silvius, 9th king of Alba Longa, giving name to the Tiber. I. 3.

Tiberis, a celebrated river of Italy, rising in the Apennines, flowing south-east to Cures, then south-west, receiving about forty-two tributary streams in its course, and falling into the sea, passing Rome, about thirteen miles below it, after running about 160 miles. I. 3, 4, 7, 14, 15, 27, 33, 37, 38, 46; II. 5, 10-12; V. 13.

Ticinus, a northern tributary of the Po, rising in the Alps, and flowing through the Lacus Verbanus. V. 34.

Timasitheus, chief magistrate of the Liparese islands, lying between Sicily and Italy, whose inhabitants were addicted to piracy. His generous conduct to the Roman ambassadors, seized by his people on their road to Delphi, gained the gratitude of the Roman people to him and his posterity. V. 28.

Titienses, (some read Tatienses,) a century of Equites, according to Livy, i. 13; an ancient tribe of the *populus* or state-people, x. 6. The name is said by modern writers to be derived from Tities, a Sabine tribe settled on the Capitoline hill, who were incorporated, probably in the time of Romulus, with the Ramnes or Latin settlers on the Palatine.

Titinius, L., military tribune, u. c. 355; and again, 359, when a check sustained by him from the Falisci and Capenates rendered the appointment of a dictator necessary. V. 12, 18.

Titinius, M., tribune of the commons, after the abolition of the decemviral power, u. c. 305. III. 54.

Titinius, Sex., a factious tribune of the commons, u. c. 316. IV. 16.

Tolumnius, king of the Veientes, to whom the Fidenates revolted, and who, after causing, either by mistake or design, the Roman ambassadors to be slain, was killed in battle, by A. Cornelius

Cossus, and his troops defeated, u. c. 318. His armour, of which he was stripped by Cossus, formed the second *spolia opima*. IV. 17-19.

Trabea, an ornamented toga. It is mentioned along with the *sella curulis*, the *sedes regia* by Virgil, (Aen. XI. 334.) *Et sellam regni trabeamque insignia nostri*. Tradition ascribed it particularly to Romulus, under the deified name of Quirinus; Ovid, (Metamor. XIV. 828,) *Qualis trabeati forma Quirini*; Virgil, (Aen. VII. 612,) *Ipsæ Quirinali trabea*. Pliny says, (Nat. Hist. IX. 39, s. 63,) *Purpuræ usum Romæ semper fuisse video, sed Romulo in trabea; Nam toga prætexta et latiore clavo Tullum Hostilium e regibus primum usum, Etruscis devictis, satis constat*;—a statement, as far as regards the *toga prætexta*, different from Livy's, I. 8, where we are led at least to infer, that Romulus introduced it. During the republic, the *trabea* was worn on rare occasions by the consuls, augurs and equites; and, from the account given by Servius on Virgil, Aen. VII. 612, and Dionysius in his II. III. and V. Books, varied somewhat according to the official rank of the wearers. But purple in stripes like beams (*trabes*, it is said, hence the name,) was common to all, with a white or saffron ground. In the latter ages of the empire it was interwoven with gold and other ornaments. It seems to have been worn shorter than the ordinary toga, as Virgil says, Aen. VII. 187-8, *Parva succinctus trabea*. I. 41.

Trebia, a Latin town taken from the Romans by Coriolanus. II. 39.

Trebonius, C., a tribune of the commons, u. c. 354. V. 11.

Trebonius Asper, L., a tribune of the commons, u. c. 307, most hostile to the patricians, and who brought in a bill calculated to lessen their influence in the election of tribunes. III. 65.

Tribuni militum, consulari potestate, the supreme magistrates of the Roman state, on occasions when the efforts of the plebeians to share in the consular power induced the patricians to consent to the election of men who might be chosen indifferently from either order of the state, with the same power as the consuls, and yet should not have the name, nor possess the religious powers of consuls. The first were elected, u. c. 310, being three in number, and all patricians, (IV. 6, 7.) Their numbers varied, being sometimes four, (IV. 31,) sometimes six, (IV. 61,) and sometimes eight, (V. 1. the accuracy of the reading is doubted,) but for forty-four years they were all patricians. This form of government continued alternating with the consulship, till 367, when the admission of plebeians to the consular power rendered this expedient unnecessary. This is not to be confounded with the ordinary term *Tribuni militum*, simply military officers, six to each legion, who commanded under the consul, and chose the centurions. III. 51; IV. 19.

Tribuni plebis, magistrates who seem to have taken their origin

from the plebeians having been in the habit of electing from among themselves individuals, to regulate their common concerns, without any reference to the general state. When, however, the plebeians grew strong enough, they appointed, under this name, as their representatives, to regulate their interests, as concerned in the common laws of the state (II. 33) men who were generally, though not always, (III. 64, 65; V. 10,) plebeians. There is a dispute as to the Comitia in which they were elected, but it seems improbable that they can ever have been elected in the *Comitia Curiata*, as Dionysius asserts, though the choice of the Centuries may have been sanctioned there; and Livy seems to state that they were elected in the *Comitia Centuriata*, till 283, when they were elected in the *Comitia Tributa*, (II. 56, 60.) They were at first either two or five in number, (II. 33, 58;) afterwards ten, 297, (III. 30;) and possessed of powers varying as the order which they represented was influential or not, consisting at first in the negative power of preventing laws by the uttering of the word *veto*. (II. 56; IV. 1, 26; V. 9, 12.) Their persons were inviolable, and the only check on their authority was, that one might stop (*intercedo*) the proceedings of all the rest. Their power continued till the time of Sylla's usurpation, and thereafter to that of the Caesars, who first rendered it unavailing, and afterwards assumed it to themselves.

Tribus, either 1st, a division of the state-people, the *populus*, into three parts, *Ramnes*, *Titenses* and *Luceres*, (which see, as well as *Gens* and *Curia*,) and also, 2d, a division of the *plebs* exclusively, (according to the best modern authorities,) into thirty tribes, by *Servius Tullius*, twenty-six for the country, and four for the city, which last alone are mentioned by Livy, I. 43. After *Por-senna's* conquest these were reduced to twenty, a reduction inferred from II. 21, and not mentioned by Livy. To these twenty a tribe had been added, II. 16, and, by a gradual increase, they became thirty-five, as mentioned by Livy, I. 43, which number was never augmented. This division into tribes had nothing to do with the voting in centuries, as instituted by *Servius* in his constitution. This explains the two last sentences of I. 43; and as for the previous sentence, it would seem that the *Servian* constitution, in its details, was completely altered in the time of Livy. Following a note of *Ursinus*, we may conclude that some arrangement like the following existed in Livy's time. The thirty-five tribes were in reality seventy; for each had a century of seniors and a century of juniors of each of the five classes. Thus, each tribe had a century of equites seniores, and of equites juniores, joined with the *pedites seniores* and *pedites juniores* who constituted the first class, making 140 centuries. Each of the other classes had seventy centuries, thirty-five of seniors and thirty-five of juniors, making in all 420 centuries. Goettling follows a somewhat different arrangement, making only 350 centuries;

but however the case might be, in the new organization, the century was a part of the tribe. Hence the third sense of *Tribus* is a local division, including *the whole inhabitants* of Rome, each such division having centuries of all the classes.

Tributa Comitia, assemblies of the Roman plebs, first convened, according to Dionysius, for the trial of Coriolanus, but first mentioned by Livy, II. 56, 60, u. c. 283. In these Comitia, the lesser magistrates were elected. At first the decrees passed there, *Plebiscita*, were not binding on the rest of the orders of the state, but, u. c. 306, by the Valerian Horatian law, they received a footing in the general constitution. (See p. 260, note 4.) Finally by the Hortensian law, u. c. 469, they were as binding as any other laws. It would seem from several passages, (IV. 24; V. 30,) that at an early period after the overthrow of the decemviral power, the patricians took a part in these Comitia. They met generally in the Forum, or Campus Martius, presided over by the tribunes of the commons. II. 56; III. 64; IV. 57; V. 17.

Troja, a celebrated city of Troas, in Asia Minor, near the Hellespont, at the foot of Mount Ida, besieged, taken and destroyed by the Greeks, in the reign of Priam, after a siege of ten years. I. 1; V. 4. From it Antenor gave name to the place where he first landed, and called the country *Pagus Trojanus*, and Aeneas called a place amongst the Laurentes, *Troja*. I. 1. Inhabitants, *Trojani*. I. 1-3.

Tullia, a daughter of Servius Tullius. Of these there were two, the elder married to Lucius Tarquinius, and murdered by him, that he might marry the younger, who slew his brother Aruns. She instigated her new husband to dethrone her own father, triumphed over the old man's downfall, drove over his dead body, and was driven out with universal execration. I. 42, 46-48, 59.

Tullii, an Alban family, incorporated among the Roman patricians by Tullus Hostilius, I. 30, where some read *Julios*.

Tullius, M', consul, u. c. 254. II. 19.

Tullius, Servius, called Mastarna by the Etrurian historians, the sixth king of Rome, whose origin is uncertain, was the son-in-law of Tarquinius Priscus, mounted the throne, on the assassination of that prince, by the prudent advice of Tanaquil, his mother-in-law, u. c. 176, and reigned for forty-four years, when, after conquering the Veientes, remodelling the constitution, by admitting to a share in legislating all the inhabitants of Rome, in a ratio proportioned to their ability to bear the burdens of the state, he incurred the hatred of the patricians, whose power was thus impaired, and at last, 220, fell a victim to the ambition of his son-in-law, Tarquinius Superbus. There seems to be little doubt, that the eminence to which Rome afterwards rose resulted in a great degree from the measures adopted by this distinguished prince. I. 18, 39-48, 60; IV. 3.

Tullus, Attius, the most distinguished prince of the Volscians, in the time of Coriolanus, who took shelter with him, and induced him by an artifice to kindle war between his people and the Romans, to whom the Volscian was inveterately hostile. II. 35, 37-39.

Taruns, king of the Rutuli, when Aeneas landed in Italy, was deprived of Lavinia, who had been betrothed to him, by Aeneas, and having made war on that prince, was twice defeated, and, as some say, killed by him. I. 2. See Virgil, *Aen.* VII-XII.

Tusci. See *Etruria*.

Tusculum, a Latin town south-east of Rome, on the edge of the Alban hills on the Via Latina, friendly and submissive to Rome. II. 15, 16. Inhabitants, *Tusculani*. I. 49; III. 18. *Tusculana arx*. III. 23, 42. *Tusculani colles*, (the hills above Tusculum.) III. 7, 8.

Tyrrhenus-a-um, belonging to Tuscany. (See *Etruria*.) *Tyrrhenum mare*, that part of the Mediterranean which washes the west shores of Italy. V. 33.

U

Ulixes, or **Ulysses**, a Grecian prince, son of Laertes, and husband of Penelope, of great wisdom and eloquence, king of Ithaca, and distinguished in the Trojan war, whose wanderings, after its termination, are celebrated in Homer's *Odyssey*. I. 49.

Umbri, the inhabitants of *Umbria*, a division of Italy, bounded on the north by the river Rubicon, on the west by the Apennines and the Tiber, on the south by the Sabines, on the east by Picenum and the Hadriatic. V. 35.

Utens, a river of Gallia Cisalpina, rising in the Apennines, and falling into the Hadriatic, north of Ravenna. V. 35.

V.

Valerius, Antias, a Roman annalist, who flourished u. c. 673, being contemporary with Cicero. III. 5.

Valerius Potitus, C., military tribune, u. c. 340; consul, 345, when he took Carventum; again military tribune, 348; and a third time, 351. IV. 49, 53, 57, 61.

Valerius, L., quaestor, u. c. 269, and probably one of the accusers of Sp. Cassius; consul, 271; a second time, 284. II. 41, 42, 61, 62.

Valerius, L., interrex, u. c. 358. V. 17.

Valerius, L., one of three ambassadors, sent u. c. 361, with a gift to Apollo, and first captured, then kindly used by Timasitheus, prince of the Lipareae islands. V. 28.

- Valerius, L., master of the horse, u. c. 365, under the dictatorship of Camillus. V. 48.
- Valerius Publicola, L., military tribune, u. c. 361. V. 26. He was four times afterwards military tribune.
- Valerius Potitus, L., in consequence of the support he gave to the popular party against the decemvirs, was, u. c. 306, elected consul, when he and his colleague passed highly popular laws, and in consequence of their distinguished success in war obtained a triumph, in spite of patrician opposition, by order of the people. III. 39-41, 49, 50-53, 55, 60, 61, 63, 64; IV. 6.
- Valerius Potitus, L., military tribune, u. c. 340; again, 349; a third time, 352; a fourth time, 354; a fifth time, 357, when he plundered the Falisci. IV. 49, 58; V. 1, 10, 14.
- Valerius Potitus, L., consul, u. c. 363, when he defeated the Aequi. V. 31.
- Valerius Potitus, L., interrex, u. c. 363. V. 31.
- Valerius, M., *Fecialis*, in the reign of Tullus Hostilius. I. 24.
- Valerius, M., by some supposed to have been the first dictator, u. c. 253. II. 18.
- Valerius, M., dictator, u. c. 260, when he defeated the Sabines, being favourable to the popular party. II. 30, 31.
- Valerius, M., consul, u. c. 253, when he triumphed over the Sabines. He was killed 255, in the celebrated battle at the lake Regillus. II. 16, 20.
- Valerius, M., augur, u. c. 291, when he died of pestilence. III. 7.
- Valerius, M., quaestor, u. c. 296; consul, 298. III. 25, 31.
- Valerius Maximus, M., military tribune, u. c. 357; and again, 360. V. 14, 24.
- Valerius, (afterwards Publicola,) P., was present at the death of Lucretia, and exerted himself to expel the Tarquins. He was elected consul in room of Collatinus, u. c. 245, when he drove back the party of the Tarquins, removed some suspicions which had been entertained of his views by several highly-popular laws, (hence his surname,) was re-elected consul next year, when he opposed the Etrurian forces with great skill and bravery; a third time consul, 247; and a fourth time, 250, when he triumphed over the Sabines. He died next year, highly honoured by all parties, yet so poor that he was buried at the public expense. I. 58, 59; II. 2, 6-8, 11, 15, 16.
- Valerius, P., consul, u. c. 279. II. 52, 53.
- Valerius Publicola, P., interrex, u. c. 292; consul, 294, at a season of intestine and foreign commotion, when he fell in an attack on the Capitol, which had been seized upon by the slaves. III. 8, 15, 17, 18.
- Vecillius, a hill in Latium. III. 50.
- Veii, (inhabitants *Veientes*,) an Etrurian town, twelve miles to the north-west of Rome, on the Via Cassia, engaged in frequent hos-

- tilties with Rome, and memorable for the length of the siege which resulted in its capture, beginning u. c. 350, and ending 359. It was twice proposed to remove from Rome to Veii, but unsuccessfully, through the patriotic efforts of Camillus. I. 15, 27, 30, 42; II. 6, 13, 15, 43, 45-51, 53, 54; IV. 1, 17-19, 30, 31, 33, 35, 58, 60, 61; V. 1, 2, 7-25, 28-30, 37, 46, 48-50, 53.
- Velia**, high ground in Rome overlooking the Forum. II. 7.
- Velitrae**, a Latin town, south-east of Rome, colonised by the Romans. II. 30, 31, 34. *Veliternus ager*. II. 31. Afterwards rebellious, and severely punished by the Romans.
- Veneti**, the inhabitants of Venetia, a district of Italy, stretching along the north shores of the Hadriatic, bounded on the south by the Po, on the west by Gallia Cisalpina, on the north by the Alps, and on the east by the river Arsia. The Veneti, who were probably Illyrians, are said by Livy, following the Greek Cyclic poets and Cato, to have been a settlement of the Heneti, a Paphlagonian tribe, and of the Trojans, combined under Antenor. I. 1; V. 33.
- Venus**, worshipped as the goddess of love and beauty, mother of Aeneas, according to Homer and the poets who have followed him. I. 1. *Venus Cloacina*. III. 48.
- Verona**, a town of Gallia Transpadana, on the river Athesis, and *Via Aemilia*, the birth-place of Catullus and the elder Pliny. V. 35.
- Verrugo**, a Volscian town. IV. 1, 55, 58; V. 28.
- Vesta**, worshipped as the goddess of fire, in whose sanctuary the Palladium of Troy was supposed to be preserved, and a fire kept continually burning (I. 20, 52,) by her priestesses,
- Vestales virgines**, ladies, six in number, who were bound to perpetual celibacy, under the penalty of being buried alive. They continued in office thirty years, were always of high rank, and in possession of great privileges. I. 3, 4, 20; IV. 44; V. 40.
- Veturia**, the mother of Coriolanus. II. 40.
- Veturius, C.**, consul, u. c. 299, when he defeated the Aequi, but was successfully arraigned next year for selling the booty; substituted augur, 301. III. 31, 32.
- Veturius, L.**, one of the first decemvirs, u. c. 303. III. 33.
- Veturius, M.**, the only patrician who was military tribune in u. c. 356. V. 13.
- Veturius Geminus, T.**, consul, u. c. 292, when he conquered the Volscians. III. 8, 10.
- Vetusius, C.**, consul, u. c. 254. II. 19.
- Vetusius, T.**, consul, u. c. 260, at a season of great intestine commotion, when he quelled the Aequi. II. 28-30.
- Vicaepota**, worshipped as the goddess of victory. II. 7.
- Villius, P.**, a tribune of the commons, elected after the expulsion of the decemvirs, u. c. 305. III. 54.
- Viminalis, Collis**, one of the hills on which Rome stood, built upon

- by Romulus, having on the east and south the Esquiline, and on the west the Quirinal. I. 44.
- Vindicius, a slave, who was liberally rewarded for his having detected and revealed a plot for the restoration of the Tarquins. II. 4, 5.
- Virbius, a rising ground near or in Rome. I. 48.
- Virginia, daughter of a brave Roman, betrothed to Icilius, a man of tribunicial rank, seen and beloved by Appius Claudius, the decemvir, claimed by his creature Claudius as a slave, assigned to him by the decemvir, and slain by her father, u. c. 305, to prevent her from falling into his hands. III. 44-48, 58.
- Virginius, A., consul, u. c. 260, a time of great commotion, when he routed the Volscians. II. 28-30.
- Virginius, A., consul, u. c. 278. II. 51.
- Virginius, A., consul, u. c. 285. II. 63.
- Virginius, A., triumvir for colonising Antium, u. c. 287. III. 1.
- Virginius, A., tribune of the commons, u. c. 293, when he accused *Kaeso Quinctius*. III. 11-13.
- Virginius, A., tribune of the commons, u. c. 360, fined two years afterwards to the great indignation of the patricians. V. 29.
- Virginius, L., a Roman centurion, who having in vain opposed the absurd claim of Claudius to his daughter Virginia, slew her, roused the indignation of the plebeians, was mainly instrumental in the overthrow of the decemviral power, and was elected tribune of the commons, u. c. 305. III. 44, 47-51, 54, 56-58.
- Virginius, L., consul, u. c. 320; and again (perhaps) next year. IV. 21, 23.
- Virginius, L. military tribune, u. c. 353, when, along with *Sergius*, he commanded unsuccessfully, in consequence of a private quarrel, against the *Capenates* and *Falisci*, for which they were forced to resign their office, and were fined next year. V. 8-12.
- Virginius, *Opiter*, consul, u. c. 252, when he took *Pometia*. II. 17.
- Virginius, *Opiter*, consul, (perhaps,) u. c. 281. II. 54.
- Virginius, *Proculus*, consul, u. c. 268. II. 41.
- Virginius, *Sp.*, consul, u. c. 298. III. 31.
- Virginius, *T.*, consul, u. c. 258. II. 21.
- Virginius, *T.*, consul, u. c. 275. II. 48.
- Virginius *Rutilus*, *T.*, augur, u. c. 291, when he died of pestilence. III. 7.
- Virginius *Caelimontanus*, *T.*, consul, u. c. 307. III. 65.
- Vitellia, a town of the *Aequi*. II. 39; V. 29.
- Vitellii, a noble family, who favoured the restoration of the Tarquins, and whose sister was the wife of *Brutus*. II. 4.
- Volsci, a people of Latium, engaged in long and inveterate wars with Rome, whose last struggle was made, u. c. 414. I. 53; II. 9, 22, 24, 25, 30, 31, 33, 37-40, 42, 53, 54, 58, 59, 64, 65; III. 6-8, 10, 22, 60; IV. 9, 10, 26, 27, 29, 37, 55-59, 61; V. 16, 23. *Volsci Antiates*. II. 23. *Volsci Ecstrani*. II. 25.
- Volscius Fictor, M., a plebeian of tribunicial rank, who was banished

for having given false evidence against *Kaeso Quinctius*, u. c. 296. III. 13, 24, 29.

Volsinienses, the inhabitants of *Volsinii*, a town of Etruria on the north of the *Lacus Volsiniensis*, and *Via Cassia*. V. 31, 32.

Voltumna, a goddess worshipped by the Etrurians, who had a temple at the foot of *Mons Ciminus*, where the Etrurian states were in the habit of assembling. IV. 23, 25, 61; V. 17.

Volumnia, the wife of *Coriolanus*. II. 40.

Volumnius, P., consul, u. c. 293, a year distinguished for popular commotions; ambassador to the *Aequi*, 296. III. 10, 25.

Vulcanus, worshipped as one of the *Dii Majores*, the son of *Jupiter* and *Juno*, and god of fire and smiths. I. 37.

Vulturnus, a town in *Campania*, belonging at the time, says *Livy*, to the Etrurians, afterwards taken by the *Samnites*, u. c. 332, and called *Capua*; which name seems connected with *Campania*. IV. 37.

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